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THE PLACE-NAMES OF LANCASHIRE

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THE PLACE-NAMES OF LANCASHIRE

By

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PREFACE

THIS book has been some twelve years in making. By the time Professor Wyld's book on Lancashire place-names appeared it had made good progress; in fact, the material collected was on the whole fuller than his. My first thought, when I found I had been forestalled, was to drop the subject altogether. On further reflection it seemed to me, however, that certain aspects of the large subject might repay further study, and finally I decided to go on with my original plan, which included a full study of Lancashire place-names. The publication of Mr. Sephton's book two years later again caused some hesitation, but did not discourage me from going on.

The book would probably have been published long ago had it not been for the war, which temporarily prevented the carrying out of a long-cherished project of going to Lancashire in order to form a personal acquaintance with the topography of the district. It was not until the summer of 1920 that this plan could at last be executed. I then spent over two months in various parts of the county, and in 1921 I had the opportunity of spending a few more weeks there. The time at my disposal did not permit an equally full study of the whole district. Naturally I gave rather more time to the north than to the industrialized south.

It remains to acknowledge gratefully assistance received from various quarters. I have to thank the Manchester University Press Committee and the Council of the Chetham Society for undertaking the publication. I thank Professor W. J. Sedgefield for his good offices in the negotiations for the publication. I understand that I owe special thanks to Professor James Tait for using his weighty influence both on the Press Committee and in the Chetham Society. I have also had the privilege of discussing various questions with Professor Tait, who has read a proof and offered numerous valuable suggestions. It need hardly be said that the criticism and advice of a scholar like Professor Tait, whose knowledge of Lancashire and its history is unrivalled, has been an inestimable advantage.

I thank Mr. W. G. Collingwood for important information and many instructive talks, from which I have learnt far more than he would perhaps admit. Dr. William Farrer, from whose publications I have derived perhaps the greater part of the material, has given valuable advice and otherwise shown interest in the work.

Special thanks are due to the numerous helpers, mostly unknown, who with unfailing courtesy have answered questions concerning local pronunciation and topography. The greatest debt of gratitude in this respect I owe to Mr. Sam Dixon, of Edgend, Nelson.

My wife has given inestimable help in collecting the material, in preparing the manuscript for the press, and in reading the proofs.

EILERT EKWALL

LUND, *March* 1922

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AD: *A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds.* Rolls Ser. 1890 ff.

Ant. It.: *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti et Hierosolymitanum.* Ed. Parthey and Pinder. Berlin, 1848.

AP: *Placitorum .. abbreviatio, Ric. I.—Ed. II.* Record Com. 1811.

BCS: *Cartularium Saxonicum.* Ed. W. de Gray Birch. London, 1885-93.

Beck: *Annales Furnesienses. History and Antiquities of the Abbey of Furness.* By Thomas Alcock Beck. London, 1844.

Bede: *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica.* Ed. C. Plummer. Oxford, 1896. [The place-names in Bede are collected in Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts*, and in Miller, *Place-names in the English Bede.*]

BF: *The Book of Fees commonly called Testa de Nevill, reformed from the earliest MSS.* I. Rolls Ser. 1920. [Contains among other things the important Great Inquest of 1212, printed in translation in LI i, pp. 1-114.]

Burghley: *Lord Burghley's Map of Lancashire in* 1590. Catholic Record Soc. London, 1907.

Cal. Sc.: *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland.* Edinburgh, 1881 ff.

Camden: Camden, *Magna Britannia.* London, 1586.

Cart. Glam.: *Cartæ et alia munimenta quæ ad dominium de Glamorgan pertinent.* Ed. G. L. Clark. Cardiff, 1910.

CC: *The Chartulary of Cockersand Abbey.* Chetham Soc. New Ser. xxxviii, etc. [The chartulary was compiled in 1267-8.]

CCR: *Court Rolls of the Honor of Clitheroe,* 1377-1663. Ed. William Farrer. Manchester, 1897-1913.

CD: *Codex diplomaticus ævi Saxonici.* Ed. J. M. Kemble. London, 1839-48.

Ch: Early Lancashire charters. *See* LPR.

Chart. Chester Abbey: *The Chartulary or Register of the Abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester.* Ed. James Tait. Chetham Soc. New Ser. lxxix.

Chr.: The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Quoted from: Earle-Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles parallel,* Oxford, 1892, and Petrie's *Monumenta historica Britannica,* London, 1878.

ChR: Charter Rolls. *Rotuli chartarum,* 1199-1216. Record Com. 1837. *Calendar of the Charter Rolls,* 1226-1341. Rolls Ser. 1903-12.

ClR: Close Rolls. *Rotuli litterarum clausarum* 1204-27. Record Com. 1833-44. *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III* 1227-42. Rolls Ser. 1902 ff. *Calendar of the Close Rolls* 1272 ff. Rolls Ser. 1892 ff.

CR: "Calendar of Rolls of the Chancery of the County Palatine." *Deputy Keeper's Reports* xxxii. app. i, 331-65; xxxiii. app. i, 1-42.

Crawf. Ch.: "The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents." Ed. Napier and Stevenson. In *Anecdota Oxoniensia.* Oxford, 1895.

CS: The Publications of the Chetham Society. Manchester, 1844, etc. (New Ser. 1882, etc. = CSNS).

CW: *Index to the Wills at Chester,* 1545-1620. Record Soc. ii.

CWNS: *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society. New Series.* Kendal, 1901 ff.

DB: *Domesday Book.* London, 1783-1816. [Compiled in 1086.]

DD: "Dunkenhalgh Deeds c. 1200-1600." Ed. G. A. Stocks and James Tait. In *Chetham Miscellanies,* vol. iv. Chetham Soc. New Ser. lxxx.

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[1] References to volume and page of works quoted are, as a rule, given only in the case of sources wanting a full or reliable index.

A simplified mode of dating has been adopted where a document is stated to belong to such and such a year of the reign of a king or queen. Instead of 1203-4 (= 6 John), and the like, the later year (1204, etc.) is used, unless there is (to my knowledge) definite proof that the document belongs to the earlier year. This has no doubt led to some inconsistency, which it is hoped will do no practical harm.

DL : *Ducatus Lancastriæ calendarium inquisitionum post mortem, Edw. I.—Ch. I.* Record Com. 1823.

Dugdale : *Monasticum Anglicanum.* New Ed. London, 1846.

Eddi : "Vita Wilfridi Episcopi Eboracensis." In *Historians of the Church of York*, i. Chron. and Mem. lxxi.

Ellis : *On Early English Pronunciation.* By A. J. Ellis. Part V. London, 1889.

FA : *Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids.* Rolls Ser. 1899, etc.

FC : *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey.* Chetham Soc. New Ser. ix, xi, xiv (= FC or FC I). Vol. ii. New Ser. lxxiv, lxxvi, lxxviii (= FC II). [The bulk of the coucher was compiled in 1412. In vol. ii the original charters, when preserved, are printed instead of the transcript in the coucher].

Gaunt R : *John of Gaunt's Register* (1371-75). Camden Soc. 1911.

Grueber : *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum. Anglo-Saxon Series.* Vol. ii. By H. A. Grueber and C. F. Keary. London, 1893.

Guisb. C : *Cartularium prioratus de Gyseburne.* Surtees Soc. 1889-94.

Harr. : William Harrison, "The Description of Britaine." In Holinshed's Chronicle, 1577.

Hawkshead R : *The oldest Register Book of the Parish of Hawkshead*, 1568-1704. Ed. H. S. Cooper. London, 1897.

Higden : *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden.* Chron. and Mem. xli. 1865-86.

Hist. St. Cuthbert : "Historia de S. Cuthberto." In *Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea.* Surtees Soc. li, 138-52. [Compiled in the first quarter of the twelfth century.]

HR : *Rotuli hundredorum, temp. Hen. III and Edw. I.* Record Com. 1812-18.

HS : The Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1849, etc. [Contains reprints of old deeds, *e.g.* Ince Blundell charters, vol. xxxii ; Schedule of deeds chiefly relating to Warrington, vol. xl ; Crosse deeds, vol. xli ff. ; Hospitallers charters relating to Much Woolton, vol. liv. *Cf.* SC].

IM : *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous preserved in the Public Record Office.* Rolls Ser. 1916.

IN : *Nonarum Inquisitiones temp. Edw. III.* Record Com. 1807.

Ind : *Index Locorum. Index to the Charters and Rolls in the British Museum.* I. 1900 ; II. 1912 (= Ind II).

IPM : *Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem.* Rolls Ser. 1898 ff.

Kirkstall C : *The Coucher Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Kirkstall.* Thoresby Soc. viii. Leeds, 1904.

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LAR : *Lancashire Assize Rolls.* Ed. Col. John Parker. Record Soc. xlvii, xlix.

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Leland : *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years* 1535-43. Ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith. London, 1907 f.

LF : *Final Concords of the County of Lancaster.* Ed. W. Farrer. Record Soc. xxxix, xlvi, l, lx.

LI : *Lancashire Inquests, Extents, and Feudal Aids.* Ed. W. Farrer. Record Soc. xlviii, liv.

LL : Liber Landavensis. *The Text of the Book of Llan Dav.* Oxford, 1893.

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LPD : "Duchy of Lancaster : Calendar of Ancient Charters or Grants" [private deeds]. *Deputy Keeper's Reports*, xxxv, 1-41, xxxvi, app. i, 161-205. [Report xxxvi (= LPD II) contains original document now partly published in Furness Coucher, vol. II.]

LPR : *Lancashire Pipe Rolls* (1130-1216). *Also Early Lancashire Charters.* Transcribed and annotated by W. Farrer. Liverpool, 1902.

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O.E.T. : *The Oldest English Texts.* Ed. Henry Sweet. London, 1885.

OR : *Rotulorum originalium in curia scaccarii abbreviatio.* Record Com. 1805-10.

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PatR : Patent Rolls. *Rotuli litterarum patentium* 1201-16. Record Com. 1835. *Patent Rolls of the reign of Henry III* (1216-32). Rolls Ser. 1901-3. *Calendar of the Patent Rolls* 1232 *ff.* Rolls Ser. 1891 ff.

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ABBREVIATIONS

a.	ante
A. F.	Anglo-French
Am.	Amounderness hundred
A. N.	Anglo-Norman
Bl.	Blackburn hundred
Bret.	Breton
Brit.	British
Corn.	Cornish
Dan.	Danish
De.	West Derby hundred
Derby.	Derbyshire
E.	East(ern) or English
E. Fris.	East Frisian
el.	element
G.	German
Gael.	Gaelic
Gaul.	Gaulish
Germ.	Germanic
h.	hamlet
Icel.	Icelandic
Ir.	Irish
Le.	Leyland hundred
L. G.	Low German
Lo.	Lonsdale hundred
m.	mile(s)
M. Bret.	Middle Breton
M. Du.	Middle Dutch
M. E.	Middle English
M. H. G.	Middle High German
Mn. E.	Modern English
M. W.	Middle Welsh
N.	North(ern)
NLo.	Lonsdale North of the Sands
Norw.	Norwegian
O. Bret.	Old Breton
O. Corn.	Old Cornish
O. Dan.	Old Danish
O. E.	Old English
O. H. G.	Old High German
O. Ir.	Old Irish
O. N.	Old Norse (= Old West Scandinavian)
O. Sax.	Old Saxon
O. Swed.	Old Swedish
O. W.	Old Welsh
par.	parish
p(ers). n.	personal name
pl. n.	place-name
Prim. Celt.	Primitive Celtic
S.	South(ern)
Sa.	Salford hundred
Sc.	Scottish, Scotland
SLo.	Lonsdale South of the Sands
Swed.	Swedish
trib.	tributary
v.	village
W.	West(ern)
W. R.	The West Riding

A † at the end of an article indicates that the name is also dealt with in the Addenda page 263.

PHONETIC SYMBOLS

[a]	Northern a, as in *man*
[a·]	as in *father*
[e·]	Northern e, as in *ale*
[ɛ]	as in *there*
[i·]	„ *see*
[ɔ]	„ *hot*
[ɔ·]	„ *law*
[o·]	Northern o, as in *no*.
[u]	as in *pull*
[u·]	„ *do*
[ə]	„ *better*
[ʌ]	„ *cut*
[ai]	„ *die*
[au]	„ *now*
[ou]	a Northern diphthong, as in *knoll*
[ǩ]	front k
[ǧ]	front g
[dž]	as in *jet*
[tʃ]	„ *chin*
[j]	„ *yet*
[ŋ]	„ *sing*
[z]	„ *zeal*
[ʃ]	„ *she*
[ž]	„ *pleasure*
[x]	the voiceless velar fricative, as in G. *ach*
[ɣ]	the voiced velar fricative
[þ]	as in *thing*
[ð]	„ *this*
ē	M.E. open ē, as in hēp (O.E. hēap)
ę́	M.E. close ē, as in kēpe (O.E. cēpan)
ǭ	M.E. open ō, as in lōde (O.E. lād)
ǫ́	M.E. close ō, as in dō (O.E. dōn)

INTRODUCTION

THE county of Lancaster developed out of the post-Conquest honour of Roger of Poitou, which comprised, besides other districts, practically the whole of the present Lancashire. The Lancashire portion consisted of at least two distinct parts: (1) the land between the Ribble and the Mersey, which in Domesday is placed under Cheshire, which belonged (with Cheshire) to the Midland diocese of Lichfield, and probably at one time formed part of Mercia; and (2) the districts north of the Ribble, which in Domesday are dealt with under Yorkshire and ecclesiastically belonged to York. But the districts north of the Ribble do not seem originally to have formed a political unit. At least we may safely distinguish the district between the Ribble and the Kent (Amounderness and Lonsdale proper), which seem to have been parts of Yorkshire, and Lonsdale North of the Sands, which belongs geographically to the Lake district and was very likely once connected with Cumberland politically. The latter district in the early Middle Ages (at least in 1291) belonged to the deanery of Copeland (Cumberland), while the former was divided between Kirkby Lonsdale and Amounderness deaneries.

If Lancashire thus consists of parts historically unconnected, there is also much variety in the topography of the different parts. We have reason to expect the place-nomenclature of such a district to show much variety. This is also the case. The Lancashire place-names consequently offer many interesting and difficult problems.

Previous Treatment of Lancashire Place-Names

Three monographs on Lancashire place-names have been published.

Henry Harrison's "Place-Names of the Liverpool District, 1898," deals only with the names of South-West Lancashire.

H. C. Wyld and T. O. Hirst, "The Place-Names of Lancashire, 1911." The chief author is Professor Wyld. This work aims at dealing etymologically with names found in early sources, and including (in Part II.) all those given in the one-inch Ordnance Survey Maps. This is a valuable contribution to English place-name study, but it is, in my opinion, open to a good deal of criticism. A few remarks on the book may be offered here.[1]

The book is by no means complete. Many interesting names, and names of important places, are missing (at least in the first, etymological part). Here belong, for instance, the majority of names of rivers and hills. Of others may be mentioned at random Bacup, Barrow-in-Furness, Birkland Barrow, Cadley, Church, Eccles, Levenshulme, Roose, Sharples, Stennerley, Wycoller. On the

[1] Professor Wyld's book was reviewed at some length by the present writer in Anglia-Beiblatt xxiii. p. 177ff.; reference may here be made to the detailed criticism in the review. Critical remarks similar to those given there will be found in the reviews by Dr. Bradley in EHR xxvi. (1911), and by Björkman in Englische Studien xliv. p. 249ff.

other hand, some non-Lancashire names are included because they happen to be mentioned in Lancashire documents, as Angerby, Cromblebottom, Egger (river Ehen), Firbank, Winsterthwaite, and others.

The early sources have not been exhaustively excerpted. In numerous cases earlier examples than those given are to be found. Not rarely the forms adduced do not refer to the names under discussion. Examples will be found under Alderbarrow, Audley, Ayre (*Eyre*, 1271-2, is *eyre* "circuit"), Birchall (*Birchehalgh*, 1295, is in Eccles, not in Manchester), Birtle, Blackstone Edge, Bowerham, Cockden, Goodber, Greeta, Pex Hill, Worsley, and others.

A good many names are not explained. Of etymologies suggested quite a number can not, in my opinion, be regarded as convincing. Sometimes sufficient regard has not been paid to the testimony of early forms. Sometimes the early material is insufficient. Further, Professor Wyld has deliberately omitted to make sure that the etymologies suggested suit the topographical conditions of the places they designate. "The book," he says, "is not concerned with the question whether the names fit the places to which they are attached, nor whether they ever did so" (Preface, p. viii). This has resulted in such explanations as "the marsh of Alta" for Altmarsh (on the river Alt), or "Kok's hām" for Cockerham (on the Cocker), or "the middle valley" for Mythop, though the place stands on a slight elevation in flat, marshy country. Professor Wyld has also overlooked the fact that the different parts of Lancashire show much variety as regards dialectal development. The etymologies of Scandinavian names, as pointed out by Björkman, are open to a good deal of criticism.

John Sephton's "Handbook of Lancashire Place-Names" appeared in 1913. Mr. Sephton evidently possessed intimate familiarity with Lancashire topography. He corrects several of the mistakes in Wyld's book. But his book has certain shortcomings. It gives very few early forms, in the case of some names none at all. While some etymologies testify to sound judgment, others show plainly that their author was not a trained etymologist. He derives the first element of Cuerdale from Germanic *war*, *wær*, etc.; that of Grassendale from a personal name *Gær*, *Ger*; that of Bartle from a personal name *Berchta*; that of Edenfield from Gaelic *eadanan*, to mention some few obvious cases. Yet with its shortcomings Sephton's book is undoubtedly a valuable contribution.

The three monographs, in my opinion, by no means exhaust the difficult and interesting subject. A very great deal still remains to be done in the field of Lancashire place-names. On the other hand, it is evident that it is not necessary to deal with all names equally fully. Names that have already been on the whole satisfactorily explained may be dealt with briefly. I am, of course, not alluding here only to the three monographs mentioned, but also to the important contributions of other scholars, as Mr. Collingwood, who in "Thorstein of the Mere" (1895), and "The Report of the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club," Vol. xi.

(1896), gives the correct explanation of many Scandinavian names in Furness, and whose later publications contain many suggestions of great value; or Dr. Harald Lindkvist, who in his important work on Scandinavian nâmes in England gives the final etymology of numerous Lancashire place-names of Scandinavian origin; or Dr. Bradley, who in his various publications on place-names (esp. his review of Wyld) has dealt with several Lancashire names.

Concerning the relation between the present study and its predecessors an additional remark may be made. I have not as a rule considered it necessary to subject to criticism etymologies suggested by previous workers but not adopted by me. Nor have I deemed it obligatory always to point out that an etymology given has already been suggested before. In the case of etymologies practically self-evident in the light of the early material this would be meaningless. It is different with etymologies that do not immediately suggest themselves. In the case of such I often point out where I have first seen it suggested, even if I had already found it independently. And, of course, I acknowledge my indebtedness when I have actually adopted an etymology from a previous investigator. I may be allowed to point out here that I had devoted a good deal of time to the study of Lancashire place-names before the books of Wyld, Sephton, and Lindkvist appeared.

On the Plan and Scope of the Present Study

The book aims at including (1) all names of parishes and townships; (2) of other names such as are now or were till recently in use and have been found in early sources, provided they offer sufficient interest; (3) of names now lost only such as seem to be particularly interesting. Names not found in early sources are generally omitted.

Practical considerations have rendered it impossible to give the whole of the material. It has been necessary to make a selection. Of names falling under heading (2) the leading principle has been to deal first of all with such as need explanation and such as denote fairly important places. Names etymologically more or less transparent are sometimes included because they are needed as illustration of the types of names used in the district. Of course, names found in mediæval sources have been preferred to those found only from the 16th century or later, but frequently names recorded comparatively late have been considered sufficiently important to be included. In many cases the late appearance of names in the sources is due simply to the fact that the early material is scanty. This is particularly the case with the Cartmel and part of the Furness districts.

The study is based on an examination of practically the whole of the early material accessible in print. Of course, it is quite possible that I have overlooked some sources. Of the early forms collected only a selection is included in the material. I have as far as possible avoided giving examples already adduced by previous investigators; this book and its predecessors will, therefore, to

some extent supplement each other. Of course, when a different etymology is suggested, it has often been necessary to abandon this principle. And in several cases few early forms are on record. I have, of course, given preference to early forms found in original sources,[1] but often the only ones available are those in the transcripts found in monastic chartularies or similar sources. Forms from late sources, *e.g.*, from parish registers, have been adopted chiefly to illustrate dialectal sound-changes.

The aim is to offer not only a phonetically acceptable explanation of each name, but to determine as nearly as possible the exact etymology. The chief means at our disposal, besides a careful examination of the early material and a comparative study of the place-names of other districts, are the following two. The situation of a place often gives a clue to the etymology of its name. A study of the special features of the place-nomenclature of a district often gives valuable results. Thus the frequency of Scandinavian names varies from district to district; for a name found in a district where Scandinavian names are rare English origin is most probable, while Scandinavian origin is plausible in districts where undoubtedly Scandinavian names abound. To take an example, Rainford and Rainhill have probably an English first element, for in the neighbourhood Scandinavian names are extremely scarce. The nature of a first element may often be practically settled by an examination of the relative frequency with which different kinds of first elements (personal names, descriptive common nouns, etc.) are combined with a certain element. For instance, *tūn* has mostly a descriptive common noun, often a tree-name, as first element. It is, therefore, improbable that the common name Ashton should have as first theme the rare O.E. personal name *Æsc*. Some English words are found to be practically always combined with English, some Scandinavian words practically always with Scandinavian first elements, while others frequently appear in hybrids.

Particularly helpful is, in my opinion, the light thrown on the etymology of place-names by a study of the topography of places. For this reason information concerning the situation of places will be given very frequently, and to

[1] In some works on place-names lately published forms not found in original sources are marked by an obelus or some such sign. I have considered the advisability of making a similar distinction between forms found in original sources and forms that are not. However, it is difficult to carry through such a distinction, as it is not always easy to determine if early documents are genuine or not. Besides, I think this distinction is of considerable practical importance only in the case of forms from O.E. charters, and hardly any Lancashire charters from O.E. time are extant. Obviously, forms found in transcripts (especially late ones) of original documents must be used with some caution, but on the whole I have the impression that scribes (for instance, those of monastic chartularies) at least attempted to render their originals faithfully.

Some of the most important sources of early forms of Lancashire place-names are monastic chartularies or similar collections, which mostly contain transcripts of documents, *e.g.*, the early Lancashire Charters published by Dr. Farrer (Ch) and those referred to as CC, FC, LC. The forms quoted from these, unless the contrary is stated, are taken from transcripts, not from original documents.

an extent unparalleled in earlier works on English place-names. In many cases the exact etymology cannot be established without such information. To take one example: the common element *den* (in Clayden, Denton) may be O.E. *denu* " valley," or *denn* " swine-pasture " (or in Denton, also O.E. *Dena* " of Danes "). If a place with such a name is found to be situated in a valley, we may be fairly sure that *den* is *denu* " valley." In other cases a topographical examination will contribute to a more exact knowledge of the meaning of place-name elements, as O.E. *ēg, halh, hēafod, hop, hōh, twisla.* In the case of names given without reference to the situation of places (as Abram, Aldingham) information concerning topography is in itself unnecessary, but even in such cases a hint as to the situation may be useful.

For the purpose of finding out the situation of places I have made diligent use of maps, especially the Ordnance Survey six-inch and one-inch maps, and the valuable special maps found in the Victoria History of Lancaster. I have derived much help from the topographical descriptions found in the last-mentioned work. I have also had an opportunity of studying Lancashire topography on the spot during my visits to Lancashire in the summers of 1920 and 1921. I made it my object, in those visits, to acquire a general familiarity with the topography of the various parts of the county and to examine the situation of places whose names offer particular difficulties. At least in some cases such observations on the spot have, in my opinion, rendered a final etymology possible.

It should be added, however, that in the case of Lancashire place-names, which—with very few exceptions—are not recorded in O.E. forms, a final etymology can frequently not be attained. It is often necessary to give two or more alternative explanations, and in some cases no definite suggestion can be made.

The purpose of the present study is not exclusively etymological. It aims at giving a fairly accurate idea of the distribution of name-types and names of various provenance, and thereby at throwing light on the early history of the county, the distribution of the population, the survival of a Celtic element, the Scandinavian immigration, etc. Questions of this kind are discussed chiefly in the Summary.

In the material names are given in a geographical arrangement. This has the disadvantage that it will be necessary to consult the Index to find a name required. On the other hand, the arrangement chosen, which agrees on the whole with that usual in works on Scandinavian place-names, seems to me to have obvious advantages. It is, in my opinion, unsatisfactory to deal with the Lancashire place-names, which show so much variety from an etymological point of view, in an alphabetical order. To judge of many etymologies, it is of importance to be able to find out the general characteristics of the place-nomenclature of the neighbourhood. With the arrangement adopted the material forms a convenient basis for the discussions and conclusions in the

Summary. Information on topography can be given much more briefly and yet much more satisfactorily. The space saved under this head makes up for the extra space involved by the Index.

Under each hundred[1] the names of rivers, hills, and lakes are given first. The division into parishes, as being in most cases convenient and practical, is, on the whole, followed, though not rigidly. Under each township names of minor places are usually arranged alphabetically. Salford and Blackburn hundreds, which have a practically English place-nomenclature, are placed first. Then follow West Derby, Leyland, Amounderness, and Lonsdale hundreds. The general idea has been to proceed from South to North; yet in the case of Blackburn hundred, where the oldest settlements seem to be in the Northern part, a somewhat different plan is followed.

A numeral is placed before the name of each township, an exception being made only in the case of one-township parishes. This numeral, which is really added for practical purposes, to show where one township ends and another begins, at the same time indicates that the place is a township, and consequently in the majority of cases an old manor and vill. If names denote villages or hamlets a statement to the effect (v., h.) is added. Where no indication as to the status of a place is given it may generally be taken for granted that the name designates an estate or a farm.

In this place I feel it a duty to acknowledge gratefully the inestimable help I have derived from that storehouse of information on Lancashire topography and history, the Victoria History of the County of Lancaster, not only in the arrangement of the material, but in many other directions. It is a pleasure to testify to the wealth of its material, the accuracy of its information, and the intimate familiarity with Lancashire history and topography evidenced by its authors.

In the course of my visits to Lancashire I have made it my object also to collect local pronunciations of place-names. I want to point out here that the material collected is somewhat uneven. Some of the forms given represent the educated local rather than the "broad" Lancashire pronunciation. The forms do not claim to render nice shades of pronunciation. To get exactly correct forms it would be necessary to study the various Lancashire dialects carefully. Sometimes the forms will be found to differ from those recorded by Ellis. One important reason for this is, I believe, that the pronunciation of names has changed in the last few decades.

The forms given lay no claim to being the only ones used. They are those

[1] Lancashire, from early mediæval times, has been divided into six hundreds: Salford, Blackburn, West Derby, Leyland, Amounderness, Lonsdale. At the time of the Conquest a slightly different division was recognized.

The division at present recognized is, on the whole, followed in this book. The only deviation of any importance is the following: Under Amounderness I deal also with the parts belonging to it at the time of the Conquest, but later joined to Blackburn and Lonsdale respectively. The reason is that these parts belong geographically to Amounderness, this being originally the district between the Ribble and the Cocker.

I have heard myself from inhabitants of the places or persons living in the neighbourhood, during my rambles or journeys through the county. In this field much remains to be done. After all, I do not think the testimony of the modern pronunciation is, on the whole, of very great value for etymological purposes. At any rate, my own experience has brought me to the conviction that place-names are influenced to a greater extent than other words by spelling-pronunciation. Seventeenth- or eighteenth-century spellings and forms from dialect-literature of the last century are really more valuable as evidence of the genuine local pronunciation than the modern spoken forms. At the same time I readily admit that sometimes the modern forms are of value for etymological purposes, and they have considerable intrinsic interest.

Elements Found in Lancashire Place-Names

This section deals chiefly with the elements found as the second part of place-names. Those occurring as the first part are, as a rule, easily found by the help of the Index at the end of the book. It is meant as a supplement to the Index, giving information as to the frequency and distribution of the various elements. Absolute completeness is aimed at only as regards the more important elements, such as *-ham*, *-tūn*, *-worþ*, etc.

This section has been considered the best place for a discussion of the etymology and meaning of commonly occurring elements, and in the material references are frequently given to it.

In the case of more important elements a brief survey is given of the various kinds of first elements combined with them (personal names, descriptive common nouns, adjectives, etc.). It has also been considered important to point out if and to what extent elements occur in hybrid formations. It will be seen that hybrid formations in the case of most elements are by no means very common.

O.N. **á** "river, stream": Greeta SLo, Brathay, perhaps Eea, Cunsey, Rauthey NLo.

O.E. **āc** "oak": Shorrock Bl, Broad-, Graveoak, Laffog, Mossock De, Harrock Le; Aighton Bl (Am), Aughton De, Akefrith SLo, Ogden Sa, Oglet De, etc.

O.E. **æcer**, O.N. **akr** "cultivated field." The first el. is Scandinavian in Rose-, Stirz-, Tarnacre, perh. Barn-, Stansacre, Am. It is mostly English, being a common noun (Cliviger Bl, Linacre, Shurlacres, Waddicar De, Woodacre Am); or an adj. (Whitaker Bl, Renacres De).

O.E. **ærn** "house": Hordern Sa, Hardhorn Am.

O.N. **afnám**: *see* Avenham Am.

O.E. **alor** "alder": Cobhouse, Lightollers Sa, Wycoller Bl; Ollerton Le, perhaps Allerton De.

O.E. **angel** or O.N. **ǫngull** "hook": *see* Ovangle SLo.

O.E. ***anger** "pasture" or O.N. **angr** "bay": Angram Bl, Angerton NLo.

O.E. **bæc**, O.N. **bak** "back": *see* Bacup Bl, Backbarrow Lo.

O.E. **balg** adj. (prob. in *balgandun* 704-9 BCS 123), M.E. *balgh* (*bal*ȝ *ber*ȝ Gaw.) "rounded; smooth": Balladen Sa, Ballam Am. Cf. the lost name Balshaw (Spotland Sa): *de Balghschae* 1296 Lacy C, *de Balschagh* 1311 LI. The same name formerly occurred in Ainsworth Sa (*Balshahe* c 1200 CC) and Ditton De (*de Balsagh* 1246 LAR).

? O.E. **ball**: cf. Cabus Am.

M.E. **banke** < O.N. **bakki** (< ***banki**), O.Dan. **banke**, "bank, ridge." In Lanc. place-names *bank* mostly means "hill": Roughbank, Windy Bank Sa, Pickup Bank, Yate Bank Bl, Dove Bank, Hawes Bank, Speel Bank, Tottlebank (2) NLo. Another meaning is "sea-shore" or "bank of a river": Halebank De, Kent's Bank NLo, Bank Hall (various). The first el. of names in *-bank* is mostly English.

O.E. **bearo** "grove": Bare SLo, Barrow Bl, De, Longbarrow De.

O.N. **bekkr** "brook": Eller Beck De, Artlebeck, Cant Beck, Escow- Harterbeck SLo,

Grize-, Hole-, Roosebeck, etc., NLo. The first el. is mostly Scandinavian; it is a pers. n. in Artlebeck.

O.E. **beonet** "bent": Chequerbent Sa, Chowbent De.

O.E. **beorh**, O.N. **berg** "hill." The greater part of the names seem to have a Scand. first el. and to be of Scand. origin: Firber Bl, Aigburth, Mossborough De, Birkland Barrow, Cringle-, Scaleber SLo, Ella-, Hart-, How-, Latter-, Leg-, Quernbarrow NLo; cf. also *Crosseberg, Struteberg* (O.N. *strútr* "peak of a cap"), *Sorithsteinberg* (for *South-*) 1202 LF (Lo). Here perhaps belongs Habergham Bl.

O.E. **beretūn, berewīc** "barton" (*see* Barton Sa p. 38): Barton Sa, De, Am, perh. Pemberton De; Borwick SLo.

M.E. **bigging** "dwelling-place; cottage" (from *big* "to build; to dwell" < O.N. *byggia*): Newbigging Am, NLo.

Early Mn.E. **borwen, burian** "cairn," *see* Burwains Bl.

O.N. **bōt** "piece," *see* Laithbutts SLo.

O.N. **botn** "bottom" etc., *see* Botton SLo.

O.Dan. **bōþ**, O.N. **búð** "booth," Engl. dial. *booth* "a cow-house, a herdsman's hut" (Yks., Lanc.). Names in *-booth* are found chiefly in the hilly districts of Bl.: Goldshaw Booth, Haw-, Oozebooth, Higher, Lower Booths, etc., Bl; Dunnishbooth, Booths Hall Sa. The first el. is often English. The O.N. form *búð* is found only in Lo: Bouth (2), Rulbuth NLo.

O.E. ***bōþl, bold, bōtl** "dwelling, house, palace": Bold De; Newbold Sa, Parbold Le; Bootle De, Fordbottle NLo. Bolton contains **bōþl*. Very likely O.E. **bōþltūn* had a special technical meaning; we may perhaps compare O.Swed. *bolbyr* "the village proper" in contradistinction to *umæghur* "outlying land" (Hellquist, Ortnamn på *-by*, p. 19). On the different forms of the O.E. word (*bōþl, botl, bold*) *see* Anglia-Beiblatt[1] 28, p. 82ff.

O.E. ***boþm, botm** "bottom," M.E. *bothem*, also "valley, dell," etc.: Oaken-, Rams-, Shilling-, Shipperbottom Sa.

O.N. **brekka**, Norw. dial. **brekka** f., **brekk** m. "slope, hill": Breck, Scarisbrick, Walton Breck, Warbreck De, Limbrick Le, Esprick, Larbrick, Mowbrick, Norbreck, Swarbrick, Warbreck Am, Brantbeck, Eden-, Inglebreck, Norbrick SLo, Sunbrick NLo. The first el. apparently is or may be Scandinavian in all cases. In Brownbrinks Bl a form without assimilation (O.N. *brekka* < **brinka*) appears.

O.E. **brōc** "brook": Corn-, Cringle-, Ellenbrook, Gilda Brook, Gore Brook Sa, Glaze-, Holbrook, Tarbock De, Sid Brook, Warth Brook Le, Swill Brook Am, Lucy Brook, Rowton Brook, Tarnbrook SLo.

O.E. **brū** "brow," later "projecting edge of a cliff; a slope": Chantry Brow Sa, Mere Brow Le.

O.E. **bryce**, *see* Bruche De.

O.E. **brycg** "bridge": Bamber Bridge Bl, Tawdbridge De, Walmer Bridge Le, Dowbridge Am, Cowan Bridge SLo, Haybridge, Newby Bridge NLo.

O.E. **burh** "fortified place; town," etc. The exact meaning is often doubtful. It is sometimes "fort," as in Burrow SLo (2), Arbury De, cf. Tilberthwaite NLo; sometimes "borough," as in Flookborough NLo (first el. Scand.), ? Littleborough Sa, Newburgh De. A meaning "manor" is probable sometimes when the first el. is a pers. n., as Didsbury Sa, Duxbury Le, Bilsborrow Am. Other examples are: Pendlebury Sa, Sales-, Samlesbury Bl, Bury Sa, De, Burgh Le; Broughton Sa, Burscough De. On *Burton see* under Broughton Sa, p. 32.

O.E. ***burh**, M.E. **borow** "burrow": Badsberry Am, Musbury Sa; cf. *Swineburyheuid* c 1200 CC 342 (Forton).

O.E. **burna** "stream, brook": Burn Am, Black-, Chat-, Hyndburn Bl, Golborne De, Perburn Le, Cowburn Am, Hind-, Roeburn, Ludder Burn NLo.

O.E. **byht** "bend": Sidebeet Bl.

O.N. **býr, bœr** "homestead; village; town," O.Dan. **by** "village, town": Cross-, Der-, Form-, Greet-, Kirk-, Roby De, *Aschebi*, Nate-, Rib-, Sower-, Westby Am, Horn-, Ire-, Thirnby SLo, Birk-, Kirk- (2), Sowerby NLo. Cf. [Birstath] Bryning, Byrewath Am. The

[1] The suggestion made in this article that the regular Northumbrian form was one with a long vowel is corroborated by the pronunciation [bu·əl, blind bu·əl] for Bothel, Blindbothel, Cumb.

word is always combined with elements that are or may be Scandinavian. The first el. is mostly a common noun or a personal or national name. These names as a rule denote fairly important places.

O.E. **bȳre** "cow-house": Byrom De.

O.E. **ceaster, cæster** "a city or walled town," originally one that had been a Roman station: Man-, Ribchester, Lancaster.

O.N. **kelda** "spring, well": Calkeld, Kellet SLo, Trinkeld NLo.

O.N. **kiarr** "brushwood," Norw. *kjerr, kjarr* "wet ground, esp. where brushwood grows; brushwood," M.E. *kerr*. The meaning in Lanc. names seems to be "fen or bog, especially overgrown with bushes." The first el. is often English, as in Dunscar Bl, Bescar, Hopecarr De. Other examples: Hall Carr Bl, Altcar, Harker, Hoscar De, Riscar, Sower Carr Am, Holker NLo.

O.E. **cirice** "church": Church Bl, Newchurch Bl, De.

O.N. **kirkia** "church": Ormskirk De, Bradkirk Am. Cf. Kirkby, etc. To some extent *kirk-* may have supplanted O.E. *cirice*, as in Kirkham, Bradkirk Am. *Kirk-* is, in my opinion, always a Scand. form; cf. Scandinavians, p. 48. That *kirk* is Scandinavian in names found S. of the Ribble is obvious, for here palatalization of O.E. *c* is very well evidenced (Childwall, Chorley, Church, etc.). No certain examples either of palatalization or non-palatalization of O.E. *c-* before *e, i* are found N. of the Ribble, except in Bl N. of the Ribble (Chipping, Ribchester). But, in my opinion, palatalization of O.E. *c* must have taken place in all dialects initially before *i, e, ēa, eo* and medially at least before *j*; this is proved by the fact that in the earliest M.E. Northern text words such as *chide, chicken, child, cheap, cheek, leche, wrecche*, always have *ch*. Exceptions such as Keswick, Kildwick are due to Scand. influence. Cf. Anglia-Beiblatt 30, p. 224, and Gevenich, Die englische Palatalisierung von k>č im Lichte der englischen Ortsnamen (Halle 1918).

O.N. **kleif** "hill-side": *see* Claife NLo.

O.E. **clif** "a cliff, especially on the sea shore," M.E. *clif*, Mod. Engl. *cliff* also "a steep slope, a declivity, a hill." The latter appears to be the usual meaning in Lanc. names; the sense "rock" seems certain in Radcliffe Sa. Other examples: Horncliffe, Rockliffe, Stani-, Tonacliffe Sa, Briercliffe, Cunliffe, Finiscliffe Bl, Ald-, An-, Oxcliffe SLo, Baycliff NLo. The first el. is French in Castercliff Bl, Scaitcliffe Sa, Bl. Rawcliffe Am has a Scand. first el.; the second may very well be O.N. *klif* (Swed. *kliv*) "steep hill."

O.E. **clōh** "a ravine or valley with steep sides, usually forming the bed of a stream": Cowclough Sa, Deadwin Clough, Love Clough, Meer Clough, Sow Clough Bl, Hawksclough De; cf. Clougha, Swaintley Hill SLo.

M.E. **clōs** (<O.F. *clos*) "enclosure": Filly Close, West Close Bl.

M.E. **knot** "a hill" from O.E. *cnotta* "knot" or O.N. *knǫttr* "hill" (in place-names); cf. Scandinavians, p. 40: Knott End Am, Blow Knott or Blawith Knott NLo (a hill).

O.E. **copp** "top, summit," prob. also "hill": Copp Am, Coppull Le, Pickup Bl (2), Cross Copp SLo.

O.E. **cot** n., **cote** f. "a small house, cottage"; M.E. *cot, cote*, also "a small erection for shelter, as for sheep." Perhaps O.E. *cot*, like *cot-līf*, also meant "a manor"; cf. Prescot. Examples: Ancoats Sa, Alkin-, Coldcoats, Huncoat Bl, Cottam Am. In NLo *-cote* usually means "a sheep-cote"; the source is here very likely O.N. *kot* "a hut," common in Icel. names. The first el., except in Idlecote and possibly Hawcoat, seems to be a place-name: Billing-, Ireleth-, Roose-, Waltoncote.

M.E. **crag** "rock" (Ir.-Gael. *creag* or Brit. *crag*[1]): Craggs Bl, Ellel Crag, Crag House SLo, Buckcrag, Groffa Crag, Whelpshead Crag NLo.

O.E. **cranoc** "crane": Cranshaw De, Cronkshaw Bl.

O.E. **croft** "a piece of enclosed ground used for tillage or pasture; a small piece of arable land adjacent to a house": Age-, Massey-, Scowcroft Sa, Barcroft Bl, Croft, Flit-, Hol-, Martins-, Wolfscroft De, Brimmicroft Le. The names denote comparatively small places.

O.Ir. **cross** (>O.N. *kross*, late O.E. *cros*) "cross": Norcross Am, Askelescros SLo; cf. Crosby, etc. Engl. *cross* was probably adopted chiefly from Scand. *kross*.†

O.E. **cumb** "a deep hollow or valley": Cowm, Holcombe Sa, perh. Compton Am.

O.E. **dæl**, O.N. **dalr** "valley." It is impossible to decide with certainty to what extent *dale* in Lanc. names is English or Scandinavian. There is no reason to doubt that *dæl* was in

[1] Cf. Förster, Keltisches Wortgut im Englischen (1921) p. 126f.

living use in early O.E. time in dialects, and that names such as Rossendale, Rochdale, Dalton, Dallam may be English. On the other hand, names in *-dale* often have a Scand. first el., as Skelmers-, Birk-, Kirkdale De, Ulvesdale Le, Bleasdale Am, Grizedale Am, NLo, Ewe Dale NLo; many names in *-dale* are no doubt Scandinavian. The first el. of names in *-dale* is frequently a river-name, as Wyresdale Am, Lons-, Roeburndale SLo, perhaps Dunnerdale NLo. Other names in *-dale* are: Ains-, Drummers-, Grassendale De, Oxendale Bl, Chippingdale Bl (Am), Deepdale Am, Little-, Mallow-, Silverdale SLo, Lindal, Lin-, Yewdale NLo.

O.E. **denu** "a vale, especially the deep, narrow, and wooded vale of a rivulet." This is obviously the meaning of *-den* in Lanc. names. The el. is very common in Sa and Bl, but rare in other hundreds: *Cokerdene* Le, Huntingdon and Ragden Bl (Am), Duxendean Am, perh. Duddon NLo. The first el. of names in *-den* is as a rule of English origin; possible exceptions are those of Ragden, Naden, Ravden. It is mostly a common noun, as in Buck-, Burn-, Clay-, Dear-, Harsen-, Mos-, Og-, Sladen Sa, Asp-, Baxen-, Cock-, Hen-, Mars-, Mus-, Stan-, Swin-, Trawden Bl. It is a pers. n. in *e.g.* Bors-, Pigs-, Walsden Sa, Bottin, Hoddlesden, Ogden Bl; an adj. in *e.g.* Balla-, Sudden Sa, Hasling-, Hol-, Warmden Bl; a river-name perhaps in Spodden Sa, *Cokerdene* Le. Other examples: Al-, Chees-, Droyls-, Egbur-, Goo-, Pol-, Roo-, Todmor-, Walk-, Woolden Sa, Crib-, Knuz-, Sab-, Thurs-, Walver-, Wolfenden Bl, Worden Le.

O.E. **dīc** "ditch": Ditchfield, Ditton De, Reddish Sa.

Engl. dial. **dub** "pool": Arnside Dub SLo, St. Ellen Dub NLo.

O.E. **dūn** "a hill," later also "open expanse of elevated land": Quarlton Sa, Billington, Hameldon (3) Bl, Smithdown De, Downham Bl.

O.E. **ēa** "river": Mersey; Ewood Sa, Bl; perh. Eea NLo.

O.E. **ecg** "edge," M.E., Mn.E. *edge* "the crest of a sharply pointed ridge; ridge, watershed; brink or verge," also "a steep hill or hillside" (EDD). In Lanc. place-names the usual meaning seems to be "hill" or "ridge": Blackstone Edge, Horsedge Sa, Revidge Bl, etc. The meaning of *-edge* in Burnage, Burnedge Sa, Brownedge Bl, is not quite clear. In Agecroft Sa, Edgeworth Sa, Egton Lo, the pers. n. *Ecga* is also a possible source.

O.E. **edisc** "pasture": Standish Le.

O.E. **efes** "edge of a wood," later also "brow of a hill": Eaves Le, Am, Wicheves Sa, Habergham Eaves, Oakeneaves Bl.

O.E. **ēg**, O.N. **ey** "island": Barrow, Fouldray, Foulney, Roa, Walney NLo, all very likely Scandinavian. O.E. **ēg** must also, like Mn. dial. *ea*, have meant "a well-watered piece of land; a meadow or piece of ground near a river partly surrounded by water" (*e.g.*, in *Cerotaes ei* Bede, now Chertsey). This may be the meaning of the second el. of Cockney, Hardy Sa, Livesey Bl, Finney Le, Corner (Row) Am, Bardsea NLo: cf. also Edenfield Sa. As a field-name Eea (Ees) is common in Lanc.

O.N. **eik** "oak": Aigburth De.

O.N. **eng** "meadow": Mickering De.

M.E. **ergh, argh** "a shieling: a (hill) pasture; a hut on a pasture" from O.N. *erg*<M.Ir. *airge* "a herd of cattle, dairy," Ir. *airghe* "a shieling," Gael. *airidh* "a shieling, hill pasture," etc. Cf. Scandinavians, p. 74ff. In Lancashire the el. is found chiefly N. of the Ribble. It occurs alone in Arkholme SLo, perh. Little Arrow NLo. In compounds the first part is as a rule undoubtedly a Scand. or Ir. pers. n. (as in Anglezark Sa, Goosnargh, Grimsargh, Kellamergh, ? Dandy Birks Am, Scambler SLo), or a common noun that at least may be Scandinavian (Docker, Salter, Winder (2) SLo, Stewnor, Winder NLo). Other examples or possible examples are: Sholver Sa, Aynesargh, Brettargh De, Barker, Medlar Am, Ortner SLo, Bethecar, Biggar, Houkler Hall, Robsawter, Torver NLo. Some names in *-ergh* found in early sources are now lost; cf. Scandinavians, p. 74ff.

O.E. **erþ** "ploughed land": Hengarth De.

O.N. **eyrr** "gravel bank": *see* Salt Ayre SLo.

O.E. **fælging** "fallow land" (cf. *babban fælinge* 849 BCS 455): Falinge Sa, Falling De, perh. Haresfinch De. Here belongs Fallings (Staffs.): *Olde Falinge* a 1200 (Duignan).

O.E. **fær** "passage": Hollinfare De. Some examples quoted by Jellinghaus, Anglia XX, p. 281 (as O.E. *Lagefare, Walhfare*), may belong here.

O.E., O.N. **fall**: Woodfall De, Threlfall Am, Sinkfall NLo. The meaning in the last two is probably "place where trees have been felled; forest-clearing," a sense found in Norw. dialects and in English names such as *Horsfal, Micklefal, Monkfal*, which denoted inclosures

from woodlands in the 13th cent. in Balderston Bl (VHL VI. 313). In Woodfall the meaning is not so clear.

O.E. **fearn** "fern": Redfern Sa.

O.E. **feld** "field." The meaning seems to be either "a plain," as probably in Fallowfield (Heaton) Sa, Makerfield De, Cantsfield SLo; or "common field" as perhaps in Eden-, Hundersfield Sa; or "one of the parts of the common field," as probably in Inch-, Scholefield Sa, Hen-, Port-, Saxi-, Schole-, Shelfield Bl, Ditch-, Scholefield De, but it is impossible to distinguish neatly between the different meanings. Other examples: Bel-, Fallow-, Stans-, Whitefield Sa, Tewhitfield SLo. O.E. **gefilde** "plain": Fylde Am.

O.N. **fell, fiall** "fell, mountain": Beacon Fell Am, Little Fell, Winfold Fell SLo, Cartmel Fell, Furness Fell, Hampsfell, Whinfield NLo.

O.N. **flǫt** "level piece of land," M.E. *flat* "a piece of level ground." In Yks. dialects *flat* means particularly "one of the divisions of a common field, a shot or furlong." This is no doubt the original meaning in Quarry Flat, Tarn Flat, Thwaite Flat NLo.

O.E. **-ford** "ford": Bam-, Brad-, Sal-, Stret-, Trafford Sa, Barrow-, Horrocks-, Sharney-ford, Heysandforth Bl, Bed-, Or-, Rainford De, Middleforth, Rufford Le, Cat-, Hollowforth Am, Carn-, Scotforth SLo. The form *-forth* is late. The reason why it supplanted *-ford* in some cases is not clear. Its late appearance tells against Scand. influence. There is a tendency for final [þ] and [d] to become [t]; cf. p. 21f. Perhaps [forþ] replaced [fort] as a reaction against the change [þ]>[t].

O.E. **furlang** "furlong," *i.e.*, "a division of an unenclosed field": Bam-, Peasfurlong De.

O.E. **fyrhþ, gefyrhþe** "frith," *i.e.* "wood, wooded country": Akefrith SLo, Frith NLo, Firber Bl.

O.E. **gæt, geat** "gate": Wingates Sa, Haggate, Yate Bank Bl, Lydiate De, Water Yeat NLo.

O.N. **garðr** "yard, fence," M.E. *garth* "a piece of enclosed ground used as a yard, garden, or paddock; a fence or hedge": Eggergarth De, Lingart Am, Fleagarth SLo, Grassguards, Loppergarth NLo, Gartside Sa, Gascow NLo. Occasionally Engl. *yard* has replaced the Scand. word as in Grassyard SLo. Sideyard SLo may contain the Engl. word.

O.N. **gata** "road": Ridgate De, Galgate SLo, Soutergate NLo.

O.N. **geil** "ravine, narrow valley": High Gale SLo, ? Hasty Gill NLo.

O.N. **gil** "ravine, narrow valley": Damas Gill, Hol-, Low-, Ra-, Thrush-, Todgill SLo, Beacons Gill, Dane Ghyll NLo. The first el. is often Scandinavian.

O.E. **græf** "grave": Orgrave NLo.

O.E. **grēf, grāf** "grove, brushwood, thicket": Greaves Am, Ramsgreave Bl, Tingreave Le, Sidgreaves Am.

O.N. **grein** "branch," Engl. dial. *grain* "branch of a valley," etc.: Haslingden Grane Bl.

M.E. **grēne,** Mn.E. *green* "a common": Hollins Green De, Dinkling Green Bl (Am).

O.E., O.N. **grund.** Dial. *ground* means, among other things, "a farm, especially an outlying one." Names such as Dixonground, Rogerground are common in High Furness. They are all late. The distribution of the el. rather suggests Scand. origin. In Iceland *grund* is quite common in place-names. It means "flat, grass-grown ground, esp. on streams and lakes."

O.E. **hēs.** *See* Malkins Wood Sa, Heysham Lo.

O.E. **haga** "enclosure; homestead," O.N. **hagi** "enclosure": Haigh De, Haw Booth Bl, Hawcoat Lo; Turnagh Sa, Crookhey, Locka, Stodday, Smeer Hall SLo.

O.E. **halh** "corner, nook," Mn. dial. *haugh* "low-lying, level ground by the side of a river." The latter meaning is that of the el. in Lanc. names, the places in question being situated on rivers or streams or at the edge of mosses (Halsall, Maghull De, Midge Hall Le); cf., however, Wolfhole Crag SLo. The first el. of names in *-halh* is English or pre-Scand.; possible exceptions are Dunkenhalgh Bl, Killinsough Am. It is usually a pers. n. (as Kersal, Ordsall, Redvales Sa, Whackersall Bl, Halsall, Kinknall De, Earnshaw, Wignall Le, Hothersall Am, Ellel SLo) or an adj. (as Broadhalgh, Siddal, Woodhill Sa, Langho, Ridihalgh, Syddles, White Hough, Whithalgh Bl, Chisnall Le, Fernyhalgh, Rowall Am). It is a common noun in Ringstonhalgh Bl, Knowley, Midge Hall Le, Lynnall De, Midghalgh Am. Further instances: Bullough, Crumpsall, Lomax, Monsall Sa, ? Cuerdale, Ponthalgh, Reedley Hallows Bl, Wolfall De, Comberhalgh, perh. Catterall, Rossall Am, Haugh, Haulgh Sa, Hale De, Haughton, Houghton, Westhoughton Sa, Haighton Am, Halton SLo.

O.E. **hall** "court; residence." In place-names the usual meaning is no doubt "manor-house, residence": Chingle Hall, New Chingle Hall Am, Wolfhall Bl (Am), Challen Hall,

Robert Hall, West Hall SLo, etc., perh. Prestall Sa. In Mn. dial. *hall* also means "farm-house, cottage"; this seems to be the meaning in New Hall Sa, perh. Hollowhead Bl.

O.E., O.N. **hals** "neck," dial. *hause* "a col": Hawes Water SLo, Wrynose NLo.

O.E. **hām** "village; dwelling, manor" and **hamm** "a meadow," etc., are always difficult to distinguish in place-names. In Lanc. names *hām* is, on the whole, the more probable source. At least in S. Lanc., O.E. *a* before a nasal often appears as *o* (cf. Ramsbottom Bl), and we expect isolated spellings *-hom*, if the source is frequently O.E. *hamm*. No such spellings are on record, except perh. in Dallam De. We may assume that names in *-ham* which denote more important places mostly go back to O.E. *hām*. There is some doubt as regards names of minor places, as Newham (now Newhall) Sa, Higham Bl, Hecham Am. The usual meaning of O.E. *hām* in place-names seems to be "village" or "manor"; neither seems plausible in these names. But the meaning may be "homestead." On the other hand, O.E. *hamm* seems usually to have meant "flat, low-lying pasture-land." This sense is impossible in Higham, and if *hamm* had no other senses the second el. of this name must be O.E. *hām*. But the original meaning of *hamm* seems to have been "enclosure," and that may have been preserved in some parts of England. There seems no reason to derive *-ham* in any Lanc. name from O.N. *heimr*. Names in *-ham* have as first el. sometimes a pers. n. (or the like), as Abram De, Padiham Bl, Bispham Le, Am, Whittingham Am, Tatham SLo, Aldingham NLo; sometimes a place—or river—name, as Cheetham, Irlam Sa, Cockerham SLo; sometimes a common noun, as Thornham Sa, Kirkham Am, Heysham SLo. There are, further: Alt-, Habergham Bl, Penwortham Le, Gressingham SLo; *see* also Rochdale Sa.

O.N. **haugr** "hill; mound" is sometimes difficult to distinguish from O.E. *hōh*, as *haugr* in early sources seems occasionally to appear as *-ho* (cf. *e.g.* Hackinsall Am). This may point to confusion between the two elements. But O.N. *au* often becomes M.E. *o* (Björkman, Loanwords, p. 68ff.) and *-ho* may be a substitution for or development of normal *-hou*. Names in *-hou* denote hills (mountains) and hillocks or mounds. They are most common in Bl and N. of the Ribble. Examples: Harcles Hill, Tittleshaw Sa, Blacko, Clitheroe, Cadshaw, ? Gannow, Gerna, Noyna, ? Worsaw Bl, Becconsall Le, Hawes, Hackinsall, Revoe, Sharoe Am, ? Kitlow, Melishaw, Threaphaw SLo, Haume. Haws Bank, Fiddler Hall, Groffa, Houkler Hall, Knapperthaw, Picthall, Satterhow, Sella, Sow How, Tarn Hows, Tock How, Whitestock Hall NLo.

O.E. **hēafod** "head" sometimes means "upper end" (Shireshead Lo (Am), Field-, Waterhead NLo), sometimes "headland" (Lindeth SLo, Humphrey Head, Kirkhead NLo), usually "hill or eminence" (cf. EDD head 13). The first el. is usually English, but Scand. in *e.g.* Gambleside Bl, Grizehead SLo; French in Castlehead NLo. Other examples: Hades, Hartshead Sa; Henheads, Hollin-, Hollow-, Oakenhead, Read Bl; Burton-, Elton-, Fearn-, Lamber-, Mickle-, Slyne-, Westhead De; Hazel-, Ingolhead Am; Birkett, Conishead, Roanhead NLo. In Rampside NLo the meaning may be literally "head."

O.E. **hege** "hedge, fence": Cockey, Harpurhey Sa, Blackay, Carry (Bridge), Newhall Hey Bl, Heapey Le. The meanings in place-names are probably "enclosed tract meant for a hunting-ground" and "enclosure" generally.

O.N. **helkn.** *See* Helks SLo.

M.E. **helm** "shed." *See* Helmshore Bl, Elmridge Bl (Am).

Engl. dial. **hile** "cluster," etc. *See* Moor Isles Bl.

O.N. **hlaða** "barn": Lathom De, Laithbutts, Laithwaite SLo, perh. Leagram Bl (Am).

O.N. **hlāw** "hill; mound." The meaning in Lanc. place-names varies from "mountain" (as Horelaw, Pike Law Bl, Brownlow De) to "hillock, slight eminence" (as in Low Bl, Lowton De, Bar-, Greenlow Sa, Spellow De), or even "mound" (as perh. in Wharles Am, Dragley NLo). Other examples are: Croichlow, Tetlow, Wickenlow Sa, Catlow Bl (2), Gidlow De, Compley Am, Strellas SLo. An interesting hybrid *is* Osmotherley NLo.

O.E. **hlenc.** *See* Lench Bl.

O.E. **hlip** "slope; hill," O.N. **hlið** "slope." The former is found with certainty in Lytham Am, the latter in Litherland De (2), Lythe SLo (2). As second part the el. is sometimes combined with a Scand. word (Bleansley, Kellet SLo, Stennerley NLo) and may then be identified with Scand. *hlið*. Adgarley NLo has an Engl. first el., while that of Ireleth NLo may be Scand. or English.

O.E. **hlōse,** apparently "pig-sty" (Liebermann, Gesetze, Gloss.; B-T, Suppl.); cf. dial. *lewze* "pigsty" (EDD). The el. occurs in Loose Kent, Loosebeare Dev., Looseley Bucks, etc.; in Lanc. in Lostock Sa, Le, and perhaps in Luzzley Sa. The word, as shown by Mn.E.

forms, had O.E. *ð*, and is probably connected with O.E. *hlōp* "troop," *hlæst*, O.N. *hlaða* "barn," etc.

O.E. **hlot** "lot, allotment": Oglet De, Haylot SLo (which *see*).

O.E. **hōh** "heel; projecting ridge of land," Mn.E. *hoe, heugh* "a crag, cliff, precipice; a height ending abruptly": Down-, Upholland De, Houghton De, Hoghton, ? Howick, Hutton Le, Hutton SLo (2); Nuttall, ? Wayoh Sa, Trunnah Am, Clougha SLo: cf. Billington Bl. The meaning is sometimes "steep, abrupt ridge," sometimes "a slight ridge" or the like. In Hough End Sa the meaning is "ravine."

O.E. **holh, hol** "hollow, hole," O.N. **hol** "hole." Where the first el. is the name of an animal the meaning is "burrow": Foxholes Sa, Brockhall Bl, Brockholes Am. Otherwise the meaning seems to be "a hollow, depression in the ground" or "valley." The first el. is frequently a pers. n. Examples: Edi-, Tockholes, Clover Hill Bl, Greenhalgh (2), Ingol, Lickow Am. The first el. is fairly often Scand. (Corcas, Kilgrimol, Staynall Am, perh. others).

O.N. **holmr, holmi** "islet," etc., M.E., Mn.E. *holme* "islet; piece of flat, low-lying ground by a river." Both these senses are evidenced in Lanc. names, the former (at least originally) in Dunnerholme NLo, the latter *e.g.* in Holme Bl, Holmes Le, Am, Thorneyholme Bl. A third meaning is "a piece of dry land in a fen or marsh"; originally such names may have referred to islands. Examples are: Ballam, Eastham, Hayholme, Skitham Am, Trailholme, Sugham SLo, Waysholme NLo; cf. Calfholme, etc., under Bolton SLo. A meaning "piece of land partly surrounded by streams" may be that of Levenshulme Sa and others. The first el. is often Scand., but frequently English (as Wolstenholme Sa, Ritherham Am, etc.). Sometimes *-holm* has been replaced by *-ham*. Further examples: Brandlesome, Gawksholme, Oldham Sa, Hunter-, Mart-, Rams-, Ravensholme Bl, Denham Le, Dolphinholme, Linholm Am, Gamblesholme, Gilberton, Maure-, Torrisholme, Waitholme SLo, Peaseholmes, Rougholme, Waitham (2) NLo.

O.Dan. *hulm* (cf. O.Swed. *hulmber*) occurs in some names in S. Salford (Hulme, Davyhulme, Kirkmanshulme, Levenshulme) and once in De (Hulme). *See* further the Summary.

O.E. **hop**, Mn.E. **hope** (1) "a piece of enclosed land, *e.g.* in the midst of fens," etc.; (2) "a small enclosed valley, esp. a smaller opening branching out from the main dale, and running up to the mountain ranges; the upland part of a mountain valley; a blind valley" (NED). The first meaning is seen in Mythop Am (though it is perhaps rather "dry, firm land in a fen"), the latter in Hope Sa, Brinsop, Hopwood Sa, Bacup, Cowpe, Dunnyshope Bl, Brinsop, Ritherope De, perh. Tytup NLo.

O.N. **hǫfuð** "head" and **hǫfði** are used in the sense "a promontory," also (in place-names) "a projecting hill or ridge." This el. is found twice in Am (Holleth, Preesall) and fairly often in SLo: Escowbeck, Hawks-, Ramshead, Sellet. The meaning is "hill or ridge."

O.N. **hǫgg** "felling of trees," etc. *See* Hagg NLo.

O.N. **hreysi, hreysar** (pl.) "cairn": Roseacre Am, Raisthwaite, Toppin Rays NLo.

O.E. **hrycg** "ridge": Foulridge Bl, Elm-, Longridge Bl (Am); O.N. **hryggr**: Bail-, Esk-, Hazelrigg SLo, Bandrake, Haverigg, Borde-, Mansriggs NLo.

O.E. **hulu.** *See* Hoole Le.

O.E., O.N. **hūs** "house": Newsham De, Am, Wesham Am, Aynesom NLo; Healdhouses Sa, Cow-, Hey-, Wymondhouses Bl; Dwerryhouse Le, Colt-, Salthouse, Head House NLo.

O.E. **hȳþ** "landing-place": Huyton De, ? Sa.

O.E. **hyll** "hill" is a common el. S. of the Ribble, rare N. of that river (Duddel Bl (Am), Bazil, Hillam SLo, Mousell, Windhill NLo). The meaning varies from "mountain," as in Pendle, Brown Hill, Crow Hill Bl, Great Hill Le, etc., to "hillock," as Pex Hill (200 ft.) De, Bazil (50ft.) SLo, etc. The first el. is usually English (or pre-Scand.), but it is French, *e.g.*, in Clerk Hill, Friarhills Bl. Other instances: Aspul, Birtle, Blindsill, Buersill, Smithills, Stakehill, Warcockhill, Wardle, Whittle, Wuerdle Sa, Braddyll, Combe Hill, Coo Hill, Cowhill, Eccleshill, Hindle, Ightenhill, Royle, Salthill Bl, Orrell (2), Rainhill, Windle De, Brindle, Coppull, Withnell, Whittle (2) Le.

O.N. **hylr** "a pool, deep place in a river": Lickle, Troutal NLo.

O.E. **hyrst**, Mn.E. **hurst** "eminence, hillock, knoll or bank, esp. one of a sandy nature; a grove of trees; a copse; a wood; a wooded eminence." The original meaning was perhaps "brushwood"; cf. the cognate Welsh *prys* "brushwood" (Jones, 128). The exact meaning of the el. cannot be determined in each case. A meaning "hillock" is plausible in names such as Copster, Smethurst, Bromyhurst Sa, Copthurst Bl, Le, Grindlestonehurst Bl, Hay

Hurst, Stonyhurst Bl (Am), while " copse " seems preferable in Hazel-, Nuthurst Sa, Icornhurst Bl, Blindhurst Am. The el. is rare N. of the Ribble except in the Blackburn part: Croglinhurst, Aulthurstside NLo. The first el. is, as a rule, English. It is mostly a descriptive common noun, as Wilders Sa, Brockle-, Studlehurst Bl, Ashhurst De, Lickhurst Bl (Am), or an adj., as Bromy-, Collyhurst, Smethurst Sa, Fairhurst Le. Other examples: Gristle-, Sillinghurst Sa, Dewhurst Bl, Crookhurst De, Gathurst Le.

-ing. This ending has been much discussed. The chief sources in Lanc. names are the following:

1. O.E. plur. *-ingas*, mostly in derivatives from pers. ns.[1]: Melling De, SLo, Staining Am, possibly Billinge De, Bryning Am; further Alkring-, Dumpling-, Pilking-, Tottington Sa, Billington, Padiham, Pleasington, perh. Habergham Bl, Penning-, Warrington De, Adling-, perh. Worthington Le, Whittingham Am, Wenning-, Whittington SLo, Aldingham NLo. All these denote (or used to denote) rather important places.

2. O.E. sing. *-ing*. The words in *-ing* were either old river- or hill-names (: Riving in Rivington, Shilling in -bottom Sa, perh. Billinge De, Bl, Billings Lo, Wenning Lo), or originally common nouns: Falinge Sa, Falling De, Stubbins Sa, Hacking Sa, Bl, Faldworthings Le, Chipping Bl (Am), Newbigging Am, NLo, -ridding (*see infra*); Gressingham SLo, Pennington NLo.

3. O.E. *n* of various origin, as the adj. ending *-en* (Haslingden Bl, Withington Sa), the gen. pl. ending *-na* (Wrightington), *-n* in nouns: Hollingworth Sa, Hastingley, perh. Accrington Bl, Farington Le.

4. There remain: Pilling Am, Sillinghurst Sa, Shevington Le.

k-; *see* **c.**

O.E. **lacu** " stream ": Medlock Sa, Hatlex SLo.

O.E. **lād** " water-course," Mn. dial. *lode* also " road ": Layton Am.

O.E., O.N. **land.** The first el. is Scand. in Down-, Uplitherland De, Thur-, Thursland SLo, Big-, Rusland NLo; French in Muchland NLo; English in Hillam, Mar-, Spotland Sa, Down-, Upholland De, Leyland Le, Yeland SLo, New-, Woodland, prob. Templand NLo, Sunderland Sa, Bl, SLo. Bowland Bl (Am) is dubious. The meaning may be " ground or soil," " estate," " a piece of land in a common field," etc. The exact meaning can rarely be determined.

O.F. **lande** " lawn," *i.e.*, " glade; pasture ": New, Old Laund Bl.

O.E. **lanu** " lane ": Markland De; cf. Asland Le.

O.N. **látr** " lair ": Latterbarrow, Hulleter Lo.

O.E. **lēah** " meadow, field," Mn.E. *lea* " a tract of open ground, either meadow, pasture, or arable land." The original meaning may have been " glade, clearing "; cf. O.H.G. *lôh*, M.H.G. *lôh* " low brushwood, clearing overgrown with small shrubs," Lat. *lūcus*. The meaning of the el. in place-names seems to have varied. A meaning " wood " is probably sometimes to be assumed (cf. esp. Nomina Geographica Neerlandica, I. 155ff.). *Waltonelega* is called " nemus " in CC 629, and names such as Buckley, Hartley go well with a meaning " wood." The common occurrence of names in *-ley* in the old Forest of Pendle rather points to a meaning " glade; forest clearing "; very likely the frequent occurrence of names in *-ley* in a district suggests an old forest district. Names such as Ryley point to a meaning " (clearing used as) arable land "; such as *Calverley*, Studley to a meaning " pasture ground." The fact that names in *-ley* frequently have as first el. an adj. denoting form or extent (as broad, long) is worthy of notice. Names in *-ley* are common S. of the Ribble and in Blackburn N. of the Ribble, rare elsewhere. The first el. is usually English; exceptions are Gamelsley Sa, ? Gautley De, Thorpen Lees Am, Dolphinlees SLo with a Scand., Constable Lee Bl, Mawdesley Le with a Fr. first part. The first el. is (1) the name of a cereal, as Royley Sa, Bar-, Ry-, Wheatley Bl, Wheatley Bl (Am), or of a tree or plant, as Ashley Sa, Reed-, ? Thieveley Bl, Birch-, Risley De, Appley Le, Ashley Am, or of an animal, as Buck-, Hart-, Shepley Sa, Antley Bl, Hind-, Swinley De, Studley Bl (Am), or some other common noun, as Mossley, Wardley Sa, Acorn-, Burn-, Hasting-, Mear-, Towneley Bl, Cow-, Fazakerley, Morleys, Sherd-, Stonebridgley De, Bir-, Tunley Le, Greystoneley Bl (Am), Cleveley Lo (Am), Staveley NLo; (2) a pers.

[1] Some scholars think *-ing* in such names as Tottington is only partly patronymic (O.E. *Totinga-tūn*, etc.), while in other cases it is rather possessive (O.E. *Werburgingwic*, etc.), being a sort of adjectival suffix. (Cf. *e.g.* Mawer, Pl.N. of Northumberland, p. xxiv.ff. with references). I am not convinced that this theory is correct.

n., as Bards-, Pigsley Sa, Loveley Bl, ? Chaigley Bl (Am), Eckers-, Harders-, Knows-, Tyldes-, Winstanley De, Chor-, Kingsley Le, Beesley, Cadley, Winmarleigh Am; (3) an adj., as Black-, Dearn-, Hea-, Langley Sa, Audley, Helly Platt, Roughlee, Smalley Bl, Ast-, Black-, Brad-, How-, Norley, Westleigh De, Healey Le, Bradley Bl (Am), Longley Am. Other examples are: Ar-, Kears-, Luzz-, Rid-, Walmers-, Wors-, Wrigley Sa, Ar-, Dimpen-, Dinck-, Dine-, Row-, Show-, Whalley Bl, Bai-, Thorn-, Winckley Bl (Am), Arp-, Cay-, Cuerd-, Shaker-, Whelley, Dalton Lees De, Baggan-, Shackerley Le, Lees Sa, Leigh De, Leece NLo. The list is not quite complete.

M.E. **leche, lache,** Mn.E. **letch** "a stream flowing through boggy land; a muddy ditch or hole; a bog": Brindle Heath Sa, Fulledge Bl, Blacklache Le.

O.N. **leir** "clay": Larbrick Am.

O.E. **loc, loca** "enclosure": Parlick Am, Locka SLo.

Engl. dial. **lum** "a deep pool in the bed of a river" (Lakel., Lanc., etc.): Lumb Sa, Bl, ? Lomax Sa, ? Redlam Bl, ? Blelham NLo.

O.N. **lundr** "grove": Lunt De, Lund, Kirkland Am, Birkland Barrow SLo.

O.E. (ge)**mǣre** "boundary": Mersey, ? Marland Sa; Mearley, Meer Clough Bl, High Mere Beck NLo.

O.E. **mēd (mǣd)** "meadow": Breightmet, Medlock Sa.

O.N. **melr** "sand hill," Engl. dial. *meal, meol* "sand-bank, sand-hill": Argarmeles, North Meols, Ravensmeols De, Cartmel NLo.

O.E. **mercels** "mark" etc. *See* Marsden.

O.E. **mere** "lake": Windermere NLo; ? Marland Sa, Martin De, Mere Brow (Side) Le, Marton Am, Martin NLo.

O.E. **mersc** "marsh": Alt Marsh De, ? Admarsh Am.

O.E. **mōr** "moor." The meanings in Lanc. names are "hill, high moorland," as in Shore Moor, Siddal Moor, etc., Sa, Deerplay Moor Bl, Gunnolf's Moors Le, Quernmore SLo, Parkamoor NLo, and "marsh," as in Black-, Wolmoor De, Barbers Moor Le, Swarthmoor Lo. Further examples: Beal Moor, Kaskenmoor, Theale Moor Sa, Rakes Moor NLo.

O.E. **mos,** O.N. **mosi** "bog, swamp, morass": Chat Moss Sa, Wirples Moss De, Rathmoss NLo.

O.E. (ge)**mōt** "meeting": Emmott Bl, Emmetts Lo.

O.E. **mūða** "mouth of a river": ? Wymott Le. O.E. **gemȳðe** "junction of streams": Mitton Bl, Loud Mytham Bl (Am).

O.N. **mynni** "mouth of a river": Stalmine Am.

O.N. **mýrr,** M.E. **mire** "a piece of wet, swampy ground, a boggy place": Walmer Le, Myerscough Bl ?, Am, Goldmire NLo.

O.N. **nabbr, nabbi** "a projecting peak": Whalley Nab Bl, Gascow Nab Lo.

O.E. **næss,** O.N. **nes** "cape, headland." M.E. *ness* may be an unstressed or dialectal variant of *næss* or Scand. *nes* (NED): Widnes De (prob. O.E. *-næss*), Amounderness, Crossens Am, Furness NLo (O.N. *-nes*).

O.N. **oddi** "point, cape": Greenodd NLo.

O.F., M.E. **parc** "park," also "an enclosed piece of ground for pasture or tillage; a field; a parrock or paddock." The meaning "a pasture ground" is obvious in such cases as Hill Park, Stot Park NLo. O.E. *parroc* "paddock" seems to be found in Parrox Am.

O.E. **pīc** "a sharp instrument," M.E. **pīk** "a pointed summit; a pointed hill" (acc. to NED, possibly from Norw. *pīk* "a pointed mountain," but more probably native): Rivington Pike, Whittle Pike Sa, Clougha Pike Lo, etc.; Pickup Bl. An adj. *piked* is the first el. of Pike Law Bl, Picthall Lo.

O.E. **plega** "play": Deerplay Bl.

O.E. **pōl, pull** "pool," in Mod. dial. also "a slow-moving rivulet, esp. in carse-land; a small creek" (Scotl.). In Lanc. names the sense "a rivulet" is certain in Otterpool, Otter's Pool De, Skippool Am, Wrampool SLo, Otterpool, Rusland Pool, Steers Pool NLo, probable in Poulton De, Am, SLo, Poolstock De; "a tidal creek": Liverpool. The meaning "pool" is found in Blackpool Am, perh. Kitepool Sa; the first el. is sometimes Scand., as in Skip-, Wrampool, Steers Pool. In the last it is a pers. name.

O.E. **port** (<Lat. *portus*): Alport Sa, Portfield Bl.

O.N. **rann** "house": perh. Cowran, Cowpren NLo.

O.E. **rāw** "row," later also "a row of houses, a street": Milnrow Sa, Corner Row Am. Perhaps the meaning is really "hamlet"; cf. *street* in this sense in Kentish dialects.

O.E. **rod**, Mn. dial. **royd** "clearing in a wood." The el. is common in Sa and Bl names, some of which (as *Aken-*, *Bromyrode* WhC 607f.) are stated to denote "assarts," *i.e.*, clearings. The first el. is, as a rule, English; an exception is Ormerod Bl. It is an adj. in Black-, Brim-, Brothe-, Copt-, Hey-, Oakenrod Sa, Hey-, Langroyd Bl; a common noun in Standroyd, Linedred Bl; a pers. n. in Ellenrod Sa, Huntroyde, Monkroyd, Ormerod Bl. Cf. Rhodes Sa.

O.E., O.N. **rūm** "room." *Rūm* is a common place-name el. in Denmark and Sweden; it seems to have meant "a forest-clearing" (Lindroth, De nordiska ortnamnen på *-rum*). Such a meaning or use of O.E. *rūm* has not been pointed out, but in Scotland *rūm* from c 1500 has been used in the sense "an estate, a farm." In Lancashire there are some names in *-rūm*, chiefly found in early sources: *Bretteroum* (first el. O.N. *Bretar*, or O.E. *Brettas* "Britons"), *Hawkeroum* (first el. O.E. *hafoc* or O.N. *haukr* "hawk" or O.N. *Haukr* pers. n.) c 1320 LI (in Bolton-le-Sands), *Wytheruum* (Am) c 1260 CC 156 (called "cultura"; first el. app. O.E. *wīðig* or O.N. *viðir* "willow"). This el. seems also to be found in Dertren SLo, Dendron NLo. In all probability *-rūm* is Scand., and means "a clearing."

O.N. **runnr** "a brake or thicket": perhaps in Bowerham SLo, Ronhead Lo. For other examples *see* Scandinavians, p. 93f.

O.E. **ryding** "clearing" (*hryding* in Aelfr. Gl.): Armetridding Le, Abbot's Reading, Row Ridding NLo. Names in *-ridding* are common in early Lanc. documents. The word *ryding*, like M.E. *ridden* "to clear land" and *rod* "clearing," is no doubt native English.

O.N. **sætr** "shieling": Satterhow, Satterthwaite Lo; cf. *-set infra*.

O.E. **sand**, O.N. **sandr**: Cockersand Lo.

O.E. **scaga** "shaw," *i.e.*, "a thicket, a small wood, copse, or grove." The first el. is, as a rule, English; an exception is Kershaw Sa. It is very often the name of an animal, as in Hawk-, Henshaw Sa, Craw-, Cronk-, Dunnockshaw Bl, Cranshaw De, Buck-, Cranshaw Le, Cat-, Dunken-, Marshaw SLo; often some other common noun, as in Bir-, Cold-, Prickshaw Sa, Nutshaw Bl, Forshaw De, Nutshaw Le; or an adj., as in Birten-, Brad-, Cowli-, Hather-, Open-, Small-, Wheatshaw Sa, Fulshaw Bl, Lightshaw De, Blashaw Le; more rarely a pers. n., as in Auden-, Bernshaw Sa, Beard-, Goodshaw Bl, Occleshaw De. Other instances: Brun-, Grim- (2), Walshaw, Lomeshay Bl, Bicker-, Hardshaw De.

O.N. **skáli**, M.E. **scale** "a temporary hut or shelter, a wooden shed": Scholes De, Scales Am (2), NLo, Scale Hall SLo, Scholefield, Scowcroft Sa, Scholefield, Feniscowles Bl, Brinscall Le, Davyscoles Bl (Am), Landskill, Loudscales Am, Summersgill SLo, Baskell, Cockenshell, Elliscales, North Scale, Sandscale NLo. The el. is often found in hybrids.

O.N. **skarð** "notch, cleft, mountain pass": Scarth Hill De.

O.N. **sker** "skerry," etc.; Norw. *sker*, also "rock, rocky hill": Billinge Scar Bl, Stonestar, Seawood Scar NLo. Cf. Skerton Lo.

O.E. **scīr**: Lancashire, Wilpshire. The word *-shire* is often added to names of hundreds, as Salfordshire.

O.N. **skógr** "wood": ? Myerscough Bl, Bur-, Cun-, Tarlscough De, Blainscough, Roscoe, Sarscow Le, Humble-, Myerscough, Liscoe Am, Gascow, Greenscoe NLo. The first el. is, or may be, Scand., except in Burscough, where it seems to be a place-name.

M.E. **set**, **sat** (in place-names) apparently "a shieling, a pasture": Cadishead, Summerseat Sa, Barnside, Belsetenab Bl, Stephen's Head, Swainshead, Yarlside SLo, Arnside, Hawkshead, Roshead, Whelpshead, Yarlside NLo, perh. Ayside NLo. Original *-set* has often been changed to *-side* or *-shead* owing to the tendency of final *-d* to pass into *-t*, which caused *-set* and *-side* to fall together in pronunciation. According to Ellis V. 606, names such as Selside, Ormside (no doubt originally *-set*) are pronounced [selsit, ormsit].

Names in *-set* usually denote places in a high situation or on hill slopes, sometimes even hills. An exception is Cadishead (*see infra*). The el. *-set*, *-sat* is clearly identical with dial. *seat* "a dwelling; a pasturage; usually a farmhouse on the lower slope of the mountain, with a right of pasture above, and the rest of the farm around" (Cumb., Wml.; *see* EDD). The seats are no doubt old shielings, and this is, as a rule, also the case with the Lanc. (and Cumb., Wml.) places with names in *-set*, *-sat*. The distribution of the word renders a Scand. origin probable. It is difficult to believe that (except in isolated cases, as Cadishead) it can go back to O.E. *set* "a fold"; the interchange of the forms *-set* and *-sat* could hardly be explained if O.E. *set* were the source. The el. has been derived from O.N. *sætr* "shieling." This word has exactly the sense wanted. It explains the interchange of *-set* and *-sat*, as *æ* could be shortened to *e* and *a*. The only difficulty about the derivation is the absence of the *r* of *sætr*. But O.N. *sætr* is an old *s*-stem, and *s*-stems often exhibit an interchange of forms

with and without *r*. A form **sæt* may very well once have been common by the side of *sætr*. I believe there are still traces of such a form in Norw. place-names. Here may belong isolated names found in NG *passim (e.g., i Hafuosæte* ii. 180); but especially important is the name *Sommersæt*, which is common in the North of Norway and apparently means "a shieling or deserted homestead used only in the summer" (NG xvi.), I do not believe that *seat, -set, -sat* can go back to O.N. *sæti* "seat." This word does not mean "a shieling, a temporary dwelling." It means "permanent residence," and is particularly used in the compound *Herresæte*, which (like Swed. *herresäte*) means "mansion." Cf. also Scandinavians, p. 32f.

O.E. **setl** "dwelling." *See* Seattle NLo.

O.E. **sīc** "a streamlet": Gorsuch De.

O.E. **sīde** "side": Facit, Gartside, Moss Side Sa. Cf. *set*.

O.N. **slakki** "valley," M.E., Mn.E. *slack* "a small shallow dell or valley; a hollow or dip in the ground," etc. (common in Lanc., W.Yks., Cumb., Scotl.): Slack Sa, NLo, Ayneslack, Hay Slacks Bl, Ashlack, Nettleslack NLo. O.N. *slakki* seems to go back to **slankan-*, cognate with Dan. *slank* "a hollow" (Noreen, Urg. Lautl., p. 172, Torp, Nynorsk Et. Ordbog s.v. *slakke*).

O.E. **slæd** "a valley, dell, or dingle; a forest glade": Slade, Bagslate Sa.

O.N. **slétta** "a plain, a level field," Engl. dial. *sleet* "a flat meadow, a level moor": Bracelet NLo, Deerslet SLo.

O.E. **snǣd** "a piece." *See* Halsnead De.

M.E. **snape** "pasture"?: Snape De, Boysnope Sa, Blacksnape Bl, Snubsnape Le, Bul-, Fair-, Kid-, Winsnape Am. M.E. *snape* (*snyppand snawe þat in þe snape liȝtis* Alex.) is rendered in Stratmann-Bradley by? "winter-pasture"; in NED the word is not explained. A meaning "pasture" is rendered probable by names with the name of an animal as first el. (Boysnope, etc.; cf. also *Coltesnape* De CC 596). Snape has been derived from Icel. *snap*, pl. *snǫp* (so rather than *snǫp* f.) "a 'nip,' scanty grass for sheep to nibble at in snow-covered fields" (Vigfusson), or "poor, insufficient grazing" (Þorkelson, Supplement til Isl. Ordb. III.). Though *snap* is never found in old Scand. dialects or in Norw. or Icel. place-names, I think this derivation is very probably correct. The meaning of *snape* would then be "inferior pasture" or "winter-pasture." Another possible source (suggested by Goodall) is Dan. *snabe* "projecting point, part (of a wood)," etc., Swed. dial. *snape* "point; cape," etc. The first alternative seems distinctly preferable.

O.E. **stall (steall)** "place": Tunstall SLo; "pool": Rawtenstall Bl, perh. Stalmine Am. A further example of O.E. *stall* "a pool" is (piscaria de) *Depestale*, mentioned together with Hawkshead FC I. 438, 440 (1208).

O.E. **stān** "stone": Blackstone Edge, Harsenden Sa, Baxenden, Hastingley, Simonstone, Wolfstones Bl, Garston, Whiston De.

O.N. **staðr** "place," **stǫð** "landing-place," O.E. **stæþ** "bank, shore." An el. *stath* is found in Bickerstaffe, Croxteth, Toxteth De, Hubberstsy SLo, which probably or certainly have a pers. n. as first el., Birstath (in Birstath Bryning, now Bryning Am), Todderstaffe Am. Birstath has as second el. O.N. *staðr* "place." This el. is impossible in the others, as in Scand. place-names it occurs only in such compounds as *Kvernstaðr* "place of a mill," *Bólstaðr* "dwelling-place," etc. O.E. *stæþ* is improbable, because the first el. is in no case with certainty English. We have to choose between O.N. *-staðir* pl. (acc. *-staði*) common in Icel. place-names, also in combination with pers. names, and O.N. *stǫð*. It is difficult to decide which of these is more probable. The situation allows of no definite conclusion. On the whole, the early forms point rather to a monosyllabic than to a dissyllabic second el. (*Stochestede* DB is too corrupt to carry much weight), but apocope of the final vowel may have taken place early, and, moreover, in early texts a final *-e* was often denoted by an abbreviation-mark, which may have been forgotten or lost in copying.

O.E. **stede, styde** "place," esp. "site of a building": Stidd Bl (Am), High Halstead Bl, Tunstead Bl, De, Abbeystead SLo, Kirkstead NLo, in all of which the meaning "site" (in the last two "deserted site") is obvious; cf. Burscough De. Rogerstead in Heaton Sa (*Rogersted* 1419 VHL v. 11) stands by itself. Either *-stead* has the later meaning "estate, farm" (1338ff., NED) or the name goes back to **Rogershusstede*; cf. *Rogerishustude* (Caton) CC 873, *Cadiave-hustude* (Tarnacre) CC 248.

O.N. **stigr**, O.E. **stīg** "path": Ravensty, Thorfinsty NLo; cf. Swaintley SLo. O.E. *stigu* "sty" is a possible, though less probable, source.

O.E. **stoc** "place" (cf. names such as Stoke, Basingstoke): Lostock Sa (2), Le, Poolstock De. *See* on the word B-T, who, however, mark the vowel as long.

O.N. **storð** "brushwood": Storrs, Yealand Storrs SLo.
O.N. **stong** "pole": Garstang Am, Stank Top Bl.
O.E. **strēt** "street; Roman road": Street Le, Stanystreet Sa, Stret-, Trafford Sa.
O.E. **swīra**, O.N. **sviri** "neck": Boulsworth Bl.
O.E. **tægl** "tail": Bartle Am.

O.E. ***tang, *twang:*** Tonge (2), Tong End, Taunton Sa, Tongue Moor SLo. The places in question are in or close to a tongue of land formed by the junction of two streams. The obvious source of the el. Tong would seem to be O.N. *tangi* "spit of land." But the places in question —with the exception of Tongue Moor—are in districts where Scand. names are rare. In one case we find an early form *Twannge*, which can hardly be explained if the source is O.N. *tangi*. And names such as Tong(e), in early sources sometimes *Twang* and the like, are found in other parts of England, as Kent, Surrey, Salop, where we do not expect to find Scand. names. Examples:

Tong (Kent, near Sittingbourne): *Tanga* 1160-2 RB, 1167, 1187 PR, *Tange* 1212 RB, *Tonge* 1306 IPM.—**Tong** (Salop): *Tuange* DB, *Twanga* 1167 PR, *Tonge* 1280 IPM, *Tunge* 1326 IPM.—**Tonge** (Leic.): ? *æt Twongan* 1002 Thorpe, *Tunge* DB, *Tong* 1499 AD (D 850).—**Tonge** (Yks.): *Tuinc* (no doubt for *Tuanc*) DB, *Tanga* 1166 RB, 1167 PR.—**Tangley** (Sur.): *de Tangele* 1293 RB, *Tangelee* 1316 IPM.—**Tongham** (Sur.): *Twangham* 1299 IPM.—? **Tangmere** (Sus.): *Tangmere* 680 BCS 50.—The places, with the exception of Tongham and Tangmere, are in a tongue of land formed by the junction of streams. Tongham, however, is near a sharp bend formed by a river, and consequently stands near a tongue of land, too. The original situation of Tangmere is doubtful. The place was named from a lake, which has now disappeared. A satisfactory explanation must account for both forms: *tang* and *twang*. *Twang* may be compared with M.H.G. *zwange* "tongs." The corresponding word is not found in English, but O.E. *twengan* "to tweak" is a derivative of ***twang*** "tongs," or contains the same base. I take *Twang* as a place-name to be an O.E. ***twang*** "tongs," used in a transferred sense of the fork of a river; the similarity between the fork of a river and a pair of fire-tongs is obvious. I see no reason to doubt that *tang* in place-names is O.E. *tang* "tongs" in a similar transferred sense. It remains to explain why *Twang-* is replaced by later *Tange, Tonge*. In some cases, as in Tongham, M.E. loss of *w* may be assumed; *thong* (c 1205 Lay, etc.)<O.E. *pwang* may be compared. In some cases we have apparently to assume that an original *Twang* was transformed to *Tang* owing to association with and influence from the synonymous *tang*, or that *Tang* was substituted for original *Twang*. As the word *twang* must have been lost at an early period as a living element of the language such refashioning is easy to understand.

O.N. **tiǫrn** "tarn": Blelham Tarn, Standing (Green) Tarn, Tarn Flat, Tarn Hows NLo, perh. Tarnbrook SLo; cf. also under Martin Lo.

O.E. **trēo(w)**, O.N. **tré** "tree": Aintree, Wavertree De, Langtree Le, Hareappletree SLo. Names in *-tree* are common in England, esp. as names of hundreds, these having been named from some conspicuous tree at the place where the hundred moot was held.

O.E. **trog** "trough," later also "a hollow or valley resembling a trough; bed or channel of a stream" (1513, etc., NED): Trough Sa, SLo, Trawden Bl, Troughton NLo.

O.E. **tūn** "manor, farm; village, hamlet." These are no doubt the usual meanings in Lanc. place-names. A meaning "garden" is plausible in Leighton, perhaps in Appleton. O.N. *tún* "enclosure; yard; homestead" is quite common in Icel. place-names. In Lanc. place-names the first el. is usually English, but in some cases it is Scand., once even French (Castleton).

A. The first el. is English (or pre-Scand.). It is (1) usually a common noun, as the name of a tree or plant (Ash-, Roy-, Win-, Withington Sa, Aigh-, Rishton Bl, Aller-, Apple-, Ash-, Augh-, Thornton De, ? Faring-, Ollerton Le, Ash- (2), Plump- (2), Thistle-, Thorn-, Weeton Am, Ash-, Augh-, Leighton SLo, Plumpton NLo; Barton Sa, De, Am, perh. Pemberton De); some other topographical feature or a place-name (Clay-, Clif-, Den-, Foxden-, Gor-, Haugh-, Hough-, Westhough-, Hul-, ? Huy-, Mos-, Pendle-, Riving-, Taunton; Edenfield, perh. Wharton Sa, Clay- (2), Clif-, Hap-, Mit-, More-, Pendle-, Twiston Bl; Dal-, Den-, Dit-, Hough-, Huy-, Low-, Mar-, Poulton De; Clay-, Hogh-, Hut-, Wheelton Le; Brough-, Clif-, Comp-, Haigh-, Lay-, Mar-, Poul-, Ribbleton Am; Forton Lo (Am), Dal-, Hal-, Hut- (3), Over-, Poulton SLo, Brough- (3), Dal-, Gleaston, Martin, Troughton NLo); the name of some building (Eccleston De, Le, Am; Bolton Sa (2), SLo, NLo; Burton De, Broughton Sa); or some other word (Swinton Sa, Singleton Am, Warton Am, SLo, Pennington NLo). (2)

A personal name (Balders-, Chorl-, Elton Sa, Balders-, Osbaldes-, Wit-, Worston Bl, Ather-, El-, Ethers-, Harle-, Rix-, Wools-, Woolton De, Ander-, Euxton Le; Dutton Bl (Am), Als-, Els-, Hambleton Am, Hilderston SLo), or a derivative in *-ing* (Alkring-, Pilking-, Tottington Sa, Billing-, Pleasington Bl, Penning-, Warrington De, Adlington Le, ? Adding-, Wenning-, Whittington SLo; perh. Dumplington, Mouton Sa, Cronton De, Worthington Le), or some other noun designating persons (Chorlton Sa, Walton Bl, De, Le, NLo (2); Wrightington Le, Preston Am). (3) An adjective or adverb: Hea- (3), Middle-, Newton Sa, Al-, Middle-, Nether-, New-, Sut-, Upton De; Longton Le; Middle-, Newton (2) Am, Hea-, Middle-, Newton (2) SLo, Hea-, Newton (2) NLo.

B. The first el. is Scandinavian. It is: (1) A common noun (Sefton De, Croston Le, Scorton Am, Sker-, Wrayton SLo, perh. Stainton NLo); (2) a pers. name (Flix-, Tur-, Urmston Sa, Tarleton Le, ? Ulverston NLo), or some other noun designating a person (? Bretherton Le, Carleton Am, Coniston NLo); (3) uncertain in Claughton Am, SLo.

More or less doubtful cases: Chadder-, Chatter-, Crompton Sa, Accrington Bl, Everton De, Shevington Le, Dur-, Freckleton Am, Caton, Farleton SLo, Anger-, Col-, Crivel-, Egton NLo.

The exact meaning of *tūn* cannot be determined in each case.

The form *-town* is met with in some late names: Churchtown Am, NLo, Old Town SLo, Newtown NLo.

O.E. **twisla** "fork of a river": Entwisle Sa, Bastwell, Birtwisle, Ex-, Oswaldtwistle, Twiston Bl. The fact that *-twisle* is usually combined with pers. names points to the exact meaning being "tongue of land at the junction of two streams." Cf. also Twiss De.

O.E., O.N. **porn** "thornbush": Rishton Thorns, Worsthorne Bl, Hubberthorn SLo, Daughtarn NLo. Bel-, Gaulkthorn Bl have not been found in early sources. Both are near hills (c 900ft.). Cf. *Bellthorn-moor* 1771 Whitaker, Hist. Manch. I. 121. It is a remarkable fact that *thorn* often occurs in names of hills. Cf. Crowthorn (S. of Harcles Hill Sa), Shap Thorn (a prominent hill near Shap in Wml.).

O.N. **þorp** "a group of homesteads, a village," perh. also "a farm, croft" (cf. Swed. *torp* "a croft"), O.Dan. **thorp** "a smaller village due to colonization from a larger one." The el. is rare in Lanc.: Thorpe Sa, Gawthorpe Bl (old estates), Thorp Le (an old v. or h.), Thorp De (lost); cf. *Cracanethorp* (cultura; SLo) CC 840.

O.N. **þveit** ? "a meadow; a piece of land," Norw. **tveit** "a piece of meadow in a wood, a cleared meadow, a clearing," etc., Engl. dial. **thwaite** "a forest clearing; a piece of land fenced off or enclosed; a low meadow; a fell; a single house; a small hamlet," etc. The history and etymology of the word are fully discussed by Lindkvist, p. 96ff. The exact meaning in Lanc. names is by no means clear. According to Ellwood, Lakeland and Iceland, p. 61, the word *thwaite* is applied to meadows on the margin of Coniston lake. Mr. Collingwood points out to me that in Lanc. names *thwaite* always refers to a piece of land sloping down towards a stream or a marsh; this observation is certainly quite true. In Iceland, according to Ellwood, a *þveit* is the brim of dry meadow-land that gradually inclines towards bogland. It seems very probable that in many Lanc. names *thwaite* meant originally "a low meadow," but meanings such as "clearing" or "enclosure" are also possible. The word may have had different applications in different periods.

The Lanc. thwaites are mostly in rather remote, sometimes in hilly districts, but they are not as a rule in a high situation; few are found at a higher altitude than some 300 or 400ft. above sea-level, and many, as Allithwaite, Haverthwaite, Outerthwaite, are situated quite low. So are many Cumb. thwaites.

Some names in *-thwaite* have as first part the name of a cereal, as Bean-, Big-, Haverthwaite Lo; this shows that the places were of old cultivated. The three Rosthwaites must have been used as horse-pastures; Scarthwaite SLo may be a similar case. Other names in *-thwaite* have as first el. a (descriptive) common noun, as Hawthornthwaite SLo, Haw-, Icken-, Kirk-, Rais-, Satter-, Scri-, Sea-, Walthwaite NLo; or an adj., as Fair-, Langthwaite SLo, ? Es-, Hoa-, Honey-, Outerthwaite NLo; or a place-name, as Nib-, Subber-, Tilberthwaite NLo; or a pers. n., as Gunner-, Outhwaite SLo, Alli-, Finsthwaite NLo. Other examples: Laithwaite De, Gubberford Am, Laithwaite Lo (Am), Burble-, Gaw-, Gray-, Hea-, Lone-, Scathwaite NLo. The first el. as a rule is, or may be, a Scand. word. One certain exception is Beanthwaite.

? O.E. ***þwit** or O.N. ***þvít**: Inglewhite Am. The same el. seems to occur in Little White (*Litilwhite* 1365) in Durh., Trewhitt (*Tyrewyt* 1229, *Tirwhite* 1327, etc.) in Nhb. (*see* Mawer).

It is apparently a word cognate with *thwaite*, derived from O.E. *þwītan* " to cut " or a corresponding O.N. verb, meaning perh. " a detached piece " or the like.

O.E. **þyrne**, O.N. **þyrnir** " thornbush " : Henthorn Bl, Thurnham, Stapleton Terne SLo.

O.N. **varði, varða** " cairn, heap of stones " : Warbreck De, Am.

O.N. **vað** " ford " : Byrewath, Howath Am, Priest-, Lang-, Scamwath SLo, Skelwith, Tunwath NLo ; cf. Hala Carr SLo.

O.N. **veiðr** " fishing, hunting ; place for fishing or hunting " : Ingoe De, Waitholme SLo, Waitham NLo.

O.N. **vík** " bay," etc. : Blowick, Wyke De, Lowick Lo.

O.N. **viðr** " forest " : Blawith NLo.

O.N. **vǫllr** " level meadow, grazing ground, open field " : Thingwall De, Walthwaite Lo.

O.N. **(v)rá**, O.Swed. **vrā** " corner," Engl. dial. *wray* " corner " (Wml.). Norw., Swed. *vrā* (*vrå*) occurs in names of places with a remote or secluded situation, as surrounded by hills or merely isolated from other homesteads. The same description applies to Lanc. places with names in *vrā* : Wray, -ton, Capernwray, Whiteray SLo, Wray, Birkwray, Holbiggerah NLo, are in more or less remote valleys. In the case of Wrea Am a meaning " outlying place " seems plausible.

O.E. **wǣl** " a weel, a deep pool, a gulf, deep water of a stream or of the sea," dial. *weel* (Sc., Yks., Lanc., etc.) " a whirlpool, an eddy ; a deep, still part of a river " : Sale Wheel Bl ; cf. Freckleton Am. Whitaker, Hist. of Manchester (1771) I. p. 122, mentions Bolton-weel near Strangeways, Scarweel above Broughton-Ford (Manchester).

O.E. **wælla, wælle (wella,** etc.) " well, spring ; stream." In place-names both meanings are evidenced. River-names : Irwell, ? Milkwall Sa. Names of places : Halliwell Sa, Wiswell, Winewall Bl, Aspin-, Childwall, Thatto De, Colloway SLo, Hawkswell NLo. In the last the first part seems to be a Scand. pers. n.

O.E. **gewæsc** : Strangeways Sa.

O.E. **wæter** " water," *i.e.*, " stream " : Blackwater, Colne, Pendle Water Bl ; or " lake " : Hawes Water SLo, Elterwater, Thurston Water, etc., NLo.

M.E. **whin** " saliunca, ruscus," Mn.E. **whin** " furze," etc. : Winfold Fell SLo, Whinfield NLo (second el. O.N. *fell* " fell "), perh. Windhill NLo. The etymology of *whin* is not quite certain. It is considered by Torp, Nynorsk Et. Ordb. (s.v. *kvein*) to be related to Norw. *kvein* " thin grasses," Swed. *hven*, Dan. *hvene*, used of various species of agrostis, etc., and of tall, stiff grasses, all cognate with Swed. dial. *hven* " low-lying meadow," and belonging to a base **hvin-* " marsh, bog." Whatever the ultimate etymology may be, it seems probable to me that *whin* is a Scand. word, in ablaut relation to *kvein*, etc. ; cf. early Dan. *hvinegræs, hvinestraa, hvine* " festuca prior " (Kalkar), Dan. dial. *hvene, hveneknop* (Feilberg), Icel. *hvingras* " agrostis." A third grade with short *i* may have existed, but *i* may have been shortened in compounds such as *hvingras*. A change of meaning from " tall, stiff grass," etc., to " rush " (a M.E. *sense*) and " furze " seems plausible. The late appearance of the word in English rather suggests Scand. origin.

O.E. **wīc** " dwelling-place, residence ; village, town," etc., prob. also " farm, cattle-farm " (*e.g.*, *cealf-, gātawīc*) ; cf. dial. *wick* " a dairy-farm." The el. is fairly common in Sa, where it is always combined with a pers. n. : Ard-, Bes-, Chad-, Gothers-, Whittleswick, Prestwich. The only example in De, Winwick, and Elswick Am also have a pers. n. as first part. The meaning here seems to be " dwelling-place, manor," in Prestwich perhaps " village." In Killerwick NLo the first el. is a Scand. pers. n. On Borwick SLo *see* p. 8. Fish-, Salwick Am, perh. Howick Le have a common noun, Urswick NLo prob. the name of a lake, as first el. These latter names denote old villages.

O.E. **wice** " witchelm " : Horwich, Wicheves Sa.

O.E. **wiðig**, M.E. **wiþin** (prob. formed with the O.E. adjectival suffix *-īn*) " willow." Dial. *withen* (Lanc., Ches., Der.) also means " willow holt ; a piece of wet land where willows grow " : Win-, Withington Sa, Weeton Am.

O.E. **worþ** m., **wyrþ** f. " enclosure ; homestead, farm." The first el. is (1) a common noun : Ash-, Butter-, ? Edge-, Farn-, Holling-, Shores-, Shuttleworth Sa, Shuttle-, Townworth Bl, Cle-, Farn-, Shuttleworth De, Stanworth Le, Dilworth Bl (Am), Appletreeworth NLo ; (2) a pers. n. : Ains-, Chads-, Pils-, Uns-, ? Whitworth Sa, Beardwood, Snod-, Tottleworth Bl, Roddlesworth Le ; (3) an adj. : Long-, Rumworth Sa, Southworth De ; (4) a place-name : Wardleworth Sa ; (5) more or less doubtful in Blatchin-, Fails-, Haworth Sa, Duckworth Bl, Lentworth SLo. In no case does the first el. seem to be a Scand. word. The

el. is most common in Salford (esp. Rochdale) and in Blackburn par. *Yareswurthebroc* (Dean) 1227 LF iv., Noggarth (Barrowford: *Nugworth bancke* 1551 LP), and Shads-, Wilworth, near Blackburn, may be added. The De -worths are in the part adjoining Salford, and the Le ones close to the E. border, not far from Blackburn town.

Few names in *-worth* denote old townships or villages. Most of the places in question are comparatively insignificant or in a somewhat remote situation (Roddlesworth, Snodworth, Lentworth, etc.). *Hennewurthe* (Pemberton) De is said to be a toft LF 1202.

O.E. *worþ* (<**wurþa-*) and *wyrþ* (<**wurþi-*) correspond to O.Sax. *wurð*, app. "soil" (Heliand 2478), M.L.G. *wurt, wort* "homestead," L.G. *word, wurt* "open place in a village," etc. *See* Torp-Fick p. 395, also Förstemann, Namenbuch and Die deutschen Ortsnamen, p. 40. The original meaning of the words is very likely "enclosure, fence" (Torp). In Engl. place-names the usual meaning is very likely "homestead," but "close, enclosure" seems very probable in some cases, *e.g.*, in the curious name Shuttlesworth.

The second el. of Faldworthings Le may be O.E. *worðign*, a word apparently of much the same meaning as *worþ*, or *wyrðing* "a cultivated field"? (B-T). The original meaning of the latter may be "enclosure." It seems to be a derivative of an O.E. **wyrðan* "to enclose"; cf. O.E. *wyrðeland* "novale," *i.e.*, "land ploughed for the first time, cultivated field," and the apparently synonymous O.E. *wyrðen*.

O.E. **wudu** "wood": Brand-, Cheet-, Har-, Hey-, Hopwood Sa, Har-, Hurstwood Bl, Burton-, Gars-, Hale-, Simonswood De, Holmes Wood Le, Fulwood Am, Cawood SLo, Brantwood, Sea Wood NLo. The first el. seems to be English or pre-Scand. in all cases exc. Holmes Wood.

Notes on the Phonology of Lancashire Place-Names

Only some changes especially characteristic of the Lanc. dialects and frequently exemplified in the material are considered.

VOWELS

O.E. *a* before *l* frequently becomes *o* S. of the Ribble, especially in O.E. *alor* "alder": Lightollers Sa, Ollerton Le; Colne, Hollowhead Bl. The same change is found in Ches. (Ollerton), Yks. W.R. (Owlerton), Derby (Ollersett) and elsewhere in the West-Midlands.

O.E. *ā* becomes *ǭ* S. of the Ribble: Coldcoats, Fenniscowles, Low, Oakenhead Bl, Roby De, etc., also in Bl N. of the Ribble: Davyscoles, but in the rest of the county *ā* remains: Loudscales, Scales, Wrea Am.

O.E. *æ, i*-mutation of *a* before *l* + a consonant as a rule appears as *a* S. of the Ribble, as in West-Midland generally: Falinge Sa, Falling De, Winewall Bl, Aspinwall, Childwall De, etc. N. of the Ribble examples are few. Some examples of *a* occur in Am, as *Redwalle* (Carlton) CC 148, *Sewallesike* (Preston) CC 217. But *e* is found in Colloway Lo; cf. *Keldbrekewelle* (Stalmine) CC 106, *Quitewellebroc* (Claughton) CC 261, *Welleker* (Forton) CC 341.

O.E. *o* in an open syllable sometimes becomes *oi*, as it does in W.Yks.: Boysnope Sa, Monk-, Langroyd Bl.

O.E. *ǧ* frequently appears as *u* (*uy*) in early sources, especially S. of the Ribble. Sometimes *u* (*uy*) is preserved in the modern form: Bruche, Huyton De, Hulton Sa.

O.E. *ōw, oȝ* sometimes appear as *aw*: Trawden Bl; cf. *fawerhokes* "four oaks" (Am) CC 298. O.N. *ou* (*au*) often becomes *au* (*aw*) as in Rawcliffe Am, Hawes Lo; cf. *-hall*<*-haw* (O.N. *haugr*) under *l*.

CONSONANTS

O.E. *d* often becomes *t* in a final position: Breightmet, Facit Sa, Lunt De. On confusion between *-head, -side* and *-set, see* under *set* p. 16. On *-forth* for *-ford, see* p. 11.

O.E. ȝ after *a* often appears as *i, y* instead of *w*, as in Haigh Sa, Crookhey, Stodday Lo, earlier *Bradshaigh* for Bradshaw and the like. Shawforth Sa is pronounced locally [ʃɐ·fɐþ]. *Note* Aighton Bl, Haighton Am.

O.E., O.N. *h* [x] occasionally becomes *k*: Alkrington, Anglezark, Lomax Sa, Pex Hill De, Arkholme Lo. It often disappears finally after *r*: Medlar Am, Ortner, Torver, Winder Lo (*-ergh* "a shieling"), Scaleber Lo (*bergh* "a hill").

Initial *h-* has disappeared in Unsworth Sa, Audley, Elmridge Bl, perh. Inchfield Sa. Loss of *h-* in early sources, as in *Apton* for Hapton is partly due to A.N. influence. The same

explanation probably applies to inorganic *H-*, as *Hinne* for Ince DB. Inorganic *h* is very common before the second el. of compounds, as *Fyfhokis* "five oaks" CC 716, *Dodithak* "dodded oak" CC 516; *-hergh* often for *-ergh*. This is hardly due to A.N. influence.

O.E., O.N. *k* (*c*) sometimes appears as *t* before *l*, *n*: Birtle, Birtenshaw, Whittleswick Sa, Artlebeck Lo. The opposite change seems evidenced in Alkincoats Bl.

O.E. *cw* and *hw* seem to have fallen together, *qu* being often written for O.E. *hw* and *wh* for O.E. *cw*. Whiston is often *Quistan*, Quick De often *Whike* in early sources. Whittleswick Sa seems to have originally begun in *Qu-* (*Cw-*). This confusion is due to the change [kw]> [hw]>[w] common in Lanc. dial.; cf. Wright, E.D.Gr. § 241.

l is frequently lost after *au*, *ou*, *u*, as in Audenshaw Sa, Gooden Sa, Audley Bl, Lickow, Mowbrick, Todderstaffe Am; cf. further Marsden, Twiston Bl; also Knowsley De, Scaitcliffe Sa, Bl (dissimilation). But early *au* for *al* (as *Sauford* for Salford) is due to A.N. influence. An inorganic *l* has often been added after *au*, *ou*, etc., as in Nuttall Sa, Becconsall Le, Hackinsall, Preesall Am, Walney Lo. In Lonsdale N. of the Sands *-hall* has often replaced earlier *-haw* (O.N. *haugr*). An intrusive *l* is found also in Fallowfield, Quarlton Sa.

n in weak forms of nouns and adjectives as the first part of compounds as a rule disappears except before a vowel and *h*, as in Chadwick, Tetlow Sa, Elton Sa, De, Entwisle Bl, Bedford De; Bradley, Newton De, etc., Heaton Sa, etc. But *n* remains *e.g.* in Cockney Sa, Kinknall De, Wignall Le. It is doubtful if *n* ever remains before a consonant (other than *h*). There are a very few isolated instances in the earliest sources (Woolton De). Possible cases of preservation of *n* are Blatchinworth, Monton Sa, Cronton De.

ng [ŋ] often appears as *n* before *d*, *t* in early forms. Cf. *e.g.* Tottington Sa, Whittington SLo. Later *ng* is usually reintroduced and original *n* in the same position often becomes *ng*. The genuine modern pronunciation is probably as a rule [n]. Loss of *ng* is found in Padiham.

þ>*t* in Lingart Am, Kellet, Sellet SLo (cf. also *infra*). It has disappeared in Adgarley, Bleansley, Stennerley NLo.

ð has been lost in Bolton, Winton, Weeton, Elston, Elswick, etc.

w, of course, often disappears. This is usually the case in the genuine pronunciation of *-thwaite* [þət].

Anglo-Norman Spellings

Only some of the more important and frequently exemplified deviations from normal spelling due to A.N. influence are here pointed out. I refer to Skeat, Notes on English Etymology, p. 471ff., Stolze, Lautlehre der ae Ortsnamen in Domesday Book, and especially to Zachrisson, Anglo-Norman Influence and Notes on Early English Personal Names (Studier i modern språkvetenskap vi., Uppsala 1917).

VOWELS

au replaces *a* before *n*. Cf. Bamford Sa, Sankey De, Cantsfield Lo.

e is occasionally written for *ai*, *ei*, as in *Gherestanc*, *Suenesat* DB (Garstang, Swainshead).

A prosthetic vowel is sometimes added before *s* + a cons.: *Esmedune* DB (Smithdown).

CONSONANTS

c often stands for O.E. *č*, M.E. *ch* [tʃ], as in *Cildeuuelle*, *Recedham*, *Mamecestre* DB (Childwall, Rochdale, Manchester). Before *t*, *c* sometimes replaces O.E. *h*, as in *Licthurst* for Lighthurst.

ch is a common symbol for [k] before *e*, *i*, as in *Blacheburn*, *Cherchebi*, *Chellet*, *Schelmeresdale* DB (for Blackburn, etc.).

d is substituted for *th* [ð], as in *Bodeltone* (for *Bothelton*>Bolton), *Liderlant* (Litherland) DB.

n replaces *m* in the end of words: *Lidun*, *Tiernun* DB (Lytham, Thurnham).

s (*ss*) is a common spelling for *sch*, *sh*: *Eston* for Ashton, *Suttelesworth* for Shuttlesworth, etc.

t frequently replaces *th* [þ] especially in the beginning of words. Tarbock, Tarleton, Tarlscough, Torrisholme, Turton, Trinkeld still have *t*. But to some extent (at least in Trinkeld) an English or a Scand. sound-change may account for *t*.

w for *wh*, as in *Witul* (Whittle), *Walelega* (Whalley) is probably a Norman spelling, as *wh* is long kept apart from *w* in Northern dialects.

LANCASHIRE PLACE-NAMES

Lancashire: (honor de) *Lancastre* 1140 Ch, (honor de) *Lancastro* 1158 Ch (orig.), *Lancastra* 1162, 1165 LPR, (Comitatus de) *Lancastra* 1169 LPR, etc., (Comitatus) *Lancastriæ* 1199 LPR, etc., (Comitatus) *Lancastræ* 1202 LPR; *Lancastreshire* 14 cent. Higden, *-schire* 1387 Trevisa, *Lancasterschire* 14 cent. Eulogium Historiarum (*Lancastshire* in a 15 cent. MS), *Loncastyr schyr* 1441 RSB, *Lancasher* 1464 Paston L II. 152, *Lancastreshir(e)* c 1540 Leland, *Lankashire, Lonkashire* 1586 Camden.

The earliest quotations really refer to the honour of Lancaster. The full status of a county appears to have been attained by Lancashire in 1194 (Farrer LPR 3, VHL II. 187-191). Lancaster is the county town.

The Lyme.—The honour of Lancaster included parts of other counties, as Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham. To distinguish the Lancashire part of the honour from the rest it became usual to describe it as the honour "infra comitatum" or "infra Limam," the other parts being referred to as "extra comitatum" or "extra Limam"; these terms are translated into English as "within, without (or beyond) the Lyme." Examples are frequently met with in records, *e.g.*, The Book of Fees, pp. 206, 210, Rotuli Litterarum Patentium I. 165, etc.[1]

The element *Lyme* is found in **Ashton-under-Lyne** *q.v.* **Lyme Wood** was in S.E. Lanc.: *Lyme wood* 1246 LAR (app. near Ashton-under-Lyne), [in] *bosco de Lime* 1222-68 CC 732 (Chadderton and Foxdenton). **Limehurst** is in Ashton: *del Lymehirst* 1379 Bardsley, *Limehurst* 1422 CS 74. **Lyme Park**, in Ashton, is mentioned in 1337 (VHL IV. 341).

The same element occurs outside Lancashire, *viz.* in Ches., Staffs., Shrops., and perhaps Derby.[2]†

Lyme Handley (Ches., N. of Macclesfield, c 10 miles from Ashton-under-Lyne): *Lime* DB, *Lyme* 1313 IPM. **Church Lawton** (S.E. Ches., on the boundary against Staffs.) is "anciently called *Lauton under lyme*," Ormerod (ed. Helsby) III. 11. **Audlem** (S.E. Ches., S.W. of Crewe, not far from the Shropshire boundary): *Aldelime* DB, 1311 IPM. First el. O.E. *Alda* pers. n. or *ald* "old."

In Liber Luciani de laude Cestrie (RS 64), p. 65 (c. 1195), the forest of Lyme is said to form the boundary of Cheshire: "*Cestrie provincia, Lime nemoris limite lateraliter clausa.*" By a charter of 1259 found in Annales Cestrenses (RS 14), p. 76, Edward earl of Chester "licenciavit homines Cestrisire approviandi se de *Bosco qui vocatur Lima.*" Earl Ranulf III., in a charter of 1215-16 (Chart. Chester Abbey, p. 105), exempts his barons from doing service *extra Lymam.*

Newcastle-under-Lyme (Staffs.): *novo castello subtus Lymam* 1173 Ch, etc. **Whitmore** (S.W. of Newcastle): *Wytemore under Lyme* 1243 AP 119. **Burslem** (near Newcastle): *Barcardeslim* DB, *Burwardeslym* 1297 IPM; first el. O.E. *Burgweard* pers. n.

[1] "Hec est inquisicio . . de tenementis datis et alienatis infra limam in comitatu Lancastrie." 1212 BF 206. "In baronia de Penuertham sunt feoda v. militum infra limam et extra." ib. 210. "Commisimus . . . Ade de Yeland castrum Roberti Greslet . . . et totam terram ejusdem Roberti quam habuit infra Lymam." 1216 PatR.

[2] I have to thank Professor Tait for pointing out to me some of the examples given here.

Betton in Hales (N. Shr., close to the boundary against Staffs.): *Betton under Lime* 1161-82, *Betton subtus Lime* 1256, 1294, *Betton under Lyne*[1] 1490, *B. subtus Lyne* 1534 Eyton, Antiquities of Shropshire IX. 199f., *Betton subtus Lyme* 1316 FA. **Norton in Hales** (close to Betton): *Nortona, quæ sita est juxta nemus quod Lima dicitur* 1121-6 Cartulary of St. Peter's Abbey (Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica I. 26), *Norton subtus Lime* 1225 Eyton, *op. cit.* IX. 367.

In the Chartulary of Chester Abbey is mentioned, in connection with Weston (upon Trent) and Shardlow, a *boscus de Lima* (p. 169), *boscus de Lyme* 1228-40 (p. 179). Prof. Tait takes this Lyme wood to have been in Derby near the Trent, which forms a county boundary.

The Lyme is a difficult name. As the word is often used to denote a county boundary and places with names in *Lyme* are mostly on or near county boundaries, it is tempting to ascribe to the word a meaning "boundary." This has also been suggested by Sephton and others. Prof. Tait, Mediæval Manchester, p. 180, apparently shares this view. But it is difficult to find an etymology for such a word. We should have to assume that a word *lyme* "boundary" was in living use in early M.E. times. As shown by names such as Lyme Handley, Audlem, Burslem, which are in DB, *Lyme* must date from O.E. time. We can, therefore, not derive it from a Romance shortened form of Lat. *limes*. O.E. loan direct from Lat. *limes* is hardly to be thought of. A native Engl. word of the required form and meaning is unknown and has no parallels in cognate languages. In Celtic languages I can find no word that may be the source. A Brit. form of Lat. *limes* would hardly have lost the suffix (or really second component).

In my opinion *Lyme* was originally the name of a forest. This is suggested also by Taylor, Introduction to Liber Luciani, p. 29, who thinks Lyme Forest was a continuation of Macclesfield Forest to the S.W. In Ormerod's Cheshire III. 538, on the other hand, it is stated that the forest of Macclesfield was anciently denominated forest of Lyme, "from its position on the boundary of the Palatinate." But unless we assume that there were two forests of Lyme near each other the forest must have extended all the way along the Cheshire border from N.E. Shropshire into S.E. Lancashire, and have embraced Macclesfield forest. The forest of Lyme, if this is correct, must have been very extensive, and this may seem to tell against the theory. But the forest district would be chiefly on the western slope of the Pennine hills,[2] which may be supposed to have been to a great extent forest and waste in early days. More serious is, perhaps, the objection that we should not expect to find this large forest of Lyme mentioned only in local charters and records. I suppose the name Lyme ceased at an early date to be applied, at least in official parlance, to the whole district, though it lingered on as the name of parts of it.[3] A considerable (perhaps the chief) part from early mediæval times came to be called the Macclesfield Forest.

[1] The form *Lyne*, which appears also in Ashton-under-Lyne, seems to be due to association with *line*, mark; limit, boundary. The latter sense is found at least from 1595 (NED).

[2] If the Derbyshire examples are trustworthy, we must assume that there was a forest of Lyme also in Derby, for the forest of Lyme under discussion here cannot have embraced the part of Derby where Shardlow is.

[3] The forest of Lyme mentioned in the charter of 1259 may have been a part of the old forest, or the name Lyme may have continued to be locally used of the whole district.

The phrase *under Lyme* (in Newcastle-under-Lyme, etc.) rather corroborates the theory that *Lyme* is the name of a forest. The prep. *under* (Lat. *sub, subtus*) is very frequently combined with names of forests, as in Ascot-under-Wychwood (Oxf.), Heaton-under-Horwich or under the Forest (see p. 44), Newton Underwood Nhb. It seems to mean "near."

The names Lyme, Audlem, Burslem contain the old name of the forest. Places in or on the outskirt of the forest were called *Lyme*. Audlem and Burslem were very likely at first called *Lyme*, and the elements *Alde-*, *Burgweardes* were added for distinction.

We come to the phrases *infra, extra Limam*. These can hardly always mean simply "within, beyond the forest of Lyme." In Ranulf's charter *extra Lymam* apparently means "outside the county boundary." I think we have here a case of transferred meaning, which is fairly easily explained in the case of Cheshire. Lyme Forest is stated c 1195 to be the (eastern) boundary of Cheshire. *Extra Lymam* would mean originally "beyond Lyme Forest." This would be tantamount to "beyond (outside) the eastern border." By extension the phrase might easily come to mean "outside the boundary of the Palatinate." There were circumstances which gave the eastern boundary of Cheshire a special significance. The earls of Chester had large possessions outside Cheshire. Ranulf I. (d. 1129) was the greatest landowner in Lindsey. Ranulf II. (d. 1153) had possessions in Lindsey, Notts., Leicester, Warwick, and Stafford (DNB). His son, Hugh, succeeded to his father's possessions. The forest of Lyme thus actually separated the Palatinate from the (chief of the) possessions of the earls outside it. I suppose the phrase *extra Limam* was at first used in reference to the possessions of the earls of Chester beyond Lyme Forest, not in reference to England generally.

It is more difficult to account for the use of the phrases *extra* (*infra*) *Limam* in the case of the honour of Lancaster, because Lyme Forest formed only a small part of the Lancashire boundary. Still, Lyme Forest would, in a way, separate the Lancashire part of the honour from those in Derbyshire, etc. But it seems to me more plausible to assume that the phrases were applied to the honour of Lancaster on the analogy of the Cheshire usage. The fact that the forest of Lyme actually formed part of the Lancashire boundary would have facilitated this transference.

As Lyme Forest formed an important boundary, a natural consequence is that the places with names containing the el. Lyme are all on or near a county boundary. It is to be noticed, however, that Newcastle-under-Lyme, Whitmore, and Burslem are at some distance at least from the present boundary between Ches. and Staffs.

Lyme is probably a pre-English name of the forest. It may be an old forest name, or the forest may have been named from some place.[1] Possibly it belongs to the Celt. stem **lemo*, **limo* "elm" (O.Ir. *lem*, Gaul. *limonum*, Welsh *llwyf*, etc.). It may be simply the word for "elm" used in the sense "elm-wood" (cf. Jones, p. 221), or a derivative of that word. If the meaning is "elm-wood,"

[1] The name of the stream (Lyme) on which Newcastle-under-Lyme stands is probably a back-formation. Yet it *might* be an old stream-name, identical with Lyme in Do., and might have given name to the forest.

this need, of course, not mean that the forest consisted only of elm ; it may imply that elms were common in it.

Lyme in Do. (*at Lym* 938 CD 372) is probably derived from the river-name Lyme (*Lim* 774 BCS 224).

SALFORD HUNDRED

Salford hvnd' DB, hundredum de *Samford* 1200 LPR, Wapentachium de *Sauford* 1203, 1204 LPR, Wapentake of *Salford* 1226 LI, *Salefordesire* 1243 LI, *Saufordschire, Salfordschyre* 1246 LAR, *Salfordisire* 1297 LI, *Salfordshire* 1327, 1332 LS ; cf. Salford, p. 32.

Salford hundred, the S.E. part of the county, is marked off by natural boundaries on almost all sides. The S. boundary is formed by the Mersey and the Tame. From Yorkshire in the E. and Blackburn hundr. in the N. it is separated by high moorlands. In the S.W. the large Chat Moss formerly cut Salford off from West Derby hundred. On the N.W. high moorlands, belonging to Salford, separate the main body of the hundred from Leyland. But N. of Chat Moss Salford and West Derby hundreds pass into each other without a well-defined natural boundary.

The surface is mainly low and level in the S.W., but rises gradually to the E. and N., where considerable altitudes are reached. Deep river valleys intersect the rising ground.

Names of Rivers

Mersey : *Mœrse* 1002 Thorpe 544, *Mersham* DB, *Mersam* 1094 LC, 1130 LPR, 1140 Ch ; *Merse* 1142 Ch, 1224, 1251, 1270 ChR, etc., *Merese* 1228 ClR, *Mersee* 13 cent. Wh C 560, 1293 AP, 1322 LI, *Meresse* 1298 LI, *Merseie* 14 cent. Higden, *Mersea* 1387 Trevisa, *Mersey, Marsey* c 1540 Leland, *Marsee* 1577 Saxton, *Mersey* 1577 Harr.

The name is a compound with O.E. *ēa* " river " as second el. The first el. offers difficulties. We expect the name of such an important river (or at least its first el.) to be of pre-English origin. But the name has a Germanic appearance. It is most plausible, as the form of 1002 shows an *œ* in the first syllable, to connect the first el. with O.E. *(ge)mǣre* " boundary." O.E. *Mǣrse* instead of *Mǣrese* might be compared with such examples as *bocre* (< *bocere*), *deoflic* (<*deofollic*) Luick, Hist. Gr. § 345. As regards a formation *Mǣres-ēa*, it is true there are examples of apparently analogous kind. Johnston points out Meresbrook (Sheffield) and *Meresbroc* DB (Shrops.), and Middendorff mentions from O.E. charters *mœres crundel, mœres slœd.* Anyhow, it would be remarkable if such an old name as Mersey must be should have its first el. in the genitive form. Possibly we may assume a side-form or derivative of O.E. *(ge)mǣre* with an *s*-suffix, the word being an old *s*-stem. This would also account for O.E. *Mœrse* instead of *Mœrese.* If so, we may perhaps compare such names as The Mearse (farm, Worc.) ; Mersham (Kent) : *Mersaham*[1] 858 BCS 496 (orig.), 863 BCS 507 (orig.) ; Maresfield (Suss.) : *Mersefelde* 1316, *Marsefeld* 1322 (Roberts).

[1] *Mersa-* might be the gen. pl. of a word meaning " borderer."

Tame (a trib. of the Mersey): *Thame* WhC 149, *Tame* 1322 LI (p. 65), *the Tame* 1577 Harr. Tame (Thame) is a common river-name; cf., *e.g.*, Tame (Warw., Staffs.): O.E. *Tame, Tamer* (Liebermann, Die Heiligen Englands); Thame (Oxf., Bucks.): *Tame* 971 Chr.B; Thame (Yks.): *Tame* Guisb. C. It is a Celtic name, identical with Taff, Wales (two different): *Tam, Taf* LL.

Gore (or Rush or Chorlton) **Brook** (a trib. of the Mersey): *Gorbroke, Gordbroke* (*Gordeneheued*) c 1250 Ch (17 cent. transcript), *Gorebrocke* 1322 LI. *Gore* is O.E. *gor* "dung, dirt."

Cringlebrook (falls into Gore Brook): *Kryngelbroke* 1322 LI. Cringlebrook is (or was) also the name of a place: *Cringlebrooke* 1593 Didsbury R. The name means "the winding brook." The brook makes innumerable twists and turns, too small to be shown even in the one-inch map. The first el. may be compared with *cringle-crangle* adj. "winding in and out, twisted" (1606 etc.), *cringle* vb. "to curve, twist, wind," especially of a brook (Lakel.; EDD). We may assume an O.E. adj. **cringol* or **cryngel* (<**krungila-*) "twisting" from *cringan* "to die," lit. "to contract spasmodically, to twist"; cf. *cringe*, which preserves the original meaning.

Irwell (the most important trib. of the Mersey; runs diagonally from N.E. to S.W. practically through the whole hundred; it is 30 miles long): *Urwil* a 1190, c 1200 CC, *Vrwill* a 1250 CC, *Irwel* 1246 LAR, 13 cent. WhC 42, *Irrewelle* 1277 LAR, *Irwel* c 1540 Leland. It would seem most natural to identify the first el. of this name, whose second el. is O.E. *wælla, wella* "stream," with that of Ireby, Irton, etc., *i.e.*, with *Ire* pers. n. (probably Scand.) or the gen. of O.N. *Irar* or O.E. *Iras* "Irishmen." But the CC forms tell against this, and such an etymology is in itself improbable. I believe *Ir-* is a pre-English name of the river. If so, we may compare O.E. *Yr* 959 BCS 1052, an old form of Aire (Yks.), no doubt a Celtic name. The etymology of the name is too difficult to be entered into here.

The simple name *Ire* is possibly found in *Irinford* 13 cent. WhC 796, *Irefford* ib. 785, *Iriford, Yrefford* 1329 ib. 260f. (Chadwick, Rochdale). The ford was on the Roch, the most important tributary of the Irwell, which may originally have been called Ire.

Gilda Brook (a trib. of the Irwell): cf. *le Guldenaleford, Gildenhaleford* 13 cent. WhC 878, 880, *de Gyldenale* 1324 LF. *Gilda* is a place-name containing as its second el. O.E. *halh* "haugh." The first may be the O.E. adj. *gylden*, possibly in the sense "covered with golden flowers" (*e.g.*, marigolds). Cf. *gyldeburne* 843 BCS 442 (orig.) and Giltbrook (Notts.). Or possibly it may be a lost O.E. pers. n. *Gylda*, a derivative of *Gold-* in *Goldwine*, etc.

Cornbrook (joins the Irwell near Manchester): *Le Cornebroke* 1322 LI (p. 66), *Corne Brooke* c 1540 Leland. Identical with Cornbrook, Worc. (*corna broc* c 957 BCS 1007; cf. *corna wudu, corna lip* ib.). *Corna* is the gen. pl. of O.E. **corn*, a form with metathesis of *cron, cran* "a crane"; cf. *cornuc=cranoc* B-T (Suppl.). Cornbrook is also the name of a ward in Stretford.

Medlock (joins the Irwell in Manchester): *Medeloke, Medelake* 1322 LI, *Medlok* c 1540 Leland, *the Medlocke* 1577 Harr. Probably O.E. *mēd* "meadow" and *lacu* "stream." If so, the change to *-lock* must be due to association with *lock* sb.

The Shooter (a trib. of the Medlock): (aqua de) *Schiter* 1334 VHL IV. 252; cf. *Shiter-flat* M 552. Identical with *Sciter* (or *Scitere*) river-name, in O.E. *sciteres strēam, sciteres flōd, sciteres clif* (Middendorff), apparently a derivative of O.E. *scite* "dirt" or *scītan* vb.

Irk (joins the Irwell near Manchester): *Irke, Ircke, Hirke* 1322 LI, *Hirke, Hirk* c 1540 Leland, *the Yrke* 1577 Harr. The name is possibly a derivative of the first el. of Irwell.

Roch (joins the Irwell near Bury): *Rached.* 13 cent. WhC 757, *Rache* 13 cent. WhC 619, 796, *Rach* late 12 cent. Ind II., 13 cent. WhC 773, etc., *ye Rache* 1577 Harr. *Rached.* (if not for *Rachedale*) is probably a back-formation from *Rachedham*, an early name of Rochdale, the most important place on the Roch. Later on arose a new back-formation *Rache* from *Rachedale.* See Rochdale p. 54. The change *a* > *o* is late. The name is sometimes written *Roach* (*e.g.* by Waugh) and pronounced [ro·tʃ].

Naden (a trib. of the Roch): *Naueden* c 1300 WhC 602, 740 etc., *Nauedenbrok* 13 cent. ib. 739. See Naden p. 60.

Spodden Brook: *Spotbrok* 13 cent. WhC 734, 778, *Spodden* 1577 Saxton, *Sprotton water* 1577 Harr. See Spotland p. 59.

Beal (joins the Roch at Rochdale): *Bole* 1200-20 CC, *Bele* c 1300 WhC 611, *the Beyle* 1577 Harr. Cf. Belfield, Beal Moor pp. 52, 56. The name is perhaps to be identified with the O.E. river-name (in) *bœle,* (ondlang) *bœles* (Worc.) 851 BCS 462. This is possibly a Celtic name, but the etymology is doubtful.

Names of Hills

Very few hill-names, apart from those which have given names to places, are found in early sources. Most hills are named from adjacent places.

Blackstone Edge (on the Yks. border): *The blacke stony hilles* 1577 Harr., *Blakeston edge hill* 1577 Saxton. *Edge* means "ridge or summit of a hill or range of hills; a steep hill or hillside." *Blackstone* is said to refer to a boundary stone between Yks. and Lanc.

Harcles Hill (a prominent hill W. of the Irwell and Ramsbottom): *Arkil(is)hou* a 1236, *Arkell-, Arkeleshow* c 1236 Whit. I. 324f. O.N. *Arnkell* pers. n. and *haugr* "hill."

Rivington Pike (1,156 ft.): *Rovyng* 1325 LI, *Rivenpike* c 1540 Leland, *Riuenpike hill* 1577 Saxton, *Rauenpike* 1577 Harr. Johnston gives *Roinpik* a 1290, *Rivenpike* a 1552. Cf. Rivington p. 48. I imagine the name is a derivative of O.E. *hrēof* "rough, rugged," O.E. **hrēofing* "rugged one," *i.e.,* rugged hill. This base would account fairly well for the variation in the vowel (*e, o, i*). Association with the adj. *rough* may account for some forms of Rivington. The name seems to suit the hill. As regards the suffix cf. Kluge, Stammbildungslehre, §100. Leland gives the alternative name *Faierlokke.*

Scout Moor (1,534 ft., N.E. of Ramsbottom): *Scoute* 1610 Bury R (a place). Dial. *scout* (< O.N. *skúti* "projecting cliff") means "a high rock or hill; a projecting ridge, a precipice."

ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE PAR.

This parish is in the south-east corner of the county, and is separated by the Tame from Cheshire and Yorkshire. The ground is fairly flat in the W., the altitude varying from c 275 to c 350 ft., but rises in the E., where an elevation of over 1,000 ft. is reached. The par. contains only one township.

Ashton-under-Lyne : *Haistune, Haystuna* c 1160 Ch, *Eston* 1212 LI, *Asheton* 1276 LAR, *Aston* 1278 LF, *Asshton under Lyme* 1305 LF, *Assheton under Lyme* 1355 LF, *Asshton under Lyne* 1319 LF, *Asshton* 1327, 1332 LS, etc. " Ashtree town." As regards the addition *under Lyne* see p. 23. Ashton town stands on the Tame.

Alt (N. of Ashton) : *de Alt* c 1200 Ch, *de Halt* 1222-6 LI, *de Alte* (*Halch*) 1246 LAR, *de Alche* (*Hache*) 1276 LAR, *Alte* 1322 LI, *Alt Hey* 1422 CS 74. Alt is on a spur of hill reaching 600 ft. ; near it are Alt Hill and Alt Edge. Under the circumstances the name may be derived from Celt. **alto-* " hill," etc. ; cf. Welsh *allt* " hill-side, hill, cliff, woodland," O.Ir. *alt* " shore, cliff." *Allt* is common in Welsh place-names.

Audenshaw : *Aldenshade, Aldenesawe* c 1200 Ch, *Aldenshagh* c 1250 ib. (LPR 332), *de Aldewainestath* 1246 LAR, *Aldewynshagh* 1422 HS II. O.E. *Aldwine* p.n. and *scaga* " shaw." The early forms in *Alden* are found in a 17th cent. transcript and are no doubt to be disregarded. Other MSS. have the variants *Aldwynshawe, -shay* (LPR 329, 332).

Bardsley : *Bard(e)sley, de Berdesley* 1422 CS 74. The first el. is apparently a pers. name, perhaps O.E. *Beard* ; cf. Beardshaw, Beardwood, Bardsea *infra.*

Hartshead (in the N.E.) : *Hertesheued* 1200 LPR, *Hertesheved* 1203 ib. The name no doubt means " hart hill " (O.E. *heorot* " hart " and *hēafod* " hill "). Hartshead is a district comprising a steep hill or ridge reaching c 1,000 ft.

Heyrod (N.E. of Ashton, on the slope of a hill) : *de Heyerode* 1246 LAR, *del Heghrode* 1422 CS 74, *the Herode* 1603 CW 6. " High clearing " (O.E. *rod* p. 16).

Lees or **Hey :** *del Heye* 1332 LS ; *the Leese* 1604 CW 4. Hey seems to be O.E. *hege* " enclosure," while Lees appears to be the plur. of O.E. *lēah* " lea."

Luzzley : *de Luseleg, -legh* 1246 LAR, *Loseley* 13 cent. VHL IV. 341, *Lusley* 1422 CS 74. In spite of the early *u-* forms, I think the first el. is O.E. *hlōse* " a pig-sty," the *u* being due to the early northern change of *ō* to a sound written *u.*

Mossley : *de Moselegh* 1319 LF, *Mossley* 1422 CS 74. " Moss lea."

Shepley : *de Shepelegh* 1332 LS, *Shepley* 1422 CS 74. " Sheep lea."

Stalybridge (now in Cheshire). Named from Stayley, an old hamlet : *de Stavelegh* 1389 Bardsley, *Stayley* 1422 CS 74. O.E. **stæf-lēah* ; *stæf* " staff " may also have meant " a boundary mark."

Sunderland (or Cinderland) : *Sunderland* 1422 CS 74, *Synderlande* 1564 DL. The name represents O.E. *sundorland,* literally " separate land." The exact meaning in this case is not clear. Cf. the same name in Bl. and Lo.

Taunton or **Tongton :** *de Tongton* 1246 LAR, *de Tounton* 1276 LAR, *Taunton* 1422 CS 74, *Tongton* 1585 DL. Taunton stands S. of the junction of Taunton brook with the Medlock ; a long narrow tongue of land is formed by the streams. The first el. of the name is no doubt O.E. *tang* " fork of a river " ; cf. p. 18.

MANCHESTER PAR.

The district round Manchester city. Most of the thirty townships are now wholly or partly urban or suburban. The surface is low and level in the S., especially the S.W., but rises somewhat in the E. and N.

1. **Haughton** (E. of Manchester, in a bend of the Tame; v.): *Halghton* 1307 LF, 1322 LI, *Halcton* 1322 LI. The village stands fairly high over the Tame and some small "haughs" or flat pieces of ground in the bends of the river. First el. O.E. *halh* "haugh," on which see p. 11.

2. **Denton** (E. of Manchester, W. of Haughton): *Denton* 1255, 1278 LAR, 1282 LF, etc. First el. O.E. *denu* "valley." A small brook rises close to the church and runs in a slight valley S.W. Denton Hall is close to the brook.

3. **Reddish** (S.E. of Manchester, on the Tame): *Rediche* 1212 RB, 1262 LF, 1284 LAR, *Redich* 1212 LI, 1327, 1332 LS, etc., *Reddich* 1262 LF, *Redyche* 1322 LI, *Reedyche* 1325 LCR; *Radich* 1226 LI, *Raddic* 1227 LI, *Radiche* 1324 LI, *Radyshe* 1550 LF; *de Redissh* 1404 CR, *Reddish* 1577 Harr. The name probably means "reed ditch" (O.E. *hrēod-dīc*), and refers to the old Nico Ditch (no doubt a corruption of *Mykeldiche* 1190-1212 LPR 329), which forms the N. boundary of the township. Some early forms apparently point rather to a first el. O.E. *rēad* "red," but this etymology seems less probable. The change [tʃ]>[ʃ] is late.

Hulme Hall: *de Hulme* 1343 VHL IV. 328, *Hulme* 1553 DL. O.Dan. *hulm* "holm"; cf. p. 13.

4. **Heaton Norris** (S. of Manchester, on the Mersey): *Hetton* 1196 LF, *Heton* 1212 LI, 1276 LAR, *Heton Norays* 1282 IPM, *Heton Norreis* 1322 LI, 1332 LS. "The high town." Heaton occupies a piece of land which rises to over 200 ft. above sea-level and slopes steeply S. and W. The manor was held from the 12th cent. onwards by the Norreys family.

5. **Burnage** (N.W. of Heaton Norris, v.): *Bronadge, Bronage, Bronnegge* (var. *Brownegg*) 1322 LI (copy). Etymology doubtful. The ground of the township slopes slightly from S. to N.; but it seems improbable that this slope could have been called an *edge*. If the second el. of the name is *edge* (O.E. *ecg*), the first might be O.E. *burna* "brook" and the name might be due to the position of the place near Cringle Brook. As regards the form *-adge*, we may compare *agge* "edge" in Layamon (NED). If, as one of the forms seems to suggest, the first el. is the adj. *brown*, the second is perhaps the word *hedge*. Cf. Burnedge p. 52.

6. **Withington** (S. of Manchester): *Wythinton* 1212, 1243 LI, 1332 LS, etc., *de Witheton* 1219, 1222 LAR, *Withinton* 1255 LAR, 1325 LF, etc., *Wythington* 1246 LAR, *Whytinton* 1303 FA. Other variants occur. The first el. is dial. *withen* "willow."

Fallowfield: *Fallufeld* 1317 M, *Falofeld* 1417 CR, *Falowfelde* 1530 DL. The name no doubt means literally "fallow field," *fallow* being here perhaps used in the sense "uncultivated" (cf. NED). Falfield, in Gloucester, seems to have the same origin. A somewhat different explanation of the name is given by Gray, English Field Systems, 1915.

Healdhouses: *Yheldhouse* 1317 M 574, *la Zeldehouses* 1417 CR. "Guild houses"; first el. O.E. *gild* "guild."

Hough End Hall: *del Hogh* 1323 LF, (manor of) *Hoghe, Howghe* 1543 AD VI, *Hughhall* 1577 Saxton, *the Hough, the Hough End* 1587 CW 40, *houghes end, ye Hoousend* 1588 Didsbury R; now [hu·z end] (Prof. Tait) or [(h)ufend (h)o·l]. The place stands on Chorlton Brook, which runs in a ravine called Houghend Clough (*Wythinton Howe* 1322 LI). Hough is O.E. *hōh*, here used in the sense "a ravine"; cf. *heugh* "a glen; a deep cleft in the rocks; a grassy ravine without water" (Sc., Nhb., Wml., etc., EDD).

7. **Levenshulme** (S.E. of Manchester, between Nico Ditch and Black Brook): *de Lewyneshulm* 1246 LAR, *Levensholme* 1322 LI, *Lensom* 1587 Didsbury R; now [levenzu·m]. "Leofwine's holm." *Lēofwine* is a common O.E. pers. n.

8. **Rusholme** (S. of Manchester): *Russum* WhC 59, 1235 LF, *Ryssham* 1316 M, *Rysum* 1320 ib., *Resshum* 1417 CR, *Rysshulme, Rysholme* 1551 LF; now [ruʃəm]. The name seems to be O.E. *ryscum* dat. pl. of *risc, rysc* "rush." Through the township runs Gore Brook, also called Rushbrook.

Birch: *de Birches* 1246 LAR, *de(l) Byrches* 1277, 1284 LAR, *Byrches* 1322 LI. "The birches" (O.E. *birce* "birch").

Platt: *Plat* 1292 PW, *del Plat* 1300 OR, 1312 AP. The name may be identical with *plat*[1] "a piece of ground," or perhaps more probably with dial. *plat*, "a foot-bridge"; cf. Platt p. 102. A bridge over Gore Brook is called Platt Bridge.

Slade (formerly Milkwall Slade): *Milkewalslade* 1322 LI, *Slade* 1600 RS XII. 248. Milkwall is presumably the name of a stream, literally "milk well" (O.E. *wælla* "stream"). *Slade* "valley, glade," etc., is O.E. *slæd*.

9. **Didsbury** (on the Mersey, S. of Withington; v.): *Dedesbiry* 1246 LAR, *Diddisbiry, Diddesbiry, Didesbyri* 1276 LAR, *Didybiri* 1277 ib., *Dydesbiry, Didesbyry* 1278 LAR, *Diddesburye, Dutesbure* 1322 LI, *Doddesbury* 1577 Harr., *Duddesburye* 1593 DL. The first el. is apparently an O.E. pers. name, probably O.E. **Dydd* or **Dyddi*, which seems to be found in Dittisham, Dev. (*Didis-, Dodesham* 1286, 1428 FA). Cf. O.E. **Dydda* in Didley, Heref. (*Duddeleye* 1303 FA), Didbrook, Glo. (*Dyddebroke* 1316 FA).

10. **Chorlton-with-Hardy** (on the Mersey, W. of Withington).

Chorlton: *de Cholreton* 1243 LI, 1258 LAR, 1314 LF, *Chollerton* 1322 LI, 1336 LF, 1561 DL, *Chorleton* 1551 LF, *Colerton* 1555 LF; here probably belong *de Chelwerton* 1259 LAR, *de Chelverton* 1260 LAR. It seems the editor of VHL is right in taking forms such as *Chollerton* to refer to Chorlton-cum-Hardy, such as *Cherleton, Chorleton* to Chorlton-upon-Medlock; yet the two names seem to have been confused even in early times. Thus in PR 1260 (LAR p. 297 ff.) Richard de Chelverton (*i.e.*, Chorlton c. Hardy) is called *de Cherleton*, pp. 297, 299. Chorlton (cum-Hardy) apparently has as first el. an O.E. pers. name in *Cēol*, if the forms *Chelverton, Chelwerton* are trustworthy, probably O.E. *Cēolferþ,-friþ*.

Hardy (near the Mersey): *Hardey* 1555 LF, 1588 Didsbury R. The second el. of the name is probably O.E. *ēg* "island, river-meadow," etc. (p. 10). Cf. *Eeas*, the land by the riverside in the township. The first el. is doubtful. It might, of course, be the adj. *hard*.

Barlow (old manor): *Barlowe* 1254 AP, 1322 LI, 1336 LF, *de Berlawe, Barlowe* 1260 LAR. O.E. *bere* "barley" and *hlāw* "hill." The surface of the township

[1] First evidenced in NED from 1511, etc. Cf. *Adamesplat* 1200-38 CC 551.

is generally level and low, but in the S.E., where Barlow is, it rises to over 100ft. above sea-level.

11. **Moss Side** (N. of Withington, a late township): *Mossyde* 1530, *Mosside* 1564 DL, *Moss Side* 1594 CW 53. The name is self-explaining. There was formerly much moss land in Manchester parish.

12. **Chorlton-upon-Medlock** (S. of the Medlock, in Manchester): *Cherleton* 1177 LPR, 1196, 1202 LF, *Chorelton* 1212 LI, *Cherlton* 1226 LI, 1278 LF, *Chorleton* 1327, 1332 LS, etc. This Chorlton obviously goes back to O.E. *ceorla tūn*, and is identical with the common name Charlton. Chorlton occurs also in Ches. and Staffs. It is not apparent why villages were called *ceorla-tūn* " the tun of the *ceorls*," but similar names are found elsewhere, *e.g.*, in Sweden (*Karlaby*, etc.; cf. Hellquist, De svenska ortnamnen på - *by*, esp. p. 76 ff.).

13. **Stretford** (between the Mersey and the Irwell): *Stretford* 1212 LI, 1325 LF, 1327, 1332 LS, etc., *Stratford* 1292 PW. The village stands near the ford (sometimes called Crosford) by which the Roman road from Chester to Manchester passes the Mersey. Stret- is O.E. *strēt* " street, Roman road."

Trafford (old manor): *de Trafford* c 1200 Ch (orig.), 1212 LI, etc., *Trafford* 1226 LI, 1284 ChR, 1325 LF, etc., *de Trafforde* 1212 RB. Trafford is a doublet of Stretford, the form being due to Norman influence. Zachrisson, A.N. Infl. p. 67f., gives some similar instances of loss of *S-*; also *a* for *e* and the assimilation of *tf* to *ff* may be due to the same cause. That *Trafford* comes from earlier *Stratford* is obvious. Henry de Trafford, often mentioned in sources from about 1200 (as LI, RB), is called *H. de Stratford* in *Stafford* 1206 LPR, *H. de Stratford* ib. 1207; cf. *Hugo de Straforde* in *Straforde* 1212 RB. The manor of Trafford was carved out of Stretford township. As the manor-house was situated at a considerable distance from the village, its Normanized name came at an early period to be dissociated from that of the village, and therefore remained.

14. **Salford** (town; before the Conquest a royal manor and the head of Salford hundred): *Salford* DB, 1177 LPR, 1226 LI, 1332 LS, etc.; *Sauford* 1169, 1201 LPR, etc. Occasional forms are: *Sainford* 1226 LI, *de Selford* 1253, 1255 LAR, *Shelford* 1260 LPR, *Saltford* 1257 LI. " Willow ford," O.E. *salh* " willow " and *ford*. Old Salford village was on the Irwell. The name Salford in Beds. and Yks. has the same origin.

Ordsall (old manor): *Ordeshala* 1177 LPR, *Ordeshal* 1201f. LPR, *Ordeshale*, *Wurdeshal* 1226 LI, *Hordessale* 1303 FA, *Hordeshale* 1330 LI, *Urdesale* 1381 CR 353. The first el. is apparently an O.E. pers. name *Ord*, a pet form of names such as *Ordric*, etc., apparently found also in Ordsall, Notts. (*Ordeshale* DB), and perhaps as *Orde* in DB (Wyld). The second el. is O.E. *halh* " haugh." Ordsall is in a bend of the Irwell.

15. **Broughton** (on the Irwell): *Burton* 1177, 1201 ff. LPR, *Borton* 1257 LI, *Burghton* 1323, 1330 LI, 1352 LF, *Burghtoun* 1341 IN. O.E. *Burhtūn*, the source of the numerous English Burtons. The origin of this name is probably not always the same. In some cases it may be due to the situation of a place near an old disused *burh*, or to a *burh* still in use. In other cases it may represent an O.E. *burhtūn*, *i.e.*, " a tūn with a palisade round it " (Maitland, Domesday Book, p. 183). A great man's house had a palisade, apparently called *burh*.

In the present case the reason why the name was given the place is not obvious. The form Broughton is due to a late change.

Kersal : *Kereshalam* 1142 Ch, *Kershala* c 1175 ib., *Kereshal* 1199 ChR, *Kersall, Kersale* c 1200 Ch, *Kershal* 1200 LPR, *Kereshole* 1212 LI, *Kersale, de Kershale* 1246 LAR. The second el. is O.E. *halh* " haugh " ; Kersal is in a bend of the Irwell. The first el. is not so certain. The early forms point most probably to a dissyllabic word ; the forms *Kershala, Kersall, Kersale* are mostly found in late transcripts. If so, it may be identified with O.E. *Cēr* pers. n., found in *Cæresig*, now Kersey, Suff. But O.E. *cerse* " cress " is not impossible ; cf. Kearsley in Deane, p. 43. A cell of St. Leonard's belonging to the priory of Lenton was established here in 1142, hence the name of Kersal Cell, a house occupying the site of the cell.

Tetlow : *Tettelagh* 1302 LI, *Tettelowe* 1312 LI, *de Tettlawe* 1323 LI, *de Tettelowe* 1346 FA. The elements of the name are O.E. *Tetta* pers. n. and O.E. *hlāw* " hill." O.E. *Tetta* is found in Tedburn, Dev. : *(on) tettan burnan* 739 BCS 1331.

Choo (a lost place, considered to have been in Broughton) : *Le Choo* 1322 LI, *The Choe* 1341, *(the) Choo* 1343, 1473 M. Cf. Chew in Billington, p. 71.

16. **Hulme** (bounded practically by the Medlock, Irwell, and Cornbrook) : *Ouerholm* and *Noranholm* 1226 LI (*Norholm* 1227 ib.), *Overhulm* and *Netherhulm* 1324 LI, *de Hulm* 1246 LAR, *Hulm* 1310 LF, *Hulme* 1440 LF, etc., *Holme* 1577 Saxton ; now [hu·m, hju·m]. O.Dan. *hulm* " island," etc. (cf. p. 13). The situation of the township sufficiently explains the name. *Nor(an)holm* 1226, 1227 appears to be a corruption for *Netherholm*.

17. **Cheetham** (on the W. bank of the Irk, N. of Manchester) : *Chetam* 1212 BF, *Chetham* 1226 LI, 1332 LS, etc. ; *de Cheetham* 1254 IM, *Cheteham* 1312 LF. The first el. is, in my opinion, identical with Welsh *coed*, O.Corn. *cuit*, Bret. *koat* " wood " from Brit. **kēt* < Prim. Celt. **kaito*. The same word is found, *e.g.*, in Chute, Wilts (*Ceit* 1178, *Cet* 1222 ; cf. Ekblom) and in Chetwode, Bucks. (*Cetwuda* 949 BCS 883, *Cetevde* DB). The correctness of this etymology is corroborated by the fact that the southern part of Cheetham is called Cheetwood : *Chetewode* 1489 PatR, 1522 DL, *Chetewood* 1597 DL. The second el. is probably O.E. *hām*.

Strangeways : *Strangwas* 1322 LI, *de Stranways* 1323 LI, *de Strangways* 1326 LCR, *de Strangwas* 1326 AP, 1356 CR 331, *Strangewayes* 1546 LF, *Strangwyshe* 1551 LF, *Strang wayes* 1577 Harr. Wyld aptly suggests a compound of O.E. *strang* " strong," changed by popular etymology to [streindż], and O.E. *(ge)wæsc* " washing up or overflow of water." Strangeways is in a tongue of land between the Irk and the Irwell. The abnormal change of the vowel and final consonant of the second el. may be due to Norman influence ; but perhaps only the spelling is Norman, the pronunciation *-s* being due to the spelling. As regards the vowel, cf. [aiʃ, waiʃ] for *ash, wash* in Lanc. dialects.

18. **Manchester** (town) : *Mamucio* (Iter II.), *Mancunio* (Iter X.) Ant. It. ; *Mameceaster* 923 Chr. (A), *Manigeceaster* 923 Chr. (G), *Mamecestre* DB, 1183, 1197 LPR, 1212 LI, 1227 ChR, etc., *Mammecestre* 1184, 1185, 1194 ff. LPR, *Mamchestre* 1385, 1441 LF, *Mancestre* 1310 LI, 1384 LF, *Manchestre* 1330 LI, *Manchester* 1480 LF, etc.

The name contains O.E. *ceaster* " city," etc., and the Brit. name of the

place. Of the forms that have the best MS authority, *Mamucio* and *Mancunio*, the former is obviously the better, and *Mamucium* is adopted by Parthey and Pinder in the map of their edition 1848. This form really has better MS authority, as it is in the two oldest texts we have (B and L, both 8th cent.), while *Mancunio* is not in L (L second hand has *Mamcunio*). The English form (O.E. *Mameceaster*, later *Mamechestre*, etc.) proves decisively that *Mancunium* must be wrong, while *Mamucium* may be a correct form.[1] I think it very probable that *Mamucium* is the original form. It may be a derivative with the suffix *-uk-* found in O.W. *morcanhuc* LL 119, etc. (from *Morcant* pers. n.). The base might be the stem *Mam-* found in Gaul. *Mamus* pers. n., *Mamacas*, *Mamacus* pl. names (Holder). This Brit. form at the time of its adoption would be dissyllabic and end in *k*, which was lost before O.E. *c*. An exact parallel is offered by O.E. *Dorceceastre* Chr. (now Dorchester, Oxf.), in Bede *dorciccaestræ* 4, 23, *dorcic* 3, 7.

Alport : *Aldeport* 1282 IPM (*Aldeparc* in a late transcript LI), 1322 LI, *Overaldport*, *Netheraldport* 1458 RS XXX., *Alparte parke* c 1540 Leland. Alport is near the site of the old Roman fort, at some distance from which mediæval Manchester grew up. The name means "the old port," *port* being O.E. *port* "town," esp. perhaps "walled town" or "market town" (Lat. *portus*; NED) cf. Whitaker, History of Manchester I. 204, II. 408, Tait, Mediæval Manchester, p. 3.

[1] The Brit. name of Manchester is dealt with by Dr. Bradley in EHR XV., p. 495f., and, with full discussion of the MS forms, by Professor Tait in Roman Fort at Manchester (1909), p. 9ff. Both reject *Mancunio*. Dr. Bradley does not consider it certain that *Mamucio* is correct either. "The probability," he says, "would seem to be that both forms are more or less altered from a common archetype." As "the *nc* of *Mancunio* must represent an original *m*, analogy would point to the *uc* of *Mamucio* being a corruption of the same letter." This would give *Mammium*, which might be a derivative of Celt. *mamma* "mother." An argument in favour of this is that at the time when the Brit. name was adopted Brit. intervocalic *m* would probably have been represented by *v*.

Dr. Bradley's arguments are certainly well worth serious consideration, and Professor Tait, on account of them, thinks *Mamucium* "lies under some suspicion." To my mind the chief reason for suspecting the form is the preservation of Brit. *m*. If it can be proved that Engl. *m* may well represent Brit. intervocalic *m*, the claims of *Mamucium* to be correct gain considerably in strength. Now Brit. intervocalic *m* did not become *v* until fairly late. In O.W. and O.Bret. it was a loose *m* or nasalised *v*, and in Breton the preceding vowel is still nasalised (Pedersen I., p. 161ff.). Jones (p. 163) thinks the change to *v* took place "towards the end of the O.W. period." The O.W. period is generally held to have come to an end c 1100. That in Welsh a loose *m* or nasalised *v* was spoken comparatively late is proved by such spellings as O.W. *amal* (Pedersen *l.c.*) or *Tam* for *Taf*, etc., in LL. For this nasalised *v* Engl. *m* or *v* could be substituted. An example of late substitution of *m* is *Cameleac*, which certainly looks like an attempt at rendering a spoken Welsh form, in Chr. 918 for O.W. *Cimeilliauc* LL (later *Cyfeilliog*). It is also an important fact that the name of the river Tame, which joins the Mersey a few miles S.E. of Manchester, preserves the *m*.

Under these circumstances I do not think there is sufficient reason for rejecting or suspecting *Mamucio*, even though *Mammio* yields a very satisfactory etymology. A corruption of *Mamucio* to *Mancunio* seems well within the bounds of probability. In my opinion it would really be a remarkable coincidence if the short name *Mammio* should have been corrupted in both places where it occurred.

I even feel some doubt if *Mammium* accounts well for the O.E. and early M.E. dissyllabic form *Mame-*. Brit. *Mammion* must have become monosyllabic at a very early date. It is even possible that *Mammion* would have had its vowel umlauted to *e*. The Brit. *i-* umlaut must have taken place very early, as it is found in all the Brit. languages (Pedersen I. 372ff.).

Possibly O.E. *port* also meant " fort " (cf. Portfield in Whalley). A meaning " old fort " would, perhaps, be still more suitable.

Ancoats (h.): *Einecote* 1212 LI, *de Hanekotes* 1243 LI, *de Ancoates* 1240-59 Ch, *Ancotes*, *Ancottes* 1322 LI. Ancoats is in the extreme S.E. of the township. This rendèrs the meaning " lonely huts " (O.E. *āna* and *cot*) probable; cf. especially Onecote, Staffs. (*Anecote* 1199, 1204 Duignan); Onehouse, Suff. (*Anhus* DB). The form *Einecote* seems to show Scand. influence.

Ashley: *Asseleie* 1320 M, 1322 LI. " Ash lea."

Clayden: *Claidene*, *-fielde* 1322 LI. O.E. *clǣg* " clay," and *denu* " valley."

Collyhurst: *Colyhurst* 1322 LI, 1556 LF, 1586 Camden. There were coalmines here (VHL IV. 229). The first el. is, perhaps, *colly* " dirtied with coal dust or soot; grimy; coalblack " (16 cent. NED); M.E. *colwen* " to make dirty " seems to be a derivative of *colig*, which must consequently be fairly old. On *hurst* see p. 13. The meaning " hill " seems probable here.

Garrett [Hall]: *Garret hall* 1577 Saxton, *Garret Halle* 1577 Harr. M.E. *garret* " a watch-tower " (14 cent.) from O.F. *garite* (NED). The position of the house " was originally one of defence at the junction of two streams " (VHL IV. 240).

19. **Ardwick** (S.E. of Manchester and the Medlock): *Atheriswyke* 1282 IPM, *Atherdwic* M, *Aderwyk* 1282 M, *Ardewike*, *Ardwicke* 1322 LI, *de Ardewyk* 1324 LCR, *Ardewyke* 1422 HS II. The name is difficult to judge of, as the evidence is conflicting. If we may trust the earliest forms, the name has been considerably worn down. The first el. would seem to be a pers. name in O.E. *Æðel-* or *Ead-*, most probably *Æðelred* or *Eadred*, which became M.E. *Atherd*, later *Ather(iswyke)* and *Ard(wik)*. As regards the latter development we may compare *Arreton*, Ha.: *Adrintone* DB, *Atherton* 1316 FA, *Arreton* 1234-56 AD I. (B 115). Cf. further Atherton *infra*. The second el. is O.E. *wīc* " homestead," etc.

20. **Gorton** (between Cornbrook and Nico Ditch): *Gorton* 1282 IPM, 1322 LI, *de Gorton* 1332 LS, *Goreton* 1499 DL. Gore Brook flows through the township. The first el. of Gorton, like that of Gore Brook, is no doubt O.E. *gor* " mud." Cf. Horton, in Worc. (: *horh* " mud," Duignan). The following name suggests that the township was partly marshy.

Greenlow Marsh: *Grenlawemers* 1282 IPM, *Grenelowmarshe* 1422 HS II. O.E. *grēne* " green," *hlāw* " hill," *mersc* " marsh."

21. **Openshaw** (N. of Cornbrook, E. of Manchester): *Opinschawe*, *-sawe* 1282 IPM, *Oponshaghe*, *Openshagh* 1322 LI. The name means " open wood," *open* being used in the sense " unenclosed." Cf. the interesting account of a law-suit in 1505-6 LP I. 25ff. *Opynsha Mor* is called a " common pasture." See also Tait, Mediæval Manchester, p. 24.

22. **Beswick** (on the S. bank of the Medlock): *Bexwic* 1200-23 CC, *de Bexwycke*, *Bexwyk* 1322 LI, *de Bexwik* 1359 LF. The first el. looks like a pers. name. Searle infers O.E. *Beac* from *Beaces hlawe* 955 BCS 917 (late transcr.). This may be the name wanted.

23. **Bradford** (S. of the Medlock and E. of Manchester): *Bradeford* 1196, 1358, 1359 LF, *Bradford* 1282 IPM. " The broad ford."

24. **Droylsden** (S. of the Medlock, E. of Manchester): *de Drilisden* c 1250 Ch (17 cent. copy), *Drilsden* c 1290 M, 1502 LF, *Drilesden* 1506 DL, *Drylesden*

1547 LF. The original form of the name is not sufficiently clear; apparently it was early M.E. *Drīlesden.* Wyld suggests as the first el. a pers. name *Drygel.* Phonetically this suits the case, and possibly in *Drigelinghe* DB (Yks.) we have a derivative of such a name. A derivative *Drȳgel* of O.E. *drȳge* " dry," *e.g.*, a brook name, might also be thought of. This might refer to Lumb Clough, W. of Droylsden.

Clayton (old manor): *Cleyton* c 1250 LI, *Clayton* 1439, 1441 LF. O.E. *clǣg* " clay " and *tūn.* A common E. place-name, denoting a township or homestead on clayey ground.

25. **Newton** (between Moston Brook and the Medlock): *Newton* 1322 LI, 1359 M, 1546 LF. " The new *tūn.*"

Monsall: *Monshalgh* 1546 LF. " Monks' haugh " ?

Kirkmanshulme (a detached part originally perhaps belonging to Gorton): *Kyrdmannesholm* 1292 VHL IV. 271, *Curmesholme, Kirmonsholme* 1322 LI, *Kirdmansholme* 1588, *Kirdmanhome* 1590 DL. Again the early material is unsatisfactory. I believe the modern spelling preserves the original form. *Kyrdmannes-* 1292 may well be miswritten for *Kyrkmannes-*; *Curmesholme* is probably influenced by early forms of Crumpsall. *Kirkman* is a northern word for " ecclesiastic "; as a surname *le Kirkemon* is found 1332 LS (under Harwood). As the place belonged to the ecclesiastics of Manchester, the name is to the point. On *holm, hulm,* see p. 13.

26. **Failsworth** (E. of Newton, between Moston Brook and the Medlock): *Fayleswrthe* 1212 RB, *Faileswrthe* 1212 LI, *Felesworde* 1226 LI, *Failesworthe* c 1200 CC, *Failesworth, Thayleswurth* 1246 LAR, *Faylesworde* 1451, 1461 CC. The first el. looks like a pers. name, and Wyld suggests O.E. **Fegel* or **Fœgel,* related to O.E. *fœgen,* " joyful," etc. No such name is otherwise known; yet there are some apparent O.G. names containing a stem *Fag.* I am not sure the first el. is a pers. name. As will be shown *infra,* Shuttleworth appears to have as first member a common noun derived from the verb *shut* (O.E. *scytels*). Similarly Failsworth might contain a derivative of O.E. *fēgan* " to join, unite, fix " (cf. O.H.G. *fuogan,* M.H.G. *füegen* " to join together "). O.E. *fēgels* is not recorded, but the suffix *-isla* is very common (cf. *Kluge,* Stammbildungslehre § 98). The meaning of *fēgels* might be something like that of *scytels, i.e.,* " a bar serving as a lock " or the like. On *worth* " enclosure," etc., see p. 20.

Wrigley Head (old hamlet): *Wrigeleyhede, Wriggeleheved* 1322 LI. The el. *Wrig-* may belong to the stem in O.E. *wrigian* " to strive," Engl. *wriggle,* etc., but its meaning is obscure.

27. **Moston** (N. of Moston Brook, a tributary of the Irk; v.): *Moston* 1195 LF, 1235 LAR, *de Moston* 1272 CC, 1284 LAR, ? *de Muston* 1246 LAR, 1257 LAR. " Moss *tūn.*" In the township are White Moss and Theale[1] Moor (: *Theylmore Waste* 1529 DL). First el. O.E. *mos* " moor, moss." The form *Muston,* if belonging here, is remarkable.

Nuthurst: *Nuthurst* 1322 LI, 1552 LF. *Hurst* presumably means " a copse."

28. **Harpurhey** (small township N. of the junction of the Irk and Moston Brook): *Harpourhey* 1320 M, *Harperhey* 1509 DL. Harpurhey may derive its name from

[1] *Theale* may be O.E. *pel* " plank," the name referring to a path across the moor formed by planks.

the 80 acres demised for life to William Harpour before 1322 (M 384). The second el. is O.E. *hege* " hay, enclosure."

Gotherswick (old h. ; the name is now lost) : *Gothereswicke* 1322 LI, *Goderswick, Goddyriswike* 1473 M, *Groderswyk* 1502 DL. This seems to be " *Godhere's wīc.*" *Godhere* is a common O.E. pers. name. *Godrīc* is perhaps also possible. The change of *d* to *ð* before *er* is a common phenomenon (Wright, E.D.Gr. § 297). The second el. is O.E. *wīc* " homestead," etc.

29. **Crumpsall** (S. and W. of the Irk, N. of Manchester) : *de Cormeshal* 1235 LAR, *Curmisale* 1282 IPM, *Curmesalle, Curmeshale, Curmesale* 1322 LI, *Curmeshale* 1444 LF, *Cormesall* 1500 LF, *Cromshall* 1548 LF. The second el. of the name is O.E. *halh* " haugh." The first el. would seem to be a pers. name. It may be an original nickname from O.E. *crum* (cf. *crumb*) " crooked," corresponding to O.N. *Krumr* pers. n., which is very likely from a lost adjective meaning " crooked." O.E. *crum* " crooked " seems to be evidenced in Cromhall, Glo. (: *Cromhal, Cromale* DB). This place is in a bend of a stream.

30. **Blackley** (N. of Manchester ; v.) : *Blakeley* 1282 IPM, *Blakeley* 1322 LI, 1547 LF, 1577 Saxton, *Blackeley* 1577 Harr. Pronounced " Blakeley " (Slater's Directory, 1920). " The black lea," O.E. *blæc* and *lēah.*

FLIXTON PAR.

This small parish is situated S.W. of Manchester on the Mersey, being bounded on the W. by the Irwell. It seems formerly to have belonged to Eccles parish. The surface is low and level.

1. **Flixton** (v.) : *Flixton* 1177, 1201 f. LPR, 1212 LI, 1253 LF, etc., *fflixton* 1332 LS, *Flyxton* 1262 LAR, 1341 IN, etc., *ffluxton* 1327 LS, *Fluxton* 1506 DL. The isolated spellings with *u* are probably to be disregarded. The name is identical with Flixton, Suff. (*Flixtuna* DB), derived by Skeat from O.Dan. *Flik* (*Flic, Fliic* 13 cent., Nielsen) and *tūn*, and Flixton, Yks. (*Flixtona* 1180-1200 YCh 1221, *Flixton* 1254 IPM). The same first el. is seen in Flixborough, Linc. (*Flixeburch* HR, *Flikesburgh* 1316 FA).

2. **Urmston** (v.) : *Wermeston* 1194 LPR, *Urmeston* 1212 LI, 1278, 1284 LAR, 1341 IN, etc., *Wurmeston* 1219 LAR, *de Urmiston* 1246 LAR, *Ormeston* 1284 LAR, *Vrmeston* 1327, 1332 LS. The first el. is O.Dan. *Urm* (Einhard c 800 ; cf. Noreen, Aisl. Gr. § 227, 1, a.), found also in *Urmisruth* (see Nielsen under *Urmar*). The form *Urm*, which occurs also in O.E. charters as the name of a Danish earl (BCS 665, 677, etc., A.D. 929-958), is distinctly East Scandinavian ; the West Scandinavian form is regularly *Ormr*. *Wermeston, Wurmeston* seem to show influence from the native word *wyrm.*

Hillam Farm : *Hylland* 1548 VHL V. 55. O.E. *hyll-land* " hill land " ; the modern *-m* is due to assimilation to *F-* in (Hillam) Farm. The land rises slightly in the E.

ECCLES PAR.

The parish takes its name from the church of St. Mary in Barton-upon-Irwell, round which stands the town of Eccles : *Eccles* c 1200 CC, a 1185, 1235, etc. WhC 36 ff., 1357 LF, etc., *Ecclis* c 1250 CC, *de Hecles* 1246 LAR, *de*

Hekkeles 1257 LAR, *de Eckles* 1276 LAR, *de Eckelles* 1278 LAR, *ecils* 1590 Burghley; now [eklz]. The name goes back to a Brit. *Eclēs* "church" (cf. O.W. *eccluys*, Welsh *eglwys*, O.Corn. *eglos*, O.Ir. *eclis*, etc.) from Lat. *ecclesia* (cf. Pedersen I. p. 198). This Celtic word is found in several Lanc. names: Eccleshill (Bl.), Eccleston (Leyl., Am., De.). Identical with Eccles in Lanc. are Eccles in Kent and Norf. Names in *Eccles-* are *e.g.* Ecclesfield (Yks.), Eccleshall (Staffs.), Eccleshill (Yks.), Eccleswall (Heref.), Eccleston (Ches.), Exhall (Warw.: *Eccles-hale* 710 BCS 127). There have been different opinions as regards the names mentioned. Derivation from a Brit. form of Lat. *ecclesia* is ably defended by Moorman, West Riding Place Names, p. vii. f.

The S. part of the township is low, and partly mossy. The N. half is occupied by a long, broad ridge running from N.W. to S.E. along the Irwell and coming to an end near Salford. The townships of Clifton, Pendlebury, Pendleton, and (most of) Worsley are in this part, Barton-upon-Irwell being in the S. part.

1. **Barton-upon-Irwell** (bounded on the W. by the Glazebrook, on the S. by Flixton par., the Irwell and Mersey; v.): *Barton* 1196 LPR, 1212 LI, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., *Barton on Irrewelle* 1277 LAR. *Barton* is a common place-name, which goes back to O.E. *beretūn*, *bærtūn* "barton," *i.e.*, literally, "a corn farm," "a settlement connected with barns for the collection of corn and other produce," later "a detached portion of a manor," or "demesne farm" (NED). See on this word and the synonymous *berewīc*, *e.g.*, Maitland, Domesday Book, p. 114, Vinogradoff, Growth of the Manor, p. 224, and Engl. Soc. in the XIth Cent., p. 365 f. Barton-upon-Irwell may have been a barton of the royal manor of Salford.

The S.E. part (S. of the Irwell) is called Davyhulme.

Davyhulme (v.): *Hulme* 1276 LAR, 1322 LI, *de Hulm* 1339 LF, *Dewhulm* 1313 VHL IV. 372, *Defehulme* 1434 CR, *Deffhulme* 1528 LF, *Deuelhom* 1577 Harr., *Deuaholme* 1577 Saxton, *deaffe hulme* 1600 RS XII, *Deviholme* 1599 DL; now [de·viu·m]. Davyhulme stands S. of Bent Lanes Brook, a trib. of the Irwell. On *hulm* "holm" see p. 13. The first el. is doubtful. I suspect it is simply the adj. *deaf* in one of its senses. Possibly it means "lonely"; cf. *deavely* adj. "lonely, solitary" (*deauelie habitations* 1611), found in the dialects of Yks., Chs., etc. (EDD), corresponding to O.N. *daufligr* "lonely." Or *deaf*, like O.H.G. *doub*, M.L.G. *dôf* (Förstemann 736) may have meant "wet." Later the el. was associated with the personal name *Davy*. The original name is still preserved in Hulme Bridge Farm.

Bromyhurst (on the Irwell): *Bromhirst*, *Bromyhirst* 1276 LAR, *de Bromhurst* 1246 LAR, *Bromyhurst*, *-heth* 1322 LI. O.E. *brōm* "broom" or *brōmig* adj. and *hyrst* "hurst" (cf. p. 13). *Hurst* cannot well in this case mean "a hill."

Cockney (in Bromyhurst): *Kokeney* 1253 LF. The material is too scanty. O.E. *Cocca* in *Coccan burh* (Searle) and O.E. *ēg* "island," etc., may be the elements.

Dumplington: *Dumplinton* 1229, 1253 LF, *de Dumplinton*, *de Dumplynton* 13 cent. WhC 47, 145. I would compare this name with Dimple (p. 47), Dimples (p. 163), and with the name *Kerlingdimpil*, *Kerlingedimpel* 1200-10 FC II. 229 ff. (Forton). This *dimpel* cannot be separated from M.E. *dimple* "a hollow in the chin," also "a dip in the surface of land," and from O.H.G. *dumphilo* "a pool."

There must have been an O.E. **dympel* or **dympla* " a pool " or " a hollow." *Kerlingdimpil* may well mean " ducking pool " (*kerling* is O.N. for " old woman "). From *dympel* the first el. of *Dumplington* may be a derivative: O.E. *Dymplingas* " dwellers by the pool." Cf. Lakenheath, Suff., containing O.E. *Lacingas* " stream-dwellers " (Skeat), also *Winterburninga gemære* 951 BCS 892, etc. Dumplington lies on a plain not far from the Irwell. There is no marked hollow near the place, but the existence of a pool in the neighbourhood is proved by the name Wilderspool, designating a place c ¼ m. from Dumplington.

Lostock [Hall]: *Lostoke* 1322 LI. The same name is found in Bolton (Sa.), and as a river-name in Leyland. Lostock Gralam is a parish in Ches.: *Lostoc* c 1200 CC. I take the name to be a compound of O.E. *hlōse* " pig-sty " (cf. p. 12) and *stoc* " place." Cf. O.E. *hlosstede* 966 BCS 1186, " place of a pig-sty."

Whittleswick (now Trafford Park): *de Quitliswic, de Quicliswic* 1251 CC, *de Quikleswyk* 13 cent. WhC 67, *Whikelswike, Wykleswyke* 1322 LI, *Whicleswyc* 1577 Harr., *Whickleswick* 1577 Saxton. Perhaps *Cwichelmes wīc. Cwichelm* is a well-known O.E. name. On the changes of O.E. *cw-* to M.E. *wh-* and *kl* > *tl* cf. p. 22. O.E. *wīc* means " homestead," etc. The estate was acquired by the Traffords in the 17th cent.

The S.W. part was formerly called **Chat Moss**: *Catemosse* 1277 LAR, *Chatmos* 1322 LI, *Chatmosse* 1577 Saxton. Probably the first el. is O.E. *Ceatta* pers. n.

Cadishead (old manor, v.): *Cadwalesate* 1212 LI, *Cadwalsete* 1212 RB, 1271 CC, *Cadewallessiete* 1226 LI, *Cadewallisete* 1329 WhC 253, *Cadewalleheved, Cadewelleghe* 1322 LI, *Cadyswalhede* 1538 LR. Cadishead stands near the confluence of the Glazebrook and the Irwell. The first el. of the name may be the O.E. pers. name *C(e)adwalla*; this is Wyld's opinion. Yet we rather expect O.E. *Ceadwalla* to have become *Chadwalle* in S. Lanc. It is, therefore, possible that it is itself a compound of O.E. *Cada* and *wælla* " well " or " stream." The lower part of Glazebrook may have been called *Cadewalle*, or this name may have denoted a well. The second el. may be the word *set, sat*, " pasture," discussed p. 16. But perhaps O.E. *set* " stall, fold " or " pasture " (B-T.) is a more probable source. The meaning " fold " or " pasture " would be suitable. The place was formerly in a lonely position in the far end of Chat Moss.

Irlam (v. on the Irwell): *Urwilham, Urwelham, Uruuelham* c 1190 CC, *Irwelham, Yrewelham* 1259 LAR, *Irrewilham* 1277 LAR, *Irewelham* 1292 PW, *Irwilham* 1451 CC. First el. the river-name Irwell; second probably O.E. *hām.*

Woolden, Great and Little (on the bank of the Glazebrook): *Vulueden* 1299 VHL IV. 372, *Woldene* 1538 LR. The first el. seems to be more probably *wulfa* g. pl. of O.E. *wulf* " wolf " than *Wulfa* pers. name. The second is O.E. *denu* " valley." The valley of the Glazebrook is fairly deep where Gt. Woolden is.

In the N.E. part (N. of the Irwell), near Barton and Eccles, are:

Boysnope (on the N. bank of the Irwell): *Boylsnape* 1277 LAR, *Boylesnape, Bolesnape* (*haia*) 13 cent. WhC, *Boy-, Boylesnape* 1322 LI, *Bolessnape* 1535 DL. The first el. is M.E. *bole* (O.N. *boli*, Björkman, Loanwords, p. 205) " bull "; cf. Bulsnape Am., etc., under *snape* p. 17. *Snape* seems to mean " a pasture." The spellings with *oy* represent a form with *oi* < *o* (cf. Wright, E.D.Gr. § 93).

Monton (h. N.W. of Eccles, on a tributary of the Irwell): *Mawinton*, (in) *ueteri Mawinton* c 1200 CC, *Mawenton* 1262 LAR, *Maunton* 13 cent. WhC 877, 1323 LI,

Mawyngton 1292 PW, *Mauinton* 1451 CC. Wyld derives the first el. from the pers. name *Mawa* (*Mauua*), found in DB. This name is not well evidenced; Redin even suspects a mis-spelling for *Manna*. However, *Mawo* is well authenticated on the Continent, and O.E. *Mawa* may well be a corresponding name. We may derive Monton from O.E. *Mawinga tūn*, or possibly *Mawan tūn*.

Newhall (near Winton): *Neuham* 13 cent. WhC 879, *de Newham* 1276 LAR, *Newehume* 1322 LI, *Newham* 1614 CW 42. The second el. is O.E. *hamm* "meadow," etc., or possibly O.E. *hām*. It is difficult to explain why *-ham* was supplanted by *-hall*.

The Slack (in Monton): *del Slake* 1323 LI. Cf. [*le*] *Westslak* 13 cent. WhC 878. M.E. *slack* (from O.N. *slakki*) "a small, shallow dell or valley," etc.

Winton (h.; on Worsley Brook): *Wythinton* 1322 LI, *Wythynton, -heye* 1284 WhC 911, *Wythington* 13 cent. WhC, *Wynton* 1535 DL. Identical with Withington, p. 30: "willow town."

2. **Worsley** (N. of Eccles town). The name shows much variation: I. a. *Wyrkedele* 1212 LI, *de Wirkedley* 1219 LF, *Wirkidele, Wirkedel, de Wirkithileg* (*Wyrkitheleye, Wyrkithele, Wurkedeleg, Werkidel*) 1246 LAR, *de Workedlegh* 13 cent. WhC 55, *de Worketley* 1254 LI, *de Workedele* 1282 LI, *Wrkedeleye* 1299 LF, *Workedleye* 1292 PW, *Wrkedelee* c 1225 CC; I. b. *Wurkythesle* 1246 LAR, *de Workedeslegh* 1259 LAR, *Workedesle, Wrketesle, Worcotesleye* 1278 LAR; II. a. *de Workeley* 1299 AP; II. b. *Werkesleia* 1196 LPR, *de Wyrkesl* 1246 LAR, *Workesleye* 1300 LF, *Workeslegh* 1332 LS, etc. Other occasional variants are given by Wyld and in VHL IV. 376. The types Ia. and b. clearly best preserve the original form (or forms).

Worsley v. stands at the foot of the ridge mentioned; the situation of the place throws no light on the etymology. This is a very difficult name. It seems to have as its second member O.E. *lēah*. The first might be compared with that of Worksworth, Derbys. (*Werchesuuorde* DB), Worksop, Notts. (*Werchessope* DB), Worsborough, Yks. (*Wircesburg* DB), which seems to be a pers. n., perhaps contained in *weorces mere* 972 BCS 1282, but the second syllable of the early forms is not easy to account for. As the name Eccles is British, and Pendlebury, Pendleton contain a British word, it is plausible to assume a Celtic origin also for Worsley, all the more as there are two similar names, Dinckley and Winckley in Bl, which it is extremely difficult to explain as English names. All three have a middle el. *-ket-, -kith-, -ked-*, which may be identified with Brit. *cēt* "wood" (cf. Cheetham). They might be compared with Lichfield, from O.E. *Lyccidfelth, Liccidfeld* (Bede), whose first el. has been identified with Brit. *Lētocētum*. It may seem a remarkable coincidence for three Brit. names in *cēt* to have been combined with E. *lēah*, but very likely the original meaning of this word was "glade, an open place in a forest." But if the suggestion made be correct, the first el. of the Brit. name must remain doubtful. Holder s.v. *cēto-* and Stokes p. 76 mention Bret. *Worcoet*, but this name is not given by Loth. Even if it occurs, it is not easy to identify the supposed Brit. name in Worsley with it.

Booths Hall: *Bothes man.* 1500 DL, *The Bouthe* c 1540 Leland, *Boothes hall* 1577 Saxton. "The booths," cf. p. 8.

Ellenbrook (chapel on Ellenbrook, the W. boundary of Worsley): *Elynbroke*

(chapel) 1544, *Ellynbrowghe* 1552 LP, *Ellingborowe* 1558 DL, *Ellyngbrugh* 1577 Saxton. The original name was, perhaps, *Ellernbrook*, the first el. being O.E. *elren* adj. from *alr* " alder " ; the *r* may have been lost through dissimilation. The form *-burgh* is no doubt due to association with *burgh, borough.*

Hazelhurst : *de Haselhirst* 1325 LCR, *de Haselhurst* 1332 LS. " Hazel copse." The place is on the slope of a hill.

Little Houghton : *Halughton* 1253 LF, *Halghton, parua Halghton* 1310 WhC 924, *Hawghton* 1557 LF. The place was in Swinton ; the name has now disappeared. First el. O.E. *halh* " haugh."

Malkins Wood (W. of Worsley) : *Mokenes* 1278 LAR, 13 cent. WhC 887, *Mokenys* 1276 WhC 922. Possibly a compound of O.E. **Moca* pers. n. (cf. *Mocca* and *Muca, Mucca*) and O.E. *hās*, literally " oak or beech wood " (cf. Heysham). For the sound-development cf. Crossens p. 126.

Stanystreet : *Stanistrete* (vill) 1246 LAR, (terra de) *le Stanystrete* 13 cent. WhC 887. " The paved road." There are traces of a Roman road in Worsley.

Swinton (the E. part of Worsley, on the ridge mentioned p. 38) : *Suinton* 1258 LAR, *Swynton* 1276, 1278 LAR, 1293 WhC, etc., *Svinton* 1278 LAR. Swinton is a common place-name. It no doubt means " farm where pigs are fed."

Walkden : *de Walkeden* 1325 LCR, *de Walkedene* 1408 Bardsley, *Walkeden* 1514 LF. The first el. is perhaps identical with that of Walkley, Yks. (*Walkeley* 1270, etc., Goodall). It may be a pers. name, as suggested for Walkley by Goodall, who compares Walkingham, Walkington in Yks. Searle has one possible example of *Wealaca* in *wealacan dic* 854 BCS 475. It seems improbable that the name contains a word derived from O.E. *walcan* " to full."

Wardley (near Swinton) : *de Wordeley* c 1300 WhC 44, *Wordelegh* 1292 PW, *Wordeleywall* 1310 WhC, *Werdley* 1577 Saxton. This seems to be O.E. *worþ* " enclosure," etc., and *lēah*, with change of *ð* > *d* before *l* as in Headley (Worc.) : in *hæðleage* 849 BCS 455, *Hedleye* 1275 (Duignan).

3. **Pendleton** (N.W. of Salford, of which it is now a suburb) : *Penelton* 1200, 1201 LPR, *Pendelton* 1201, 1202 LPR, *Pennelton* 1212 LI, *Penilton* 1243 LI, 1246 LAR, *Penhulton* 13 cent. WhC 52, *Penhilton* 1332 LS, *Pelton Hey* 1590 DL. The first el. of the name must be a name *Penhyll*, identical with Pendle, Bl. The township is at the end of and partly on the ridge of land mentioned p. 38, the highest point in Pendleton being 230ft. I suppose this ridge was once called *Penhyll.* I take *pen* to be identical with Welsh *pen* " head, end, top," O.Bret. *pen* " head," etc., found in names such as Penmynydd " top of the mountain," Penrhiw (: *rhiw* " hill "), Pendinas (a hill near Aberystwyth ; *dinas* " town "). Very likely the old British name was a combination of *penn* with some other word. Anyhow, the Anglian invaders took over the name as *Penn* and added the O.E. *hyll* just as in the case of Pendle Bl. Possibly there are traces of the name *Penn* too ; see under Pendlebury.

(Little) Bolton (old manor) : *Bothelton* 1212 LI, c 1210 CC, *Boulton* 1201 LPR, *Bolton* 1341 IN. O.E. *bōpl* " dwelling," etc., and *tūn*. Bolton is a very common place-name in the N. of England ; there are several in Lancashire. Cf. p. 8.

Brindle Heath : *Le Brendlache, Brendelache* 1324 LI. The second el. is *letch* (earlier *lech, lach*) " a stream flowing through boggy land ; a muddy ditch or

hole; a bog" (NED), cf. dial. *lache* "a swamp, a quagmire," etc. (EDD). *Brend-* is very likely M.E. *brend* "burnt," here "of a tawny or brownish colour."
Hope (formerly in Swinton): *le Hope* (close), *hayas del Hope* 13 cent. WhC 917f., *Hope* (manor) 1324 LI. O.E. *hop* (see p. 13), here most probably in the sense "a valley."
Weaste. The name is a form of *waste*, which in dialects means "uncultivated land, common."
4. **Pendlebury** (N. of Pendleton, town): a. *Penelbiri*, *Pinnelberia* 1202 LPR, *Penlebire* 1206 ib., *Penlibere* 1207 ib., *Pennilbure* 1212 LI, *de Pennelbiry* (*Penelbyry*, *Pennel-*, *Penelbiry*) 1246 LAR, *de Penhilbyry* (*Pennylles-*, *Pennylbyry*) 1284 LAR, *Penhulbury* 13 cent. WhC 52, 1332 LS, *Penulbury* 1311, 1423 LF, *Pennilbiry* 1313 LF, b. *Penesbire* 1206 LPR, *Pennebire* 1208 LPR, 1226 LI, *Penisburia* 1212 RB, *Pennesbyry* 1278 LAR. Pendlebury stands on the N.E. slope of the ridge mentioned; nearly 300ft. elevation is reached in the township. Type a. has obviously as first el. the *Penhyll* suggested under Pendleton as the old name of the ridge. Type b. is most probably only a phonetic and graphic variant of type a. But as it is found early, and only in early sources, it is just possible it contains the uncompounded name *Penn*, on which see under Pendleton. The second el. is O.E. *burh*; perhaps there was once a fort on the ridge.
Agecroft [Hall]: *Achecroft* 1394 TI, *Agecroft* c 1540 Leland, *Edgecroft* 1577 Harr., *Aggecroft* 16 cent. DL. Agecroft Hall stands on the slope of the ridge not far from the Irwell. The material is unsatisfactory. The first el. of the name is perhaps *edge* "brink" or *Ecga* pers. n. For the form *Age-* cf. Burnage p. 30.
Shoresworth (old manor, situated on the Irwell S. of Pendleton; the name is now lost): *Snoreswurda* (!) 1177 LPR, *Schoresworde* 1226 LI, *Schoresworth* 1241 LF, *de Soriswrth* 1243 LI, *de Schorwurth* 1242, 1244 LAR, *de Schereswurth* 1246 LAR, *de Schoresworth*, *-wrth* 1278 LAR. The first el. is no doubt the word *shore*, here used in the sense "bank" (of a river), a sense first evidenced in Lanc. texts (Allit. Poems, etc.). *Chadeswrthe* 1212 RB, 1212 LI is usually identified with Shoresworth. If that is correct, it is perhaps an earlier name with O.E. *Ceadd(a)* as first el. On *worth* see p. 20.
5. **Clifton** (N. of Pendlebury and Worsley, v.): *Clifton* 1184 LPR, 1212 LI, 1332 LS; *Clyfton* 1185 LPR, 1307 LF. Clifton stands on the slope of the ridge mentioned p. 38; *cliff* (O.E. *clif*) in this case means "a declivity, a slope."

DEANE PAR.

This parish takes its name from Deane in Rumworth, where the church is: *Capella de Saynte mariden* 13 cent. WhC 60, *capellam de Saynte Maridene* 1329 WhC 256, *Dene* 1292 PW. The church is dedicated to St. Mary. It stands on the edge of a narrow valley, Deane Church Clough, near the town of Bolton; hence the name (O.E. *denu* "valley"). The parish is situated W. of the Irwell and W. and S. of Bolton-le-Moors. The ground varies considerably. In the S. part is a ridge reaching c 500ft. The northernmost part is on the slope of a moorland district, whose highest point (Winter Hill in Bolton par.) rises to 1,498ft. In the middle is a fairly broad valley occupied by Lostock township in Bolton par.

1. **Kearsley** (S.E. of Bolton, on the Irwell; v.): *Cherselawe* 1187 LPR, *Cherselawa* 1188 LPR, *Kersleie* c 1220 CC, *Keresley* 1501 LF. I suppose the name means "cress lea" (O.E. *cærse, cerse* "cress" and *lēah*). The early forms in *-lawe, -lawa*, if they belong here, are probably corrupt.
2. **Farnworth** (S. of Bolton, on the Irwell; town): *Farnewurd* 1185 LPR, *Ferneworthe* c 1220 CC, *Farinworth* 1253 LF, *Farneworth* 1278 LAR, 1326 LF, etc. O.E. *fearn* "fern" and *worþ* "enclosure," etc.
Blindsill: *de Blyndeshull* 1278 LAR. Possibly the first el. is a pers. name derived from *blind* adj. Cf. Blindbothel, Cumb.
Prestall (near the Irwell; the name is preserved in Presto Lane): *de Presthall* 1278 LAR, *de Prestal* 1324 LCR, *Prestall* 1514 LF. Probably "the priest's hall or farm."
3. **Over, Middle,** and **Little Hulton** (three townships S. of Bolton): *Hilton* 1200 ff. LPR, 1246 LAR, etc., *Hiltone* 1212 RB, *Hylton* 1219, 1256 LF, *Hulton* 1212 LI, 1327, 1332 LS, etc., *Hilton, Over-, Netherhilton* 1521 LF, *Medyll Hilton* 1552 LP. O.E. *hyll* "hill" and *tūn*. The district of Hulton is on the slope of a ridge; in Over Hulton an elevation of c 500ft. is reached.
Wharton or **Warton Hall** (in Li. Hilton). An early form is *Wauerton* (VHL V. 30). Better material is wanted. Cf. Wavertree (De).
Wicheves, later **Peel Hall** (in Li. Hulton): *del Withevse* 1323 LI, *Wicheves* VHL V. 30, *Le Whiche Eves* 1546 LF. The first el. is a name *the Wiche*, denoting a piece of land in Hulton, and found also in *Wichard, Wichsike* c 1210 LF I. p. 216; cf. *Wichshaw, Wich Brook* 13 cent. VHL V. 30. As *eaves* often means "edge of a wood," it is probable that *Wich* denoted a wood (cf. also *Wichshaw*) and that the name is O.E. *wice* "witchelm," or rather the plural of that. Wicheves is, then, "the edge of the elm-wood." *Peel* is, of course, *peel* "a palisade, a palisaded enclosure; a small castle."
4. **Westhoughton** (S.W. of Bolton; v.): *Halcton* c 1210, etc. CC, 1258 LAR, *Halcghton* 1246 LAR, *Halicton* 1258 LAR, *Halghton* 1332 LS, *Westhalcton* c 1240 CC, *Westhalton* 1303 FA, *Westhalghton* 1327 LS, etc., *Westhowftun* 1864 Staton. O.E. *halh* "haugh" and *tūn*. The village stands near Pennington Brook. Westhoughton is W. of Little Houghton.
Borsden or **Borsdane** (on Borsden Brook): *Ballesdenebroc* c 1215 CC, *lee Balesden* 1451 CC, *Basdane* 1537 CC. Cf. *Ballesleie, Ballislege* 13 cent. CC (Westhoughton), *Ballesley* 1560 DL. The first el. is probably O.E. *Bœll* pers. n. in *bœlles wœge* 946 BCS 814, and found also in Balsham, Cambs. (*Bellesham* 974, *Balsham* 1286 FA; cf. Skeat).
Brinsop (in the N.W.): *Brunsop* c 1250 CC, *lee Brinsope* 1451 CC, *Brynsop* 1577 Saxton. The same name is found in Bold De. (*Brunsop* 14 cent., *de Brinsope* 1372 VHL III. 408), and Heref. (: *Bruneshop* 1291 TE, etc.). Though it is remarkable that *hop* should be combined so often with the same name, I suppose the first el. is the O.E. pers. n. *Brȳne*, found also *e.g.* in Brinsley, Notts. *Hope* is O.E. *hop*, here used in the sense "a small valley opening out from the main dale." The place stands in a small valley on the upper Borsden Brook.
Snydale (N.E. of Westhoughton): ? *Slinehal* 1212 BF, *de Snythehill* (*Snithull*) 1278 LAR, *Snythill* 1486 RS XXX. The early forms are too conflicting to allow of a definite etymology. Snydale Hall stands close to Snydale Hill,

which reaches 475 ft.; so the second el. is probably O.E. *hyll* " hill." The first el. may be O.E. *snīte* " snipe "; cf. Snydale, Yks. (*Snitehala* DB).

Warcockhill (N. of Westhoughton): *le Werkokhull* c 1280 CC, *le Werkochul* c 1250 CC. *Warcock-* is M.E. *wer-cok* ? " pheasant " (Stratmann-Bradley). The same name is found in Rochdale (*Wercokhill* 1324 LI); cf. *Warcockelowe* (Darwen) VHL VI. 272. On *wercock*, see Anglia-Beiblatt XXIX. 197. M.E. *wercok* is related to O.E. *wōrhana* (glossed phasianus)=Du. *woerhaan* " capercailzie."

Wingates (h. N. of Westhoughton): *Windyatis* 1272 CC, *lee Wyndzates* 1451 ib. Cf. *to wind geate* 961 BCS 1066. I suppose the name means something like " swing-gate."

5. **Rumworth** (S.W. of Bolton): *Rumwrth* 1205, 1288 LF, *-worth* 1278 LAR, 1303 FA, 1327 LS, *Rumhworth* 1243 LI, *Romworth* 1332 LS, *Romesworth* 1341 IN. The township occupies the N. slope of the ridge on the S. slope of which is Hulton. The first el. of the name is doubtless O.E. *rūm* adj.; the sense may be " roomy, spacious " or " open, unencumbered, cleared." On *worth* " enclosure," etc., see p. 20.

6. **Heaton** or **Heaton-under-Horwich** (W. of Bolton): *Heton* 1227, 1256 LF, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc.; *Heton under the Forest* 1322 LI, *Heton under Horewich* 1332 LF, *Heton subtus Horewych* 1346 FA. " The high *tūn* " (O.E. *Hēatūn*). Heaton lies on the slope of a hill; an elevation of 1,000ft. is reached in the township. The addition " under-Horwich " means " in or near the forest of H."; cf. *Horwich.*

7. **Horwich** (in the N.W. corner of the parish; town): (forest of) *Horewych, -e* 1254 IM, *Horewiche* (forest) 1282 IPM, *Horewich* 1322 LI, 1332 LF, *-eley* 1322 LI, *Horewyche* 1331 Ind, *Horwyge* 1539 DL, *Horridge* 1641 Blackrod R; now [ɔridž], Hargreaves, p. 110. Horwich was the forest of the lords of Manchester (VHL V. 7). The name probably goes back to O.E. (*æt*) *hāran wican* " the grey witchelms " (O.E. *hār* " grey " and *wice* " witchelm "); cf. *Harewych* 1277 VHL V. 6. Or possibly the second el. is a derivative of *wice* meaning " elmwood "; cf. Wicheves p. 43.

Ridley (Wood): *Ridelegebroc* 1218-40 CC, *Ridlegesich* 1227 LF IV., *Rydeley* 1322 LI. Searle gives a pers. name *Rida* (in *Ridan fald*), which may be the first el.; or it may be *rydd* p. pple of *ryddan* " to clear " (cf. *ridding* p. 16). Note, however, the name High Rid Farm in Horwich, which seems to point to an unrecorded noun *rid* with some topographical meaning.

Wilders Moor (moorland in the N.), **Wilderswood** (near Horwich): *Wilderhirst* 1322 LI. *Wilder* is O.E. *wilder* " wild beast, deer."

8. **Halliwell** (N.W. of and partly a suburb of Bolton): *Haliwalle* c 1200, etc. CC, *Haliwell* 1246 LAR, *Haliwall* 1292 PW, *Haliwelle* 1332 LS. Halliwell stands near a brook, called *Haliwellebroc* c 1200 CC. The name means " the holy well." A holy well in Halliwell is in the old Ordnance map (Prof. Tait).

Smithills (the N. part; Smithills Moor reaches 1,475ft.): *Smythel, Smythell* (*Snitell*) 1322 LI, *Smythehill* 1505 LF, *Smethehill, Smethehylls* 1506 DL. The first el. is apparently O.E. *smēpe* " smooth."

Egburden: *Egbedene, Egburdene* 1322 LI, *Egburden* 1517 DL. First el. perhaps O.E. *Ecgbeorht* or *Ecgburh* pers. n.

BOLTON-LE-MOORS PAR.

This parish occupies the N.W. part of the hundred. The N. part to a great extent consists of moorland. In the S. part, in the valleys of the Croal and the Tongue, the surface is lower. There are two detached parts, Blackrod and Lostock, separated from the body of the parish by parts of Deane par.

1. **Lostock** (W. of Bolton town, in the valley of the Croal): *Lostok* 1205, 1288 LF, 1332 LS, etc., *Lostoc* 1212 LI, c 1220 CC, etc., *Lostoke* 1451 CC. Cf. the same name p. 39.

Chew Moor: *Chow More* 16 cent. VHL V. 295. Cf. Chew p. 71.

2. **Blackrod** (W. of Lostock and Bolton; v. and church): *Blakerode* 1201 ff. LPR, 1212 LI, 1278 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., *Blacrode* 1226 LI, *Blakerod* 1278 LAR, *Blakrode* 1414 LF. "Black clearing"; on O.E. *rod* "clearing," see p. 16. The vil. is on a hill of over 500ft. On the slope of the hill is Chauntry Brow (h.); *Brow* is *brow* "a slope, an acclivity." Blackrod ch. was originally a chapel (or chantry).

Arley (on the Douglas): *Erelegh* 1283 VHL V. 302, *de Erlegh* 1332 LS, *Erley* 1394 TI. The name is apparently identical with Arley, Warw. (*Arlei* DB), Earley, Berks. (: *Erlei* DB, *Erle* 1316 FA). Skeat suggests for Earley (Berks.) a first el. *Earn-*, but it is improbable that *n* should have been lost so early in all these names. Also the common occurrence of the combination of *Ere-* with *-ley* is noteworthy. *Ere-* may be a derivative (with a suffix *-īni*) of O.E. *erian* "to plough"; cf. M.E. *yere time* "time of ploughing," O.E. *eteland* "pasture land" (: *ettan*), *cīepestow* "market-place" (: *cīepan*).

Huyton or **Highton.** It is not quite clear if the Huyton family in Blackrod is a local one or a branch of that of Huyton in De. The name is exemplified in VHL V. 301 from 1497. Huyton stands on the Douglas, which suits derivation of the name from O.E. *hȳþ-tūn* (*hȳþ* "landing-place").

3. **Bolton,** Great and Little (townships with Bolton-le-Moors town): *Boelton* 1185 LPR, *Bothelton* 1212 LI (Li. Bolton), *Botelton* 1257 LI, *Magna Boulton* 1285 LAR, *Boulton* 1288 LI, 1332 LS, etc., *Bolton on the Mores* 1331 LF, *Great Boulton on the Moors* 1332 LF, *Bolton in the More* 1577 Harr., [Boutn] Hargreaves. O.E. *Bōþltūn;* cf. p. 8.

4. **Tonge-with-Haulgh** (between Bolton and Bradshaw Brook).

Tonge (v.): *Tange* 1212 LI, *Twannge* 1212 RB, *Tonge* 1226 LI, 1323 LI, *Tong*, *Toung* 1285 LAR, *de Thonge* 1332 LS. It is not always easy to keep the forms of Tonge in Bolton and Tonge in Prestwich apart. Tonge is in a tongue of land between the Bradshaw and Tonge brooks. The name is the word *twang* "fork of a river," discussed p. 18.

Haulgh (between the Croal and the Tonge): *del Halgh* 1332 LF, 1417 CR, *Halgh* 1421 TI, *Haughe, Tonge Halgh* 1556 DL. O.E. *halh* "haugh."

5. **Little Lever, Darcy Lever** (townships S.E. of Bolton, E. of the Croal and the Irwell). **Great Lever** is a detached township of Middleton par. situated W. of the Croal. The three obviously once formed a whole.[1] It is difficult to distinguish the early forms of the names, which are therefore dealt with together here: *Parva Lefre* 1212 BF, *Little Lethre* 1221 LI (I. 130), *Leoure* 1227 LF, *Lever*, *Leure* 1246 LAR, *Little Levere* 1331 LF, *Parva Lever* 1341 IN; *Magna Leure*

[1] Great Lever was in Bolton par. as late as 1627; cf. Deane R, p. 16.

1285 LAR, *Great Leure* 1326 LF, *Leuermore, Leuerlesse* 1577 Harr., *Darcye Lever* 1590 Bolton R. The name may be the plur. of O.E. *lǽfer* (*leber*) f. glossed " scirpea, gladiolus," Mn.E. *levers, lavers* " Iris Pseudacorus." The supposition is necessary that O.E. *lāfer* had a long vowel (*lāfer, lēfer*); Mn.E. *levers* bears out this assumption. This derivation would suit the situation of the townships; no doubt flags and other water-plants grew on the banks of the Irwell and Croal. Or Lever may be an old river-name; in that case perhaps originally that of the Croal. Cf. O.E. *lǽfer* (*lǽfre*) name of a river in Wilts. 949 BCS 879, and Learmouth, Nhb. (*Levermuth* 1346 FA), *Leber* Alsace (Förstemann). The river-name may be British or a derivative of O.E. *lǽfer* " flag."

Burnden (in Gr. Lever, on the Croal): *de Bornden* (*Burnden*) 1285 LAR, *Burnedeyn* 1547 DL. O.E. *burna* " brook " and *denu* " valley."

Hacking or **Hacken** (in Li. Lever, in a bend of the Croal): *de la Hackyng* 1278 LF, *Hackinge* 1591 Bolton R. Possibly the estate was named from a branch of the family resident at Hacking in Billington (Bl.). The etymology will be discussed p. 71.

6. **Breightmet** (E. of the Tonge and Bolton): *de Brihtsmete* (*Brithemet*) 1246 LAR, *Brigdtmed* 1257 LAR, *Brihtmede* 1257 LF, *Brightmete* 1312 LI, *Breghtmete, -mede* 1323f. LI. " Bright (*i.e.*, beautiful) meadow," O.E. *beorht* " bright " and *mād, mēd* " meadow." On *-t* for final *-d* see p. 21.

Oakenbottom (on Bradshaw Brook): ? *de Akinbothun* 1246 LAR, *Okynbothū in Breghtmeyt* 1486 RS XXX. Second el. O.E. **boþm* " bottom, valley."

7. **Harwood** (N.E. of Bolton, E. of Bradshaw Brook): *Harewode* 1212 LI, 1241, 1292 LF, 1332 LS, etc., *Harwude* 1227 LF, *Harwode* 1327 LS. The same name is found in Bl. and in Devon; cf. Harewood, Yks. (*Harawuda* 10 cent., *Hareuuode* DB; cf. Moorman), Horwood, Bucks. The most probable meaning is " grey (or old) wood," O.E. *hār* " grey; old " and *wudu*. But in some cases the first el. may be O.E. *hara* " hare."

8. **Bradshaw** (N.E. of Bolton, N. of Harwood; v.): *de Bradeshawe, -shagh*[*e*] 1246 LAR, *Bradeshagh* 1312, 1324 LF, *de Bradeshagh* 1332 LS, *Bradsha* (stream) 1577 Harr. " Broad (*i.e.*, extensive) wood "; O.E. *brād* " broad " is used with such words as *sǣ, rīce*, etc.

9. **Quarlton** (N.E. of Bolton, N. of Bradshaw, h.): *de Querendon* 1246 LAR, *Querdon* 1304 ChR, *Quordone* 1309 LF, *de Quernedon, de Querndoun* 1332 LS, *Quarnton, Quarton* 1587 Bolton R. Quarlton is on the slope of a considerable hill. The name was obviously originally a hill-name; second el. O.E. *dūn* " hill." The first is O.E. *cweorn*. The name may mean " windmill (or water-mill) hill "; *cweorn*, to judge by such names as *cwyrnburna, cweornwella* (Middendorff), must at least have been used of water-mills. Sephton suggests the meaning " a hill producing mill-stones." O.E. *cweorn* is not evidenced in the sense " mill-stone," but O.N. *kvern* is. The same name is found in Leic. (Quordon: *Querndon* 1402 FA, etc.), Bucks. (Quarrendon: *Querndone* 1286 FA), Derby (Quarndon: *Querndon* 1275, Walker). Cf. also Whernside, Yks. (: *Querneside* c 1200 AP), and see Quernmore, Lo. The second alternative is, to some extent, supported by the name *Whernstonescliff* (Rivington, Sa.) VHL V. 291, which means " millstone cliff." Mines of mill-stones are mentioned in Horwich (Sa.) 1322 LI (II. p. 59).†

Wickenlow (in the N.): *de Quicken(s)lawe* 1246 LAR, *de Quykenlowe* 1284 LAR, *Quykenlawe* 1324 LI. The first el. is probably M.E. *quiken* (a 1387) "the mountain ash; the service tree; the juniper." The word is still used in Lanc. in the sense "mountain ash." Second el. O.E. *hlāw* "hill." Wickenlow Hill reaches 800ft.

10. **Edgeworth** (N. of Bolton between Bradshaw and Quarlton brooks, v.): *Eggewrthe* 1212 LI, *Egewrthe* 1212 RB, *Eggeworth* 1276 LAR, 1327, 1332 LS, *Egworth* 1505 LF. Edgeworth is at the foot of Edgeworth Moor, where an elevation of 1,250ft. is reached. The first el. of the name may be O.E. *ecg* "edge," here used in the sense "ridge of a hill; a steep hill or hillside" (cf. EDD). In the neighbouring Entwisle township are Edge, Edgefold, Edgefoot. Another possibility is O.E. *Ecgan worp.* On *worp* see p. 20.

11. **Entwisle** (N. of Bolton, W. of Edgeworth, h.): *Hennetwisel* 1212 LI, *En(n)etwysel, de Hennetwysel, Ennutwesille, Emmetwesille* 1276 IM, *de Entletwisil* 1297 LI, *de Entwissell* 1311 LI, *Entwysel* 1341 IN. The S. part of Entwisle is a tongue of land between Edgeworth Brook and a tributary brook. The second el. of the name is O.E. *twisla* "fork of a river," the first being probably O.E. *Enna* pers. n.

Wayoh Fold (h. on a spur of hill near Edgeworth brook): *Wao* 1546, 1551 LF, *Weoh* 1650 Bolton R. The second el. may be O.E. *hōh* "spur of hill," the first being possibly O.E. *weg* "way."

Wheatshaw Croft: *de Weteshagh* 1246 LAR (71), (*R.*) *Of-the-wetschawe* 1285 LAR. "Wet shaw."

12. **Turton** (W. of Bradshaw brook, N. of Bolton): *Turton* 1212 LI, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., *Torton, Turtun* 1246 LAR, *Thurton* 1257 ChR, 1303 FA, *Torton, Terton* 1282 LI, *Tureton* 1577 Harr. The township embraces wide moorlands, Turton Heights (1,100ft.) and Turton Moor (1,280ft.). The first el. of the name is a pers. n. *Þur, Þor,* or *Þuri, Thori* (Scand. names, cf. Björkman), identical with that of Thurton, Norf. (*Thurton* HR, etc.). On *T-* for *Th-* see p. 22.

Birtenshaw or **Birkenshaw** (h.): *de Byrkeneshawe* (*Byrkenhaw*) 1277 LAR, *de Byrcheneshaghe* (*Birchensagh*) 1278 ib., *de Birchynesagh* 1292 LF. O.E. *bircen* "of birch" and *scaga* "shaw." As regards *t* for *k* cf. p. 22.

Dimple (on a small brook; h.): Cf. p. 38.

Egerton or **Walmesley** (v.): *Walmesley becke* 1577 Harr. According to VHL V. 278f. probably named from previous owners.

13. **Longworth** (N.W. of Bolton, W. of Turton): *Langeworthe* c 1210 CC, *de Langewurth* (*Lungewurth*) 1246 LAR, *de Longeworthe* 1254 LI, *Lungewrthe* 1276 LAR, *Longeworth* 1309 LF. O.E. *lang* "long" and *worp.* The forms with *u* reflect a sound-change *o* > *u* before *ng,* common in Lanc. dialects.

14. **Sharples** (a long, narrow strip stretching W. of Tonge Brook from Bolton to the Leyland boundary): *Charples* 1212 LI, *Scharples* 1246 LAR, *Sharpes, de Sharples* 1259 LAR, *de Scharplis* c 1250 CC, *de Scarples* 1254 LI, *de Scharples* 1261 LI, *de Sharples* 1332 LS. The ground slopes from some 1,275ft. in the N. or Higher End to some 350 in the S. Sharples Hall is in the S. part, near Barley Brook. There is no village Sharples. The name seems to be connected with *sharp* adj., perhaps in the sense "rough, rugged" (used of a road by Alfred, cf. *sharp places* Wiclif), or possibly "steep," a sense assumed by Middendorff

for compounds such as (*on*) *scearpannesse* 956 BCS 964 (Sharpness, Glo.), etc. Sharpenhoe, Beds. (*Sharpenho* 1286 FA), may contain this word. Sharples is either an old compound (*e.g.*, with O.E. *lǣs* " meadow," or *lēas*, pl. of *lēah*), or a derivative of O.E. *scearp*, analogous to *hwītel* " cloak " (: *hwīt*), *stīepel* " steeple " (: *stēap*), *pyrel* " hole " (: *purh*). O.E. **scerpel*, **scearpol* " peak " or " rough place " might have existed.

Hordern (upper Sharples) : *Great, Little Hordern* 1322 LI. O.E. *hordern* " storehouse." The same name is Hardhorn, Am. (q.v.) and Hordron, Yks. (*Horderon* 1323, etc.).

Ravden (or **Raveden) Clough** (divides Halliwell from Sharples) : *Rapeden* (stream), *Rapeden Hey* 1429 VHL V. 262, *Rapheden Hey* 1560 ib. The name exhibits an interesting change of *p* to *b* > *v* ; cf. Pavenham, Beds. (earlier *Pabenham*, Skeat). The etymology is obscure. It may be the first el. is O.N. *hrapi* " small shrubs on fells," Norw. *rape* the same, especially " dwarf birch." But *Rape-* may also be the name of the brook ; perhaps it may be derived from O.N. *hrapa* " to rush along," from which M.E. *rape* " to rush " seems to have been borrowed. *Rape* adj. (c 1400, etc.) seems to be a new formation from *rapely* adv. (< O.N. *hrapaliga*). Another Scand. name in the district is *Folescalis* 1246 LAR, whose second el. is O.N. *skāli* " hut." First el. perhaps O.N. *foli* " foal."

15. **Rivington** (on the N. and W. slopes of Rivington Moor, on the border of Leyland hundred ; v.) : *Rowinton, Rawinton, Revington* 1202 LF, *Ruhwinton* 1212 LI, *Riuiton* 1226 LI, *Rouington* 1227 LF (IV.), *de Rouin[g]ton, Rowington, Ruynton, Ruwinton, de Rowinton* 1246 LAR, *Rowynton* 1278 LAR, *Rovinton* 1323 LI, *Rovyngton* 1324 LI, 1448 LF, *Reuuiton* 1325 LCR, *Rouynton* 1327 LS, *Roynton* 1332 LS, *Reuynton* 1338 HS XI.I. 225, *Riven* or *Riventon* c 1540 Leland. The village stands at the foot of Rivington Moor. The first el. is the old name of that hill. See p. 28. The old form Roynton still occurs in Roynton Cottage.

Gamelsley: *de Gameleslegh* 1332 LS. *Gamel* pers. n. is probably O.N. *Gamall.*

16. **Anglezark** (in the N.W. corner of Bolton par., N. of Rivington) : *Andelevesarewe* 1202 LF, *Anlauesargh* 1224 LF, *Anlawesaregh, Anlawesarwe* (*de Annelesherg*) 1246 LAR, *Anlaseharghe* 1285 LAR, *Anlasargh* 1341 IN. " Anlaf's ergh (argh) or shieling " ; see p. 10. O.E. *Anlaf* is derived from O.N. *Oláfr*, etc. (< **Anulaibaʀ*). The greater part of the township is occupied by Anglezark Moor, which reaches 1,000ft. There is no village.

Bullough : *de Bolhal* 1307 LI, *de Bolehalgh* 1325 LCR, *de Bulhalgh* 1332 LS, *Bulloghes More* 1551 DL. Parson's Bullough is on the Yarrow. The first el. is probably O.E. *Bula* pers. n. ; the second is O.E. *halh* " haugh."

RADCLIFFE PAR.

E. of Bolton, on the N. bank of the Irwell.

Radcliffe (town) : *Radeclive* DB, 1200ff. LPR, 1202 LF, etc., *Radecliva* 1194 LPR, *Radecliue* 1226 LI, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, *Radeclyue* 1246 LAR, *Radcliffe* 1500 LF, *Ratcliffe* 1577 Harr. ; *Redeclif* c 1200 Ch (orig.). " The red cliff." The place is said to take its name from a cliff of red sandstone on the side of the Irwell (VHL V. 56).

PRESTWICH-WITH-OLDHAM PAR.

This parish consists of two distinct parts. Prestwich proper is a district N. of Manchester, separated from Eccles by the Irwell. The greater part of the E. portion (the district round Oldham) is partly independent, and is called Oldham chapelry.

(*a*) PRESTWICH PROPER

The surface is undulating. Altitudes of c 350ft. are reached.

1. **Pilkington** (in the W., on the Irwell and the Roch): *Pulkinton* 1202f. LPR, 1202 LF, *Pilkenton* 1204 LPR, 1277 LAR, etc., *Pilketon* 1206 LPR, *pilkiton* c 1200 Ch, *Pilkinton* 1212 LI, 1226 LI, 1277 LAR, *de Pilkington* 1246 LAR, *Pynkelton* 1277 LAR, *Pylkington* ib., *de Pilkington* 1299 AP, *Pilkynton* 1312 LF, 1332 LS, *Pilkyngton* 1311 IPM, *Pilketon* c 1540 Leland. Pilkington Hall stands S. of the Irwell, on level ground. The first el. of the name may be a patronymic in *-ing*, formed from an O.E. *Pileca* or *Piloc*, a derivative of *Pil-* in *Pilheard*, etc. (cf. Pilsworth, p. 54), and perhaps found in Pilton (Nhp.): *Pilketon* 1346, *Pylketon* 1428 FA. The early form *Pulkinton*, which apparently points to O.E. *Pyl-*, may have been misread for *Pilkinton*; moreover, between *p* and *l* an *i* may have become rounded occasionally. Cf. *Fulking* 1229 ClR for Filkins, Oxf., a derivative of O.E. *Filica* (Alexander).

Prestolee (on the Irwell): *Prestawe* alias *Prestall Lee* 1618 DL. Named after Prestall in Farnworth on the other side of the Irwell (p. 43).

Rhodes: *del Rodes* 1332 LS. "The clearings." O.E. *rod*, p. 16.

Unsworth (the E. part; v.): *Hundeswrth* 1291 ChR, 1292 PW, *Undesworth* 1322 LI, 1522 DL. Cf. Hunsley, Yks. (: *Hundesleie* 1109-28 YCh 966), Hunsworth, Yks. (: *Hundesworth* 1285, etc., Goodall), Houndsfield, Worc. (: *Hundesfelde* DB). The first el. can hardly be anything else than O.E. *hund* "hound," most probably used as a pers. n. O.E. *Hund* is not unequivocally evidenced; a possible example is *Hundes hlæw* (Searle). The loss of *H-* is regular in Lanc. dialects.

Whitefield: *Whitefeld* 1292 PW. No doubt "the white field."

2. **Prestwich** (N. of Manchester, on the Irwell; v.): *Prestwich* 1194 LPR, 1226 LI, 1327 LS, *Prestwych* 1212 LI, *Prestwike* 1212 RB, *de Prestwych*, *-wyche*, *-wik* 1246 LAR, *Prestewyk* 1277, 1278 LAR, *Prestewych* 1313 LF, *-wich* 1332 LS, *Prestiche* c 1500 DL, *Prest(w)idge* 1598 Middleton R. O.E. *prēostwīc* "priest's dwelling, rectory," or "village where there was a priest." Cf. Prestwick Nhb. and Ayrshire.

Rooden Lane (h.; on a slight hill): *Roden* 1340 M, *Rodoun* 1341 VHL V. 79. Possibly "rood hill," O.E. *rōd-dūn*; cf. Lanc. Ant. Soc. XXXVI. 91 ff.

3. **Great Heaton**, or Over Heaton, or H. Reddish, **Little Heaton**, or H.-in-Fallowfield (townships N. of Manchester, on the Irk). Formerly one township, sometimes called Heaton-upon-Fallowfield: *Heton* c 1200 CC, 1212 LI, 1292 PW, 1292 LF, etc., *Hetone* 1212 RB; *Little Heton* 1235 LF, *Heiton* 1226 LI, *Haton* 1246 LAR, *Heton near Faufeld* 1327 LI, *Heton super Faufeld* 1404 TI, *Heaton hill* 1577 Harr., *Yetton* 1872 Staton. O.E. *hēatūn* "the high town." Heaton is mostly on fairly high ground. Heaton House stands in a commanding situation.

Fallowfield (said to be the old name of the district occupied by the Heatons, VHL V. 80): *de ffaghfelde* 1325 LCR, (Heaton supra) *Faghfild* 1523 DL. The first el. is *faw* adj. (O.E. *fāg*) " coloured, variegated," used especially of fields. Cf. c 1440 Gaw. and Galaron: Ferly fayr wes the feild, flekerit and faw (NED). The Heaton district is not really a plain; perhaps Fallowfield was originally a part of the district, *e.g.*, the land S.W. of Heaton House.

4. **Alkrington** (E. of Heaton, S. of Middleton town): *Alkinton* 1212 LI, *Alkeryngton* 1313 LF, *Alcrington* 1322 LI, *Ocrington* 1608 Middleton R. Like Alkerton, Oxf. and Glo. (*Alcrintone* DB) obviously O.E. *Alhheringa tūn, Alhheringas* being a patronymic derived from the O.E. pers. n. *Alhhere* (*Ealhhere*). The same change of $h > k$ is seen in Alconbury, Hunts. and Alkmonton, Derby, containing O.E. *Ealhmund*.

5. **Tonge** (N. of Alkrington, in a tongue of land between the Irk and Wince Brook, now a suburb of Middleton): *de Thoong* 1246 LAR, *Tong in Prestwhich* 1506 DL. See Tonge, p. 45.

(*b*) OLDHAM CHAPELRY

This part is hilly, especially in the E., where elevations of over 1,200ft. are reached.

6. **Chadderton**: *Chaderton* c 1200 WhC 48, 1224, 1270, 1276 LAR, 1303 FA, 1332 LS, etc., *Kaderton* c 1250 CC, *de Chathirton* 1282 IPM, *Chaterton* 1224 Pat R, 1292 PW, *Chadreden* 1311 LI, *Chadirtcn, Chathirton* 1322f. LI, *Chadreton* 1327 LS. It might seem most plausible to derive the first el. from a pers. name connected with O.E. *Ceadda*. But the name Hanging Chadder in Thornham cannot be so explained, and it is reasonable to identify the first el. of Chadderton with that name. Chadder may be a Brit. name identical with Welsh *cader* " a hill fort " (=Ir. *cathir*), from earlier **cater* (cognate with L. *caterva*). This etymology perhaps accounts for the variation between *t* and *d* in early forms. The same el. may enter into Catterton, Yks. (*Cadretune* DB, *Cadartuna* c 1140-8 YCh 539). Chadderton township is hilly; elevations of 500ft. are reached at Chadderton Heights and elsewhere.

Coldshaw: *Canleschagh* c 1200 WhC 48, *Colesha* 1577 VHL V. 121. Etymology doubtful. The first el. looks like O.E. *cāwol* " cole." If so, it refers to wild cole.

Foxdenton Farm (in the S.): *Denton*[*a*] 1222-68 CC, *Denton* 1224 ChR, 1224 LAR, *Foxdenton* 1282 IPM, 1322 LI. " The *tūn* in the dean " (O.E. *denu*). F. stands on a brook.

Ogden: *de Okeden* 1332 LS. O.E. *āc-denu* " oak valley."

Scowcroft (in the N.W.): ? *de Schalecroft* 1246 LAR, *de Scolecrofte* 1332 LS, *de Scolcroft* 1412 FC. *Scole-* is O.N. *skāli* " hut "; cf. p. 16.

7. **Oldham** (with Oldham town): *de Aldholm* 1222-6 LI, *de Aldhulm* 1227 LAR, *Aldholm* (vill) 1246 LAR, *Oldelum* 1276 LAR, *Oldum* 1327 LS, 1347 LF, *Oldom* 1332 LS, 1537 LF, etc., *Owdam* 1546 LF, *Oldhm* 1577 Saxton, *Owdham* Waugh. " The old holm " rather than " holm of Alda." On *holm, hulm,* see p. 13. The early loss of *l* before *m* is due to dissimilation. Oldham is in the old district of Kaskenmoor (see *infra*); it was no doubt originally a " holm " or piece of dry land in mossland.

Kaskenmoor (comprised practically the present Oldham and Crompton townships): *Kaskinemor* 1210f. LPR, *Kaskenemore* 1212 LI, *Caskenemore* 1212 RB, *Haskesmores* 1222-26 LI. *Kasken-* I take to be an adj. derived from O.E. *cassuc, cassoc* " hassock-grass, rushes, sedge or coarse grass " (B-T), practically identical in meaning with O.E. *hassuc*, found in *hæssucmor, hassukes more* (Middendorff). But it may also be the pers. n. *Caschin* DB, *Kaskin* (gen. *-i*) 1180-1200 YCh 1576, 1579.

Oldham was anciently divided into Werneth, Glodwick, and Sholver.

Werneth (S.W. part; the old manor is in the S.W. of Oldham town): *de Wornyth* c 1200 WhC, *Vernet* 1222-6 LI, *Wernit'* TN, *Wyrnith* 1323 LI, *Wernyth* 1352 LF. This is no doubt a Brit. name, identical with Gaul. *Vernetum* (> *Vernet, Vernois*, etc., cf. Holder, who gives 91 examples), O.Bret. *(Pen)uuernet* (Loth 173), derived from **verno-* " alder " (O.Bret. *uuern* " aulnes, marais "). The same name is no doubt Werneth, Ches. (*Warnet* DB). For final *-th*, cf. Penketh, Culcheth.

Copster Hill: *the Coppedhyrst* 1422 HS LXXIV., *Copthirst* 1507 TI. First el. *copped* adj. " peaked." *Hurst* no doubt means " hill." There is a small hill close to the place.

Hathershaw: *Hasellenshagh* 1427, *Haslinshaw* 1558 VHL V. 95, *Hathersay (Hardshawe) More* 1554 DL, *Hasteshawe* 1633 DL. " Hazel copse." The sound development is remarkable.

Horsedge: *Overhorssage* 1559 DL, *Horsedge* 1600 RS XII. Really an earlier name of Oldham Edge, a ridge (800ft.) stretching into Oldham town. " Horse ridge "; *edge* is used in the sense " a sharp ridge," etc. The ridge may have been used as a pasture for horses.

Glodwick (the S.E. part): *Glodic* 1190-8 HS LXVII. 211, *Glothic* 1212 LI, *de Glothiche* 1246 LAR, *Glodyke, Glothik* 1323 LI, *Glotheyk* 1307, 1347 LF, *Glothyk* 1347 LR; *Glodyght* 1474 VHL V. 93, *Glodethe, Glodyth* 1540 DL, *Glodight* 1587 DL, *Glodith, Glodighte* 1591 DL, *Glodwicke* 1633 DL; now [glɒdik]. Glodwick is in a fairly high situation; at Glodwick Lows an elevation of 725ft. is reached. There are old quarries in the district. The place is near a Roman road.

The variation in the early forms is most curious, and is perhaps best explained if we may assume that the name is not English. There is a Welsh place-name which at least looks rather like Glodwick, viz., Gloddaeth (Carnarvon): *Glodeyth* 1353 Rec.C. This name, I suppose, consists of Welsh *clawdd* " ditch; fence, hedge " (early Bret. *cloed, clod, cloz*, Ir. *clad*) with lenition after certain prepositions, and *aeth* " furze." *Glodd-* would exactly correspond to Engl. *Gloth-*; as regards *Glod-* we may compare the material adduced under Haydock, De. Welsh *aeth* goes back to earlier (**akto-*). This would hardly have given E. *-ight* or *-ic*, but there may have been a derivative with *i*-mutation; cf. the examples given under Ightenhill, Bl. The most difficult task is to explain the interchange of *-ic* (*-ik*) and (later) *-ight*, etc., in the forms of Glodwick. *Glodight* may be fairly easily derived from a Brit. name similar to Welsh Gloddaeth, but *Glodik, Glothic* are hard to account for. Sound-substitution may have taken place. Perhaps two forms, due to different substitution, have come down from early

times. In favour of Brit. origin it may be pointed out that Werneth near Glodwick seems to have a Brit. name.

However, the forms in *-ight*, etc., are late, and may perhaps be disregarded. If so, I am inclined to believe that the name is a hybrid, O.E. *dīc* " ditch " having been added to a Brit. name identical with Welsh *clawdd* " ditch," etc. The name might refer to a fosse by the Roman road. The O.E. base **Glōð-dīc* might explain the interchange of *d* and *th* in the early forms.

Sholver (the N. part): *Solhher* 1202 LF, *Sholleryh*, *Shollereyh*, *Shollere*, *Chalwer* (*de Shollere*, *Sholuer*, *Shollers*, *Shalwer*, *Sholwer*, *Choller*) 1246 LAR, *Sholver* 1278 LF, *Sholgher* 1291 ChR, *de Swlher* 13 cent. WhC 164, *Scholmer*, *Sholler* 1323 LI, *de Sholghre* 1332 LS. The second el. of the name is clearly *ergh* (*argh*) " a shieling " (O.N. *erg* < O.Ir. *airge*, p. 10). The first el. is difficult. It may be O.E. *sceolh* adj. " oblique," possibly used as a pers. name. As O.E. *Sceolh* is not evidenced, whereas O.N. *Skialgr* is common, it is reasonable to suppose that Sholver is a refashioning of a Scand. name. The development of the guttural is remarkable; apparently $ȝ > w > v$. The place stands c 850 ft. above sea-level on a hill-slope.

Beal Moor: *Bellemor*, *Belemore* 1323 LI. First el. Beal, the river-name.

Polden or **Paulden**: ? *de Paldene* 1305 Lacy C, 1324 LI. First el. probably O.E. *pāl* " pole."

8. **Crompton** (N. of Oldham, on the Beal): *Crumpton* 1246 LAR, *Crompton* 1246 LAR, 1292 LF, 1327 LS, etc., *Cromton* c 1210 CC, 1332 LS. I suppose Crompton was named from the sharp bend formed by the Beal at the N. end of the township. It is true High Crompton h. is c 1m. S. of the bend, but the original vil. may have been further N. We may, then, compare Croome, Worc. (: *Cromban*, *Cromman* 969, *Crumbe* DB) according to Duignan named from a bend of the Severn; an O.E. **crumbe* " bend " (derived from *crumb* " crooked ") may be assumed for both names. Or the Beal may have had the name *Crumbe* in part of its course, owing to the bend alluded to.

Birshaw: *Burshou*, *Burshagh* 1323 LI, *Birchouer* 1430 LI I. 65. Perhaps " birch shaw," but the early forms are not conclusive.

Burnedge (on the slope of a hill and near Sudden Brook): *Brynege* 1609 CW 202. Earlier forms are needed. Cf. Burnage, p. 30.

Cowlishaw: *Colleshawe*, *Cowleshawe* 1558 DL. First el. perhaps as in Collyhurst p. 35.

Gartside or **Garside** (on the slope of a hill): *Garteside* 13 cent. WhC 163 ff., *de Garteside* 1285 LAR, *de Gartesside* 1332 LS, *de Garthside* Whit. II. 448. *Garth* " enclosure," etc. (O.N. *garðr*) and O.E. *sīde* in the sense " hill-side " seem to be the elements of the name.

Shaw (town): *Shaghe* 1555 Ind II, *Shay* chap. 1577 Saxton, *Shaie*, *Saye* 1580 DL, *Shawe* 1600 RS XII. O.E. *scaga* " shaw." For the form Shay cf. p. 21.

9. **Royton** (N. of Oldham, town): *Rittǫn* 1226 LI, *Ryton* 1260, 1369 LF, 1323 LI, *Riton* 1269 LAR, *Ruyton* 1327, 1332 LS, *Royton* 1577 Harr. O.E. *ryge-tūn* " rye town." Royton is in the Irk valley.

Royley: *de Rylegh* 1325 LCR, 1332 LS (Ashton). " Rye lea."

Thorpe (h.): *Thorp* 1260 LF. O.Scand. *þorp* " homestead; village."

MIDDLETON PAR.

This parish consists of several distinct parts. The chief part, with the church, is due W. of Oldham. A little to the N. are Ashworth and Birtle-with-Bamford. Further W., beyond Radcliffe, is Ainsworth, and still further off is Great Lever (see p. 45).

1. **Ainsworth** (c 6m. N.W. of Middleton church, midway between Bury and Bolton, v.): *Haineswrthe* c 1200 CC 733, *de Aynesworth* 1285 LAR, *de Haynesworth* 1284 LAR, *Aynesworth* 1292 PW, *de Aynesworth* 1332 LS. The first el. seems to be a pet form of names such as *Ægenbeald, -here, -wulf*. On *worth* see p. 20. Ainsworth stands on high ground, over 500ft. above sea-level.

Cockey Moor (the E. part): *Cokkaye Chapel* (*Moor*) 1545 DL, *Cockley* chap. 1577 Saxton, *Cockly iuxta Bury* 1586 Camden, *Cokhey* 1613 Bury R. Cockey Moor must be an old name of the district, as the chapel, which is in the centre of the township, is said to be here. Probably O.E. *cocc* "cock, wild bird" (or possibly *Cocca* pers. n.) and *hege* "enclosure," etc.

2. **Middleton** (N. of the Irk, town): *Middelton* 1194 LPR, 1278 LF, 1332 LS, etc., *Midelton* 1212 LI, 1317 LF, etc., *Middilton* 1327 LS. "The middle *tūn*," O.E. *middel* adj. and *tūn*.

Langley: *de Longele* 1246 LAR, *de Langele* ib., *de Longelegh* 1332 LS. Self-explaining.

3. **Thornham** (N.E. of Middleton): *Thornham, Tornham* 1246 LAR. O.E. *porn* "thornbush" and *hām* (or *hamm* "enclosure"). Sometimes called *Thornton*; see VHL V. 173.

Hanging Chadder: *Hingrandchadir* 1347 LF (II. 97), *de Hengandechadre* 1324 LCR, 1332 LS. Hanging means "steep," cf. Hanging Heaton, Yks. (: *Hingande Heton* 1266, etc., Goodall), *Hengandehill* Percy C 154, *le Henyendebank* 13 cent. WhC 42. On *Chadder* see p. 50. The place is at an altitude of 700ft. Chadderton and Hanging Chadder, though in different parishes, are not far apart. Hanging Chadder is now in Royton, a township adjoining Chadderton.

Stakehill: *Stakehull* 1246 LAR, *Stakil* 1291 Ind II, *de Stakil* 1322 LI, *de Stakehill* 1332 LS, *Stakehil* 1342 LF (II. 97). Stakehill is on a hill. The first el. of the name is no doubt O.E. *staca* "a stake," perhaps used of a boundary mark.

4. **Hopwood** (N. of Middleton): *de Hopwode* 1278 LAR, *de Hopewode* 1285 LAR, *de Hoppewode* 1299 LI, *Hoppewoode* 1322 LI. Cf. Hopwood, Worc.: *Hopwuda* 848, 934 (Duignan). Hopwood Hall stands in a little wooded valley (Hopwood Clough), through which runs a brook. The name means "the wood in the valley," O.E. *hop* (cf. p. 13) and *wudu*.

Gooden: *de Gulden, -e* 1282 LF, *de Gulden* 1324 LCR. The first el. is, in my opinion, *gool* "a small stream, a ditch; a sluice" (1552, etc., NED), probably identical with *gole* a 1400 Morte Arthure 3725. This word is found in dialects meaning "whirlpool, ditch" etc., and a side-form *gull* means "fissure, chasm; a watercourse," etc. (EDD). The word is usually derived from O.F. *goule, gole* "throat." In my opinion it is native and belongs to Swed. *göl* "pond," Norw. (dial.) *gyl* "chasm, ravine," M.H.G. *gülle* "pool" (< **gulja-*), M.L.G. *gole* "marsh" (cf. Noreen, Svenska etymologier p. 35 f.), L.G., E. Fris. *gōle, gōl* "hole, pool,"

M.Du. *gulle* " palus, volutabrum, vorago, gurges " (Doornkaat Koolman). Also the Continental words mentioned have been derived from a Romance source (Lat. *gula*), but this seems very improbable in view of their senses and the fact that they occur in place-names (cf. *Gulia* river-name, etc., Förstemann). Gool seems to occur as a place-name in Goole, Yks. (*Gowle* 1553, Goodall) and Goole, Linc.

Siddal (apparently on Whittle Brook): *Sydall* 1548 LF, *Sidal* 1611 CW 111. O.E. *sīd* " wide " and *halh* " haugh."

Stanicliffe: *de Staniclive* 13 cent. VHL V. 173, *Stanicliffe* 1611 Middleton R. Self-explaining.

5. **Pilsworth** (S.E. of Bury): *Pylesworth* 1243, *Pilliswrthe* c 1270 VHL V. 169, *de Pillesworth* c 1370 CR 348, *de Pyllysworthe* 1548 Bardsley, *Pillsworth* 1590 CW 14. The first el. seems to be an O.E. pers. n. *Pil*, apparently a pet form of *Pilheard*, etc.; cf. Pilkington.

6. **Birtle-with-Bamford** (N. of Middleton, N.E. of Bury).

Birtle (h.): *de Birkel* 1246 LAR, *de Birkil* 1324 LCR, *Birkehill* 1347 LF (II. 97), *Birtle* 1609 Middleton R. " Birch hill "; first el. O.E. *birce*. The absence of palatalization may be due to influence from O.E. *beorc* " birch." Birtle stands on a hill of 925ft.

Bamford: *Baunford* 1282 LF, *de Bamford* 1322 LI, *de Baunford* 1324 LCR. First el. no doubt O.E. *bēam* " tree, beam "; cf. O.E. *beamford* 882 BCS 550. There may have been a beam to assist wayfarers in crossing the ford or to mark its place; cf. *stapolford, wuduford* (Middendorff). Bamford Hall is near the Roch.

Gristlehurst (on a hill in a sharp bend of the Roch): *Gristelyhyrst* 1336 VHL V. 175, *Gristelhurst* 1407 TI, *de Gristleyhurst* 1408 DD, *Gristylhurst* 1549 LP III. 55, *Grystlehurst* 1562 DL, *Grisehirst* 1577 Harr., *Gryselhurst* 1577 Saxton. Possibly the first el. is a derivative of O.E. *gristle* " gristle " in some transferred sense.

Kershaw Bridge (on Cheesden Brook): *de Kirkeshagh* 1324 LCR, 1332 LS. " Church shaw."

Sillinghurst (near Birtle): ? *de Salinghurst* 1246 LAR, *Sillinhurste* 1589 DL, *Sillinhurst* 1611 Bury R. Etymology obscure.

Smethurst: *de Smethehirst* 1324 LCR. " Smooth hurst," *i.e.*, no doubt, " hill."

7. **Ashworth** (N. of Birtle-w.-Bamford): *Assewrthe* 1236 LF, *de Esworde* c 1200 CC, *Asheworth* 1347 LF (II. 97), *Ash'orth* Waugh. O.E. *æsc* " ash " and *worþ* " enclosure," etc.

ROCHDALE PAR.

Recedham DB, *Rachetham* a 1193 Whit. II. 412, *Rachitham* 12 cent. Ind II, *Rachedham* a 1193, etc., WhC, 1292 PW, *Rechedham* 1195-1211 Ind II, *Rachedam* 1296 Lacy C, *Racheham* 13 cent. WhC; *Rachedal'* 1190-8 HS LXVII. 210, *Rachedale* 1242 LI, 1322 LI, etc., *Rachedal* 1246 LAR, 1341 IN, *Rechedale* 1276 AP, *Rochedale* 1246 LAR, 1292 PW, *Rachdall* 1598 Middleton R; [ratʃdə, ratʃit] Ellis V. 322, *Ratchda* 1865 Staton.

The name is used of the parish, lordship, and town of Rochdale. Its etymology is closely bound up with that of the river-name Roch. Rochdale is no doubt

" the valley of the Roch " ; the river flows through the parish, and on it stands Rochdale town. If the early form of the river-name was *Rached, Rachedham* may be explained as " the *hām* on the Rached." In this case *Rached* would probably have to be explained as a Celtic name. I am inclined to believe, however, that *Rachedham* is an altogether English name. *Rached-* (DB *Reced-*) corresponds exactly to O.E. *ræced*, a side-form of *reced* " house, hall, palace " (< **rakid-*). The word is used in O.E. only in poetry, but must, of course, once have been an everyday word. **Ræcedhām* I explain as " the village by (or with) the hall." When O.E. *ræced* went out of use *Rached-* was supposed to be the name of the river on which the place stands, and the river-name *Rached* arose. The valley of the Roch now began to be called *Rached-dale* (whence *Rachedale*), *Rachedham* being used particularly of the village and church. Finally *Rachedale* supplanted *Rachedham* altogether, and a new back-formation *Rache* " the Roch " took the place of *Rached.*

Rochdale parish forms the N.E. part of Salford hundred. Except in the valley of the Roch the surface is hilly, especially in the N. and E., where there are large moorland districts. There are numerous rivers and streams, in the deep valleys of which villages and homesteads are situated.

1. **Castleton** (the S.W. part, on the Roch ; v. ; Rochdale town is here) : *Castelton* 1246 LAR, 1327, 1332 LS, etc., *Castleton* 1311 LI ; *Villa Castelli de Racheham* 13 cent. WhC 599. Said to be named from a castle on the Roch near the church ; Castleton vil. stands a good way further south. The name means literally " castle town." E. *castle* (< O.F. *castel*) is evidenced from c 1075. It does not seem probable that the first el. is O.E. *castel* " village " (< Lat. *castellum*). The name Castleton is also found in Derbyshire.

Balderstone (S. of Rochdale, on a small tributary of the Roch) : *de Baldreston* 1323 LCR, *Balderston* 1556 LF. First el. O.E. *Baldhere* pers. n.

Brimrod : *Bromyrode* 13 cent. WhC 607 ff., *Brymerood* 1582 DL. " Broomy clearing." Cf. Brimmicroft, p. 132.

Buersill : *Berdeshull* 1292 PW, *de Berdeshille* 1296 Lacy C, *de Berdeshull* 1305 ib., 1361 LF, *de Birdishill* (*Birdeshille*) 1324 LCR, *de Birdeshull* 1332 LS, *Burdssell More* 1543 LF, *Netherburdsell* 1554 LF. Here perhaps belong : *de Burdeshull* 1218 LAR, *de Brideshull* 1228 ib. Buersill stands at the foot of a hill (600ft.). The variation in the early forms renders the name difficult to explain. Perhaps the first el. is O.E. *Brid*, pers. n. ; cf. *Birtwisle* in Bl.

Hartley : *de Hertelegh* 1323 LCR, *de Hertilegh* 1324 ib. First el. O.E. *heorot* " hart."

Marland (old manor) : *Merlande* c 1200 Ind I, *Merland* 13 cent. WhC 590, *de Merlond* 1323 LI. This is probably O.E. *Mereland* from *mere* " mere " ; there is a small lake near Marland. Cf. Mereside Farm N. of Marland. But the name may also contain O.E. *gemære* " boundary." Marland is on the border of Bury.

Newbold : *de Neubolt* c 1200 WhC 596, *Newbold* c 1300 WhC 161, *de Neubold* 1322 LI, *de Neubald* 1324 LCR. On O.E. *bold* " dwelling," etc., see p. 8.

Sudden (S.W. of Rochdale) : *Sothden* 13 cent. WhC 606, *Sudden* 13 cent. WhC 597. Sudden stands near Sudden Brook, called *aqua de Sothden, Suthden* 13 cent. WhC 602, 607. " South dene."

2. **Butterworth** (E. of Rochdale, adjoining Yorkshire) : *Buterwrth* 1235 LF,

Butter-, Buterwurth 1246 LAR, *Butterworth* 1278, 1285 LAR, 1332 LS, *Boterworth* 1310 LF, *Boterworth* 1439, 1441 LF. "Butter worth" (O.E. *butere* and *worþ* "homestead," etc.), *i.e.*, "the dairy farm." Butterworth is also found in W. Yorks.; cf. Butterwick, Chiswick (< O.E. *cēsewīc*), etc.

Belfield : *de Belefeld* 1310 LF, 1311 WhC 629, 1324 LCR. The place is near the Beal; the name means "the field by the Beal."

Clegg : *Clegg* c 1200 Whit. II. 413, *de Cleg* 1285 LAR, *de Clege* (*Kleg*) 1246 LAR, *de Clegge* 1369 LF, *Clegge* 1577 Harr., 1577 Saxton. Clegg Hall stands at the foot of Owl Hill (575ft.); Clegg Moor reaches 1,400ft. The word *cleg* is found also in *Waterfalclegges* 1246 LAR. Cf. Cleggcliffe, Yks. (: *Clegclyve* 1275 Goodall). There is an O.N. word *kleggi* "haystack," which may have meant also "a hill, hillock," and be the source of the name. Cleggswood (*Cleggiswod* 1549 LP III. 58) is near Clegg. Cleggswood Hill reaches 650ft.

Haugh (on the Beal): *de le Halcht* Whit. II. 448, *the Halghe* 1549 LP III. 55. O.E. *halh* "haugh."

Hollingworth : *Holyenworth* 1278 LF, *Hollinworth* 1582 DL. O.E. *hole(g)n* "holly" and *worþ* "enclosure," etc.

Milnrow (on the Beal; v.): *Mylnerowe* 1554 DL, *Mylneraw* 1577 Saxton. "Mill row"; *row* (*raw*) means "a row of houses, a street." An earlier name is *Milnehouses* 13 cent. WhC, *Milnehus* 1292 PW.

Ogden : *de Akeden* 1246 LAR, *de Aggeden* ib., *de Okedene* 1324 LCR. Probably "Oak valley."

Roughbank : *Roughbank* 1596 CW 38. "Rough hill." Cf. *bank*, p. 7.

Scholefield, or **Schofield :** *de Scholfele* 1212 LI, *de Scolefeld* 1374 LF, *Scolfeld* 1582 DL. O.N. *skāli* "hut" and *field*.

Turnagh or **Turner :** *de Turnhagh* 1274 WhC 606, *de Turnehagh, de Tornhagh* 13 cent. WhC 158, 665, *de Turnaghe* 1299 LF, *de Turnagh* 1332 LS. The second el. is O.E. *haga* "enclosure." The first el. is found in a number of Lanc. names, *e.g.*, *Turnebuttes* (Stainall, Am.) CC 123, *Turnebuthsike* (Hutton, Le.) ib. 394, *Turnecroft* (Wrightington, Le.) ib. 503, *Turneholm* (Caton, Lo.) ib. 868. All these cannot well contain O.E. *þyrne* "thorn bush" with *t* instead of *th*. The only known Engl. word that it seems possible to think of is *turn* sb. in the sense "bend, curve of a road," etc. But this does not seem quite satisfactory. If *Turn-* goes back to *Trun-* it may be the adj. **trun* "round" suggested under Trunnah, Am. Turnagh is no doubt identical with Turnough on the 6-inch map; this stands near Turnough Hill (650ft.).

3. **Hundersfield** (N. of Castleton and Butterworth; Honresfeld is a small place E. of Littleborough): *Hunnordesfeld* 1202 LF, *Hunewrthefeld* 1235 LF, *Honeworthesfeld, Hunwurthefield, de Hunneswurthefeld, Humfridesfeld* 1246 LAR, *de Hundredefeld* 13 cent. WhC 732, *Hunnresfeld* 1311 LI, *Hunresfeld* 1332 LS, *Honeresfeld* 1361 LF, *Hunersfeld* 1369 Ind II, *Hundersfeld* 1509 LF. "The (town-)field of Hunworth." Hunworth is a lost place-name compounded of O.E. *Huna* pers. n. and *worþ* "enclosure," etc. The form *Humfridesfeld* 1246 is apparently due to association with the O.E. pers. n. *Hunfrith*. This old township was divided into four townships:

(*a*) **Wardleworth** (the S.W. part, N. of Rochdale): *Wordelword* c 1200 WhC, *de Werleworth* 1246 LAR, *Wordeword* 13 cent. WhC. Wardleworth is situated

near Wuerdle. The name seems to mean "the 'worth' by or belonging to Wuerdle."

Buckley : *de Bukele* 1246 LAR, 1323 LCR, *de Bukkelegh* 1332 LS. O.E. *bucca* "buck" (less probably *Bucca* pers. n.) and *lēah*.

Foxholes : *del ffoxholes* 1325 LCR. "Foxes' burrows."

(*b*) **Wuerdle** and **Wardle** (N. of Wardleworth).

Wuerdle (N.E. of Rochdale) : *de Werdull* c 1180 WhC 728, *Wordehull, parua Wordehull, Werdel* 13 cent. WhC 156, 625, *Wordehull* 1292 PW, *de Wordehull* 1285 LAR, *de Wordhille* 1296 Lacy C, *de Wordhull* 1299 LF, 1332 LS, *de Word(e)-hill* (*Wirdehill, Werdhill*) 1324f. LCR ; now [wu·dl]. Wuerdle stands near Birch Hill (793ft.). Perhaps the first el. of the name is O.E. *weorod* "troop, host," M.E. *weord, werd, word, wird*. Close to Wuerdle is Wardle, which obviously means "lookout hill." Wuerdle may have been the hill where the host was stationed or assembled.

Wardle (N. of Rochdale ; v.) : *de Wardhul* a 1193 Whit. II. 412, *Wardhil* 1190-8 HS LXVII. 210, *de Wardhill* 1218, 1221 LAR, *de Warthull* 1246 LAR, *parua Wardhull* 13 cent. WhC 783, *Wardhull* 1329 ib. 262 ; now [wa·dl, wɔ·dl]. The name means "ward-hill, lookout hill," and referred originally to Brown Wardle Hill[1] (1,300ft.) to the N.W. (: *Brown Wardle* 1580 DL).

Dearnley : *de Dernylegh* 1324 LCR, *Derneyley* 1581 DL. "The hidden, solitary lea." O.E. *derne*, M.E. *dern* "hidden," etc.

Hades : *hades* 1600 RS XII ; now [e·dz]. No doubt O.E. *hēafdu* "heads," *i.e.*, "hills." Hades is on the slope of Middle Hill (1,300ft.), while Higher and Lower Hades are on Hades Hill (1,400ft.).

Hamer : *Hamer* 1572, 1597 CW 80, *Haimer* 1631 RS XII. The name is identical with O.N. *hamarr* "steep rock, cliff," O.H.G. *hamar* in place-names (Förstemann). There is no reason to doubt that O.E. *hamor* had also the sense "a rock, cliff." Hamer stands N.E. of Rochdale, near a hill. Cf. Hamer Hill in Whitworth (1,425ft.).

Howarth or **Haworth** (Great and Little) : *de Haword, de Howord* c 1200 Whit. II. 412f., *de Hawurth* 1246 LAR, *Haword* 13 cent. WhC 156f., *de Houworth, de Ha(u)worth* 1324 ff. LCR. I am inclined to believe that here belong : *Hawerld-word* ? c 1200 WhC 125, *Halwerdewerd, -word* 13 cent. ib. 155. In that case the name must have been considerably shortened by haplology. The first el. would seem to be a pers. n., *e.g.*, O.E. *Hœhward* 996 CD 695, or the O.N. pers. n. *Hallvarðr* (*Halwœrth* c 1023 Searle). If we have to start from the early forms *Ha-, Howord*, the first el. may be O.E. *hōh*, and *aw* may be due to the change *ou* > *au* p. 21. On *worth* see p. 20.

(*c*) **Blatchinworth** and **Calderbrook**[2] (E. of Wuerdle and Wardle).

Blatchinworth : *Blackenworthe* 1276 LAR. The material hardly allows of a definite etymology. The first el. would seem to be O.E. *Blœcca* pers. n. ; cf. Blatchington, Suss. (: *Bechingetone* DB, etc.), Bletchley, Bucks. (*Blechele*

[1] Wardle vil. is at some distance from Brown Wardle, but in Yates's map 1786 the present Wardle is called Little Wardle, while Wardle is considerably further N., near Brown Wardle. The latter place is High Wardle O.M. 1846-51.

[2] Of Calderbrook, name of a vil. on the Roch, no early forms have been found. A place S.W. of it, not far from the Roch, is called Caldermoor.

1316 FA), etc. But preservation of the *-n* of the ending *-an* in *n*-stems is rare in Lancashire, and *Blæccinga worþ* seems improbable. Perhaps *Blatchen-* represents some O.E. common noun derived from *blæc* "black," or an O.E. **blǣcen* "bleaching" derived from *blǣcan* vb. Cf. *Blachinefeld* 1342 SC.

Lightollers : *de Lightholevers* 1246 LAR, *de Lightolres* 13 cent. WhC, 1322 LI, *de Ligh(t)alleres* 1323 LCR, *de Lighteholrs, Leghtolrs, Lightolrs* 1325 LCR. "Light alders" (O.E. *alr* "alder"). On the form *oller* see p. 21. As regards *Lightholevers* cf. Wycoller, Bl.

Littleborough (v. ; on the Roch) : *Littlebrough* 1577 Harr., *Lyttlebrugh* 1577 Saxton. Second el. apparently O.E. *burh*, but its meaning is obscure. A chapel was built here in the 15th century.†

Shore : *del (dil) Shore* 1324 LCR, 1332 LS, 1374 LF. Shore stands N.W. of Littleborough on the slope of the steep spur of hill called East Hill at c 700ft. elevation. The name is clearly identical with dial. *shore* "a steep rock" Sc. (EDD), which is related to O.E. *scorian* "to project" (of stones from a cliff). The same meaning is no doubt to be attributed to other Shores, as Shore Head (960ft.) E. of Whitworth (*le Schore* WhC 688), Shore near Cornholme (Yks.). Cf. *Schor* WhC 777 in the boundary of Whalley par., *Sheremore* 1580 DL.

Sladen (by Lydgate Clough) : *de Slaneden* (!) 1246 LAR, *de Slaueden* 13 cent. WhC 665, 1332 LS, *de Slauedene* 1324 LCR. Cf. Slaley, Nhb. : *Slaveleye* Percy C 284 ; also *Slauilache* (Abram) CC 665. I suppose the first el. is a lost O.E. word meaning "mud" or the like and connected with *slaver* "saliva," *slaver* vb., O.N. *slafra* "to slaver," E. *slab* "muddy place, puddle," Icel. *slevja* sb. "slaver," etc. The stem is **slab-* ; cf. Dan. dial. *slaf* "mud."

Stansfield (near Calderbrook) : *de Stanesfeld* 1246 LAR, *de Stanisfeld* 1311 LI. Possibly "stone field," though the regular genitive *-s* is against such an etymology.

Windy Bank : *de Wyndibonk* c 1300 WhC 692, *del Wyndybonk, del Wyndibonck* 1324f. LCR. The place stands near Littleborough on the slope of a hill (750ft.). Bank means "hill."

(*d*) **Todmorden** and **Walsden** (the N. part, now in Yks.).

Todmorden (town) : *Tottemerden, de Totmardene* 1246 LAR, *Todmarden* c 1300 WhC 625, *Todmereden* 1298 (Goodall), *Todmerden* 1546 LF. The town stands in the valley of the Calder on the old boundary between Yks. and Lanc. W. of Todmorden is Todmorden Moor (1,302ft.). The etymology of the name is difficult. The first el. appears to be O.E. *Totta* pers. n. (cf. Tottington). The second may be O.E. *mōr* with weakening of the vowel ; if so, the name means "the valley by *Tottan mōr*." Or the second el. is O.E. *gemǣre* "boundary." This would give the meaning "Totta's boundary valley."

Walsden (v. S. of Todmorden, in a valley) : *Walseden* 1235 LF. The first el. is apparently a pers. name ; Wyld suggests O.E. **Walsa* or *Wœls*, and compares the place-names Walsingham and *Wœlslegh* 1065 CD. This is perhaps correct. Yet the first el. may be *Wales*, gen. of *Walh* ; cf. Walshall, Staffs., Walsham, Suss.

Bernshaw Tower (on a hill) : *Besyngshawe* 1556 LF. First el. *Besing* pers. n. as in Besingby, Yks. ; *Besing' de Hudeswell'* is mentioned YFF 67 (1202).

Gawksholme (S. of Todmorden) : *Gawkeholme* 1521 DL. First el. the O.N. pers. n. *Gaukr*.

Inchfield : *Inchefeld* 1521 DL, *Inchefeld* 1551 LF. Inchfield Moor reaches nearly 1,500ft. Very likely the first el. was originally *Hinge-* (O.E. *heng-*); cf. Hinchliffe, Yks. : *Hynchecluff* 1379 (Goodall) < O.E. *hengeclif*; and *Hengeland* (Tatham, Lo.) CC 935. The [dž] would become [tʃ] before *f*. If this is right, the name means " sloping field."

Scaitcliffe : *Scatecliffe* 1575, *Scatcliff* 1596 DL. " Slate cliff." *Slate* often appears as *sclate*, *sklate* in early sources (< O.F. *esclate*) and *l* was lost owing to dissimilation. Cf. p. 90.

4. **Spotland** (the W. part ; on both sides of the river Spodden) : *Spotlond* c 1180 WhC 728, *Spotland* 1285 LAR, 1341 IN, etc., *Spotteland* 1311 LI, *Spotlond* 1327, 1332 LS, 1369, 1391 LF. The name is only used of the district, but probably to begin with denoted some special place.

Spotland township is hilly, the highest land being in the east and west. The S. part on the Roch is comparatively level. The name must be compared with the river name Spodden, earlier *Spotbrok*. The most probable explanation is perhaps that *Spot-* represents the old name of the river ; such a river-name might belong to *spout* sb., vb. See Torp-Fick, p. 513. *Spottesdala* (W. Yks.) c 1320 FC II, may contain the same river name. It is also possible, however, that *Spot-* is identical with *spot* sb. " a small space or extent of ground " ; cf. O.E. *splott*, O.N. *spotti* " piece, particle," Norw. *spott* " piece of land." If so, we may compare Spott, the name of a vil. in Haddingtonshire. Perhaps a place in Spotland was originally called Spot, and the other names were derived from it.

Bagslate Moor (in the S.W.) : *Bagslade* 13 cent. WhC 667. The second el. is O.E. *slæd* " valley." The first may be O.E. *Bacga* pers. n.

Brandwood (the N.W. part) : *Brendewod* c 1200 WhC 154, *Brendewode* 1324 LI. " The burnt wood " (M.E. *brend* " burnt ").

Broadhalgh (in Chadwick) : *Brodehalgh* 13 cent. WhC 772f., *le Brodhalgh* c 1300 WhC 622. " The broad haugh." The place is near the Roch.

Brotherod (on the Spodden) : *Broderod(e)* 13 cent. WhC 678, 752. " The broad clearing " (O.E. *rod* p. 16).

Chadwick (the S. part, W. of Rochdale) : *Chaddewyk* c 1180 WhC 728, *Chadewik* 1246 LAR, *Chadewyk* 13 cent. WhC 796, *Litelchadeswyk* 1277 WhC 788. O.E. *Ceadda* pers. n. and *wīc* " dwelling," etc. The church of Rochdale was dedicated to St. Chad ; the name of the saint may enter into Chadwick.

Cheesden (in the S.W.) : *Chesden Water* 1543 DL, *Chesden* 1546 LF, *Cheseden* 1549 LP III. ; *Cheisdenlomme* ib. is now Cheesden Lumb. On the probable first el. of Cheesden see Chesham, p. 61.

Coptrod (N.W. of Rochdale) : *Coppedrod*, *Copperode* 13 cent. WhC 752, 764. " The peaked clearing." Cf. *Coppedhurst* WhC 736 (in Spotland).

Cowclough (in Whitworth) : *Colleclogh* 13 cent. WhC 643. The place stands near a brook. Perhaps the first el. is a name of that brook. Cf. Cole (river Worc.) : (on) *Colle* 972 BCS 1282 ; also *aqua de Colle* (*Cole*) 1247, 1257 FC (Wml.). O.E. *col* " coal," and *Cola* pers. n. may also be thought of.

Cowm (in the deep valley of Cowm Brook) : *magnam Cumbam*, *paruum Cumbe* 13 cent. WhC 643, 675, *le Mikelcoumbebrok*, *Litelcumbe* c 1300 ib. 698, 691. All these examples refer to brooks. The source is O.E. *cumb* " valley."

Dunnishbooth (on the Spodden): *Donyngbothe* c 1180 WhC 728, *Donnynges-botherodes* 13 cent. ib. 763. O.E. *Dunning* pers. n., and M.E. *bōthe* "booth" (< O.Dan. *bōth*).

Ellenrod (N.W. of Rochdale): *de Ailwarderod* 1329 WhC 261, *Elwodrowde* 1549 LP III. 59. "The clearing of *Ægelweard* or *Æðelweard* (*Ailward*)." The *-n-* was introduced at a late period, perhaps owing to some popular etymology.

Facit (N. of Whitworth, E. of Spodden Brook): *ffagheside* 13 cent. WhC 654, 664; now [fe·sit]. O.E. *fāg* (M.E. *faw*, etc.) "coloured, variegated" (cf. Fallowfield, p. 50) and *sīde* "side": "the bright (? 'flowery') slope." The name is identical with Fawcett, Wml. (: *Faxide* 1247, *Fawside* 1374; differently explained by Sedgefield). There is also a Fawside in Kincardineshire.

Falinge (N.W. of Rochdale): *ffaleng* 13 cent. WhC 638, *le Faleng*, *ffalenges* (villa) c 1300 WhC 256, 794; *de Falynge* 1323 LCR. O.E. *fælging* "fallow land." *See* p. 10.

Harsenden: *Harstanden* 13 cent. WhC 664, *aq. de Haristanden* 1284 ib. 166, *Harestancroft* 1275 ib. 648, *Harstandencroft* 13 cent. ib. 663. "Grey stone (or, boundary stone) valley." O.E. *hār* "grey" and *stān*. "Hoar stones" are often mentioned as boundary marks in O.E. charters (cf. NED s.v. *hoar-stone*).

Healey (district E. of Spodden Brook): *Hayleg* 1260 LF, *villa de Helay*, *Heleye*, *Heleya*, *Heleyden* 13 cent. WhC, *de Heghlegh* 1332 LS. Healey is on the slope of a hill of 1,042ft. I suppose the name means "the high lea"; *Hayleg* 1260 seems to be miswritten.

Masseycroft (S. of Whitworth): *Maxicroft*, *Maxicroftschore* 13 cent. WhC 661, 688 (stated to be in Whitworth). The name probably means "manured croft," the first el. being derived from O.E. *me(o)x* "dung." As regards *a*, cf. Scottish *sax* f. *six* (O.E. *seox*).

Naden (in the W.): *de Naueden[e]* 1323f. LCR, *de Neuedene* 1325 ib. Higher and Lower Naden are situated above Naden Brook at an elevation of c 800ft. on the slope of Knoll Hill (1,375ft.). The name was no doubt at first used of the valley and the brook, and was given in reference to the high hill near it. Cf. Norw. *Naava*, the name of a river (from *Nøf*, gen. *Nafar*), derived from *nøf* "projecting peak" (Rygh, Elvenavne). Very likely O.E. *nafu* "nave" was used in a topographical sense too (cf. Middendorff) and may be the first el. of Naden.

Oakenrod (in Chadwick): *Akenrode* 13 cent. WhC 607, *del Okenrode* 1324 LCR. "Oak clearing" (O.E. *rod*, p. 16).

Prickshaw (Whitworth): *Prikkeschagh* 1292 WhC 689, *Prikkeschaghsiche* 13 cent. ib. 663. Cf. O.E. *pricþorn* 956 BCS 945. The first el. is no doubt *prick* sb. (O.E. *prica*) "prickle, thorn," but the exact meaning is not apparent. Prickhedge (1601ff.) means "a thorn hedge." Cf. Prickley, Worc.: *Prieleye*, *Prielea* (for *Pric-* ?) 1275 (Duignan), Prickwillow (vil. near Ely).

Redfern (near the Spodden): *le Redefern* 13 cent. WhC 667. Self-explaining.

Rockliffe: *de Roclif* 1296 Lacy C, *Roclyf* 1324 LI. Probably "roe cliff" (O.E. *rā* "roe" and *clif*).

Tonacliffe (Healey): *de Tunwal(e)clif* 1246 LAR, 1412 FC 367, *Tunewallclif*, *Tunwalclif* 13 cent. WhC 654, 658. The name means "the town brook (or well) cliff." The *tūn* referred to may be Healey, close to which the place is.

Tong End (in a tongue of land between Spodden and Tong End Brooks): *Tonge, Tong* 13 cent. WhC 643, 653, *Tongend* 1489 Ind II. O.E. *tang* " fork of a river," p. 18.
Trough (Gate): *le Trogh, Troghbrok* WhC 697f. O.E. *trog* " trough," here in the sense " valley."
Whitworth (on Spodden Brook, N. of Healey): *Whiteword* 13 cent. WhC 637, 643, 1322 LI, *Whiteworth* 13 cent. WhC 668, *de Wytewurth(e)* 1246 LAR. " The white worþ " or " the worþ of *Hwīta* "; *Hwīta* is a common O.E. pers. n.
Wolstenholme (in the W.): *de Wolstonholme* c 1180 Whit. II. 412, *de Wlstanhwlm* a 1193 Whit. II. 412, *Wlstanesholme* 1278 LF, *de Wolstaneshulm* c 1200 WhC 597, *Wolstanesholm* 1326 AP, *de Wolstonholm* 1332 LS. " The holm of *Wulfstān*." Wolstenholme stands near the Naden and Royds Brooks.

BURY PAR.

This parish may be described as the district of the Upper Irwell valley; yet also part of the lower Roch valley belongs to it. The northernmost parts are in Blackburn hundred, but are dealt with here as they belong geographically and ecclesiastically to Salford.

In the S. the surface is level, especially in the tongue of land between the Roch and the Irwell. The ground rises to the north, the highest elevations being on the E. and W. borders, where large moorland districts are found. The villages and homesteads are chiefly in the valleys of the Irwell and its tributaries.

1. **Bury** (town, in the tongue of land between the Irwell and the Roch): *Biri* 1194 LPR; *Bury* c 1190 Ch, 1243 LI, 1256 LF, 1332 LS, etc.; *Buri* 1212 LI, *Bire* 1228 ClR, *Bure, Byry, de Biry* 1246 LAR, *Byry* 1296 Lacy C, *Berye* 1551 CCR, *Birrie Hamell* 1591 Bury R. O.E. *burh* (dat. *byrig*) " fortified place; fortified town, city." The situation of the town is suited for a fortification.

Chesham (N.E. of Bury, on Gipsy Brook): *Chesum* 1429 LF, *Cheasom, Cheesam* 1610 CW 80. The early forms are not old enough to tell us whether this is an old dative in *-um* or a compound with O.E. *hamm* (or possibly *hām*). Anyhow, the element *Ches-* is obviously identical with that of Cheesden (p. 59) and probably a lost O.E. sb. identical with M.H.G *kis* " gravel " perhaps preserved in O.E *Cisburne* 816 BCS 356 (Worc.), and Chishill (Kent), and found in the derivatives O.E. *ceosol* " gravel " and *cisen* adj. in Chisnall, Le. (p. 129). If Chesham is an old dat. pl., the vowel *e* is most easily explained (O.E. *ceosum*). Cf. Swed. *Kisa*, the gen. pl. of a related word.

Haslam (Haslam Brow, S.E. of Bury): *de Haselum* 1235, 1256 LF, *de Haslum* (*Hesellum*) 1246 LAR. O.E. *hæslum* " (at) the hazels."

Redvales (in the S., in the flat land between the Roch and the Irwell): *Redivesshale* 1185 LPR, *Redinall* 1246 LAR, *de Redyval* 1296 LF, *Ridevalls* 1542 CW xxviii. O.E. **Rēdgifu* pers. n. (fem.) and *halh* " haugh."

2. **Heap** (E. of Bury, on the Roch): *de Hep* 1226 (Bardsley), *Hepe* 1278 VHL V. 136, *the Heipp brige* 1551 CCR. There is no longer any village or estate of the name. The original Heap may have been at Heap Bridge, a place on the Roch. I suppose Heap is O.E. *hēap* " heap, pile," in the sense " a hill." If so, the hill E. of Heap Bridge may be supposed to have given name to the place. O.E.

hēap " a hill " I take to be the origin of Shap, Wml. (*Hep* 1231, 1293 Sedgefield); cf. Studier tillegnade Esaias Tegnér den 13 jan. 1918, p. 437 ff. Cf. also Hapton (Bl.).

Heywood (town): *Hewude, de Heghwode* 1246 LAR, *dil Hewod* 1323 LCR, *de Hayewode* (*Hewode*) 1324f. LCR, *del Hewode* 1330 LF, *Yewood* 1865 Staton. Here perhaps belong *de Haywod* 1246 LAR, *de Hawod* 1285 LAR. The first el., as suggested by Wyld, may be O.E. *hege* "enclosure." But some forms point rather to O.E. *hēa-wudu* " high wood."

Lomax (now lost name of the district S. of the Roch, where Charlestown and Heady Hill are): *de Lumhalghs* 1324 LCR, *Loumals* 1546 LF, *lomax* 1592 Bury R. Second el. the plur. of O.E. *halh* " haugh," which suits the situation of the place. The first el. may be identical with Lumb *infra*, or the pers. n. apparently found in Lumley, Durh. (Mawer).

Whittle: *de Quitul* 1292 VHL V. 138, *Whittle* 1612 Middleton R. " White hill."

3. **Elton** (W. of Bury and the Irwell): *Elleton* 1246 LAR, *de Holton* (*Helton*) ib., *de Elton* 1277, 1278 LAR. O.E. *Ellan tūn*; cf. Eltonhead, p. 108. *Ella* was a common O.E. name.

Brandlesome (between the Irwell and Kirklees Brook): *de Brandolfholm* 1285 LAR, *Brandilsholme More* 1515 CCR, *Brandlesome* 1556 LF, *Brandlesham* 1577 Harr. " Brandulf's holme." *Brandulf* pers. n. occurs in D.B.; it is probably a Scand. name (O.N. *Brǫndulfr*), as *Brand* is hardly with certainty evidenced as an O.E. name-element. *Holm* is O.N. *holmr* " island," etc.

Summerseat (near the Irwell): *Sumersett* 1556 CCR, *Somerseat* 1618 CW 158. The name seems to have as second el. *set, sat*, " a shieling " (cf. p. 16), or O.E. *set*, " fold." The first el. is O.E. *sumor* or O.N. *sumarr*, " summer." *Sommersæt* is a common place-name in N. Norway (NG XVII. 56).

Woodhill (in a bend of the Irwell): *Wyddell* 1563 CW xv, *Woddill* 1564 CCR, *widdell* 1598 Bury R. " Wide haugh " (O.E. *wīd* adj. and *halh*).

4. **Walmersley-with-Shuttleworth** (E. of the Irwell, N. of Bury).

Walmersley (the S. part; v.): *Walmeresley* 1262 LAR, *de Walmereslegh* 1318 LI, *de Walm'eslegh* 1332 LS, *Womersley* 1552 LF, *Wamessley Hamell* 1555 LF. I suppose the first el. is O.E. *Waldmēr*, a name possibly evidenced in O.E. (cf. *Waldmeres scora* 824 BCS 381), or *Walhmēr*. A compound of O.E. *wælla* "well; brook," and *mere* " mere " is also possible.

Cobhouse (N.E. of Walmersley): *de Cobalres* 1359 LF. Second el. clearly the plur. of O.E. *alr* " alder." *Cob-* may be a pers. name (O.E. *Cobba*) or *cob* sb. in one of its senses.

Lumb or **Lumn Mill** (near Walmersley): ? *lumcar* 1591 Bury R. The name is identical with Lumb (Tottington), Lumb, Yks. (*Lom* 1307, 1308, *Lum* 1370, Goodall); cf. *the Cowlomme* 1549 LP III. 53, *Lomme, Crawelomme* 1564 CCR, Lomax *supra*. Bardsley correctly identifies the name with dial. *lum*, " a woody valley, a deep pool." Cf. *lumb* " a well for the collection of water in a mine; a deep pool in the bed of a river " (18 cent.) NED; *lum* " a deep pool in the bed of a river " NCy, Lakel., Yks., etc. (EDD). The etymology of the word is obscure. Lumb is situated close to two small tarns and Pigsley Brook.

Pigsden, Pigsley (on Pigsley Brook). Cf. *Pedeksdene* Kuerden MS, *Pigkisdene* 1360 VHL V. 142, *Petekesdene* ib. 174, *Pedkesdene* 1287 ib. 177. The first el. appears

to be a pers. n. identical with that found in Pickwell (Dev.): *Pedicheswelle* DB, perhaps a diminutive in *-uc* of O.E. *Piuda* (cf. Redin).

Shipperbottom: *de Schyppewelle-*, *Schyppewallebothem* 1285 LAR, *de Shipwallebothum* 1323 LI, *Shippalbothum* 1489 PatR. O.E. *scēpwælla* "stream (or well) where sheep are washed," and O.E. **bopm*, M.E. *bothem* "valley, dell." *Ship-* goes back to the rare O.E. form *scīp* for *scēp*, *scēap* "sheep." The place is in a small valley.

Shuttleworth (the N. part, v.): *Suttelesworth* 1227 LF, *Shyotlesworth* 1241 LF, *Shitleswurth*, *de Shytleswurth* 1246 LAR, *Shuttelesworthe* 1296 Lacy C, *Schuttleswurthe* 1305 ib., *Shotlesworth* 1311 LI, *Shuttlesworth* 1324 LI. The same name occurs in Bedford (De), Hapton (Bl), and in Yks.; the latter appears as *Schutleswrtha*, *Sutleswrtha* 1209. The first el. of the name is derived by Wyld and Goodall from an O.E. *Scyttel* or *Scytel*,[1] pers. n. But it would be a curious coincidence for this rare name to appear at least four times combined with O.E. *worþ*. In my opinion the first el. is O.E. *scyt(t)els* "bar, bolt." If O.E. *worþ* meant "enclosure," this seems to give a good sense; perhaps the name means "barred enclosure." But *scyttels* may have had some special sense not preserved in the sources. It may have been used *e.g.* of a gate of some sort. In dialects *shuttle* (< O.E. *scytel*, a side-form of *scyttels*) means "a horizontal bar of a gate or hurdle"; also "a flood-gate." Norw. *skutil*, Swed. *skyttel* denote a pole that may be pulled backwards and forwards across an opening in a fence. Swed. *skyttlegap* means an opening in a fence that may be shut by means of loose poles (*skyttel*).

5. **Tottington** (Higher End and Lower End, townships): *Totinton* 1212 LI, 1235 ChR, *Totington* 1233 LF, 1278 LAR, 1327 LS, etc., *Todington* 1242 LI, *Totingdon* 1251 ChR, *Totyngton* 1274 LF, 1332 LS, etc., *Tottyngton* 1285 LAR, *Totynton* 1330 LF. O.E. *Totinga tūn*. *Totingas* is a patronymic formed from the O.E. pers. n. *Tota*.

Affeside: *Affetside* 1504, *Affetsid* 1509, *Affaythsyde* 1523, *Affedsyd common* 1531, *Avesyde* 1556 CCR, *Affetyside* 1542 DL, *Offyside* 1771 Whitaker, Manchester, *Aviside* Waugh. Affeside stands on a hill (896ft.) over which runs a Roman road (Watling-street). The forms are too late to allow of an etymology.

Croichlow Fold (S.W. of Holcombe Brook, near a hill): *de Cruchelowe* 1324 LCR, *Crychelow* 1525, *Crychelaw* 1529, *Croichelay* 1563 CCR. The first el. looks like the Brit. word found in Welsh *crug* "a hill"; cf. Creech, Som. (S. of the Quantock Hills; *Cructan apud nos Crycbeorh* 680 BCS 62, *Crice* DB), Creech Do. (*Cric*, *Criz* DB), Penkridge, Staffs. (*Pennocrucium* Ant. It., *Pancriz* DB).

Hawkshaw (h.): *Howkeshagh* 1509, *Hawkesey* 1527, *Hawckeshey* 1530 CCR. O.E. *hafoc* "hawk," and *scaga* "shaw."

Holcombe, Holcombe Brook (h.): *Holecumbam* a 1236 Whit. I. 324, *Holcumbhevet* c 1236 ib. 325, *de Holcoumbe* 1296 Lacy C, *de Holecombe* 1305 ib. O.E. *hol(h)* "hollow" and *cumb* "valley." The name refers to the deep valley of Holcombe Brook.

Nuttall (h.): *de Noteho* 1256 LF, *de Notehogh* 1318 LI, 1332 LI, *de Notehugh*

[1] From *Scyt(t)el* the first el. of Shitlington, Nhb., Yks., Shillington, Beds., may be derived, and *Scytlescester*, an early form of Chesters, Nhb., may contain the name *Scytel* itself (Mawer).

1323 LCR, *the Nutto* 1545 CCR. O.E. *hnutu* "nut" and *hōh* "spur of land," etc. Nuttall stands at a slight spur of hill near the Irwell.

Ramsbottom (town): *de Romesbothum* 1324 LCR, *Romsbothum* 1509, *Ramysbothom* 1540 CCR. O.E. *ram* sb. "ram" or *Ram* pers. n. and M.E. *bothem* "valley." Cf. Ramsgreave (Bl.), Ramsden (Ess.), Romsley (Worc.). Ramsbottom stands in the valley of the Irwell.

Tittleshaw (near Holcombe Brook): *Tyteleshou* a 1236, *Tuttelleshou* c 1236 Whit. I. 324f., *Tetilsey More* 1523, *Tetlesaw* 1544 CCR. O.E. **Tytel* pers. n., a side-form of *Tyttla* (found in Bede), and O.N. *haugr* "hill." The place is close to a hill. In the earliest instances the name denotes a hill.

In Tottington Higher End are:

Alden (valley, brook, the boundary against Musbury): *Aldenehevet* a 1234 Whit. I. 324, *Alvedene* 1296 Lacy C, *Aldene* 1305 ib., 1324 LI. The first el. may be O.E. *Ælfa* pers. n., or perhaps more likely the gen. pl. of O.E. *ælf* "fairy, elf." The second is O.E. *denu* "valley."

Balladen (on Balladen Brook, E. of the Irwell): *Baleden* 1522, *Balyden* 1525, *Balidene* 1562 CCR, *Ballydeyne* 1549 LP III. 56. First el. M.E. *balgh* "smooth, rounded," p. 7. Second O.E. *denu*.

Buckden (h.): *de Bukedene* 1324 LCR. O.E. *bucca* "buck" and *denu*.

Chatterton: *Chatterton* 1523, *Chatterton Hey* 1547 CCR, *Chatterton* 16 cent. WhC 1226. The place stands E. of the Irwell on a steep projecting ridge. The name is apparently identical in origin with Chadderton, p. 50.

Dearden Moor (E. of the Irwell): *de Derdene* 1325 LCR, *Dureden* 1509 CCR. O.E. *dēor* "deer" and *denu*. Dearden Brook runs past Edenfield.

Edenfield (v.): *Aytounfeld* 1324 LI, *de Aytounfeld* 1443, *Aytenfeld* 1509 CCR, *Atonfeld* 1519 LP I. 86, *Aytenfielde* 1577 Harr, *etenfelde* 1591, *edenfeld* 1615 Bury R; now [i·dnfi·ld]. Edenfield stands near the Irwell on fairly high ground. Eden Wood is to the S. of it. *Eden-* is probably O.E. *Eg-tūn*, *ēg* in this case meaning "river-meadow" or the like. The place so called may have been on the Irwell. Cf. Hundersfield.

Horncliffe (E. of the Irwell): *de Horneclif* 1323 LCR, *de Hornclyve* c 1360 CR 344, *Horne-, Horneyclyff* 1540 CCR. First el. probably *horn* "a pointed or tapering projection" or the like. Horncliffe stands at a steep spur of Dearden Moor.

Lumb (on the Irwell): *Lumbank* 1528, *the Lumebonke, Lumbankeheid* 1547 CCR, *Lumme Carre medowe* 1563 ib. Cf. the same name p. 62.

New Hall: *Newhalle* (vaccary) 1324 LI, *Newhall* 1577 Harr. *Hall* may mean "farm-house, cottage" (cf. EDD).

Shillingbottom: *Shillingbothim* 1296 Lacy C, *-botham* 1305 ib. The first el. may be the O.E. pers. n. *Scilling*; but more likely it is the name of a brook derived from *shill* adj. (O.E. *scyl*) "sonorous, resonant, shrill." Second el. M.E. *bothem* "valley."

Stubbins (h.): *Stubbyns Halle* 1559 CCR; cf. *Stubbyng* 1563 ib. M.E. *stubbing*, "the action of clearing land of stubs, etc." (1445, etc., NED). Here the meaning is concrete: "cleared land."

6. **Musbury** (in the N.W. part of the parish; in Blackburn hundred): *Musbiry* (park) 1311 LI, *-buri, -beri* 1324 LI, *Park of Musebury* 1325 LCR. "Mouse burrow," O.E. *mūs* and **burh* "burrow." Cf. Coneybury, Worc., "rabbit

warren" (Duignan). The township chiefly consists of hills (Musbury Heights). It was formerly a park.

Musden, Musden Head : *Musedene* 1296 Lacy C, *Musdene* 1305 ib., 1324 LI. "Mouse valley." Musden Head is "the head of the Musden (or Musbury Brook) valley."

Ogden (valley in the N. ; Ogden Brook) : *Uggedene* 1296 Lacy C, *Ugdene* 1305 ib., *Uggeden* 1324 LI, (aqua de) *Uggeden* WhC 333, *Ugden* 1509, *Okedenfott, Ogdenfott* 1531 CCR ; *Typpet of Ogden* (*Ugden*) 1577, *Typpet of Ugden Hill* 1580 DL. The first el. is no doubt a pers. n.; cf. *Uggelowe* (hill) WhC 334, *Uggecotelawe* (Whitworth) 13 cent. WhC 654, also Ugley (Ess.) : *Oggele* 1303, *Uggele* 1428 FA. We may assume an O.E. **Ucga*, corresponding to O.N. *Uggi*. The meaning of *Typpet* (now Trippet) is obscure.

7. **Cowpe, Lench, Newhall Hey, Hall Carr** (E. of the Irwell; in Blackburn hundred). The district occupies the N. slope of a high hill.

Cowpe : *Cuhope, Cuhopheued* c 1200 WhC 154, *Couhop* 1324 LI. Cowpe stands on a stream (called *Couhopebrok* WhC 334) in a valley, which is a typical "hope," *i.e.*, "a smaller opening branching out from the main dale, and running up to the mountain ranges." The name means "cow valley" (O.E. *cū* and *hop*).

Lench : *the Lenche* 1526, *Overlynche* 1507, *Ouerlinche* 1527, *Overlenche* 1532 CCR. *Lench* in dialects means "a shelf of rock," etc. (Derbysh.) ; *linch* 1, "rising ground"; 2, "a ledge ; a hamlet on the side of a hill" (the second sense found in Lanc. dial.). *Lench, linch* are obviously connected with O.E. *hlinc* "ridge, slope, hill" ; there must have been an O.E. *hlenċ* with much the same meaning.

Newhall Hey : *Newhalley* 1464 Whit. I. 359, *Newhal(l)hey* 1507, 1514 CCR. Cf. New Hall, p. 64.

Hall Carr (near Newhall Hey) : *Hallecarre* 1507 CCR. *Carr* is O.N. *kiarr*, "marsh, bog."

BLACKBURN HUNDRED

Blachebvrn hvnd' DB, (*de*) *Blakeburne Wapentachio* 1188 LPR, *Blakeburnesire* 1243 LI, *Blakeburneschyre* 1246 LAR, *Blakeburneshire* 1258 IPM, *Blackburnshir* 1332 LS.

A district N. of Salford hundred and mostly S. of the Ribble, with a small portion N. of that river. This latter part, till some time after the Conquest, belonged to Amounderness hundred, and Alston-with-Hothersall township, though in Ribchester par., does so still. This part is best dealt with in connection with Amounderness.

Names of Rivers

Ribble (falls into the Irish Sea) : *Rippel* c 710 Eddi,[1] *Ribbel* c 930 YCh (? genuine), 1002 Thorpe, 1229, 1251 ChR, etc., *Ripam* DB, *Ribem* 1094 LC 794, *Ribam* 1130 LPR, *Ribble* c 1130 Sim. Durh., *Ribliam* 1140 Ch, *Riblam* 1142 Ch, *Ribbil(l)* 1189-94 Ch, c 1230 CC, 1252 LI, *Rybel* 1246 LAR, *Ribel* 1251, 1270 ChR, *Rebel* 1400 FC 201, *the Rybell* 1577 Harr. Cf. Ribchester p. 144. The Ribble is an

[1] MSS from 11 and 12 cent.

important river, its name is probably British. Etymology obscure. If, as some think, Ptolemy's *Belisama* should be identified with the Ribble, the name may contain the first part (*Bel-*) of this word.

Darwen (joins the Ribble near Preston): *Derewente* 1227 LF, *Darwent* c 1540 Leland. Cf. Over and Lower Darwen, p. 75. The name is identical with Derwent in Derby, Cumb., Yks., Nhb. It appears as *Derventione* Ant. It., Not. D., Rav. (Holder), *Deruuentionis* (g.sg.) Bede (*Deorwentan*, etc., in the O.E. translation), *Deruuentionem* Bede, etc. The name is a derivative of Celt. **derwā* " oak."

Blackwater (a trib. of the Darwen): *Blak.* 12 cent. WhC 101f. Cf. Blackburn, p. 74. " The black brook."

Calder (falls into the Ribble near Whalley): *Caldre* a 1193 Whit. II. 388, 1246 LAR, WhC 333, *Est Caldre* WhC 334, *Calder* c 1200 Whit. II. 189, *Kelder* 1296 Lacy C, *the Calder*, *the Chalder* 1577 Harr. This river is sometimes called the two-forked Calder. It has two head-streams, which join at Burnley. The Northern one of these is generally called Pendle Water, the name Calder being applied to the Southern one. There is another Calder in Blackburn, which rises near the other Calder, but flows S. and E. to the Aire in Yks.: *Kelder* 1202, *Keldre* 1296, *Calder* 1308 (Goodall). This is a common river name. Cf. Calder in Am. *infra*, Cumb., Scotland. Caldour near Kelso is said to appear as *Caledofre* in an early doc. (McClure, p. 144). The name is British, and its second el. is generally assumed to be Celtic **dubron* (Welsh *dwfr*, etc.) " water." It may be identical with the Welsh river names *Cletwr*, *Clettwr*; cf. *Kaletur Maur'*, *Kaletur Bochan*, etc., 1241 AP (in Shr. or Heref.) " the great and little Caletur," the first el. of which seems to be Welsh *caled* " hard, severe," here perhaps " rapid " or the like.

Bushburn (falls into the Calder): *Busceburn(e)* 13 cent. WhC 953f., *Busseburne* ib. 1027. First el. obscure.

Hyndburn (an affluent of the Calder): *Hindeburne* a 1193 Whit. II. 388, *Hindeburn* a 1194 Kirkstall C, *Hyndburn* 1200-8 DD, *Hyndeburn* WhC 334, *Henburne brooke* 1577 Harr. Probably *Hynd-* is O.E. *hind* " female of the doe." Cf. Hindburn in Lo.

Pendle Water: *Penhull water* 1516 CCR, *The Piddle*, *Pidle brooke* 1577 Harr. *See* Calder *supra*.

Colne Water (joins Pendle Water). *See* Colne, p. 87.

Wanless Water: *Wandles Wayter* 1540 CCR. Earlier forms are needed.

Brun (falls into the Calder at Burnley). *See* under Burnley.

Names of Hills

In Blackburn par. are:

Billinge (807ft., in Witton): *Billingehill* 1429 VHL VI. 340; cf. *Billingehurst* 13 cent. ib. 266, *Billinge Hill* 1594 DL, *subter Billingg* 1622 Blackburn R. The etymology of the name is complicated by the fact that a neighbouring hill is called Billington Moor (p. 71), earlier *Billingahoth*. This latter apparently means " the hill of the Billings." It would seem most natural to explain Billinge in a similar way, that is, to derive it from an O.E. *Billingahyll*, " the hill of the

Billings," the later *Billinge* being elliptical. Another possibility is that Billinge is an old hill-name, derived from O.E. *bill* " sword." Billinge is a conspicuous ridge. The early material does not allow of a definite choice between these alternatives. From *Billinge*, the name of the hill, is derived **Billinge Scar** (the name of a place on the hill): *Billins Carr* 1615, *Billindge Carr* 1624, *Billinges* 1652 Blackburn R. *Scar* means " a cliff, the ridge of a hill," etc.

Mellor Moor.—*See* p. 73.

Revidge (in Over Darwen) apparently has as second el. the word *edge* (O.E. *ecg*). The first may be O.E. *hrēof* " rough."

Whalley Nab (606ft., the eastern point of Billington Hill): *Nab* (silva) 1579 Whalley R, *The Nabb in Billington* 1604 CW 176. An earlier name of this is no doubt *Belsetenab* 13 cent. WhC 133, (montis) *Belsetenabbe* 14 cent. ib. 1013. *Belsete* is apparently a place-name whose second el. is *set* " shieling " (cf. p. 16); the first el. is very likely a pers. n., *e.g.*, *Beli* in *Belesby*, Linc., etc. (Björkman, Namenkunde). *Nab* is M.E. *nabb* from O.N. *nabbr* or *nabbi*, " a projecting peak."

In Whalley par. are:

Blacko (1,018ft., N. of Nelson): *Blacho* 12 cent., *Blakhow* 1329, *Blakhou* 1335 Kirkstall C, *the Blackoo* 1540 CCR; now [blakə]. " The black hill " (O.N. *haugr* " hill ").

Boulsworth (1,700ft., S.E. of Colne): *Bulswyre* WhC 333, *Bulsware* 1618, *Bulswarre* 1620 Colne R. The elements of the name are M.E. *bule* " bull " and O.E. *swīra* or O.N. *sviri* " neck." The name might mean " the bull's neck," not an inapt description of the long massive ridge. But *swire* may here be used in one of the senses " a level spot, or steep pass between mountains, a declivity near the summit of a hill, a hill road " (EDD). There is a small place Boulsworth near Thursden Clough.

Brown Hill (E. of Pendle): *Brownhill* 1528, *le Brownehill* 1533 CCR. Self-explaining.

Castercliff (near Nelson): *Castell Clif* 1515, *the Castyclyff* 1533 CCR. There are remains of an ancient earthwork on the hill. First el. M.E. *castel* (< O.F.).

Combe Hill (on the Yks. border): *Cawmhill* 1643 Colne R. First el. O.E. *camb* " comb." Dial. *comb* also means " a crest, ridge of a hill."

Cribden or **Cridden** (N.E. of Haslingden, 1,250ft.): (Lawnd of) *Kyrden* 1543, (Le Launde of) *Cryden* 1559, *Cryddene* 1563 CCR. The second el. of the name is apparently O.E. *denu* " valley "; so the hill seems to have been named from a place in the vicinity (cf. Cribden Side, Cribden End), which in its turn took its name from a valley. If *Cridden* is the correct form, as the early forms seem to suggest, the first el. might be O.E. *Crioda* pers. n.

Crow Hill (Trawden): *Crowehull* WhC 334. Presumably " hill of the crows."

Great Hill (Trawden): *Greithill* 1527 CCR. Probably literally " great hill."

Hameldon.—There are three hills of this name: Black Hameldon (1,573ft., on the Yks. border), Hameldon (S. of Extwistle), Great Hameldon (1,343ft., W. of Burnley). The last is *Hameldon* a 1194 Kirkstall C. Hameldon, like Hambledon Hill (623ft., on the border of Dorset and Wilts.), has for its first el. the common Germ. adj. **hamala-* " maimed," etc.: O.N. *hamall*, O.H.G. *hamal* etc.; cf.

O.E. *hamelian*, " to mutilate, etc." (Torp-Fick p. 73). It is impossible to determine the exact meaning of the word in Hameldon. It was certainly not " rounded," as the Hameldons are not characterised by a rounded shape. More likely it was " treeless, bare," or perhaps " level," a natural development from " maimed." Great Hameldon, seen, *e.g.*, from the Calder valley, and the other Hameldons make the impression of fairly level ridges.

Horelaw (1,153ft., S. of Burnley) : *Horelaw* 1598 Burnley R. " Grey hill." A small place Wholaw on the slope of the hill was clearly named from it. Cf. *le Horelowe* 1306 WhC 1013 (near Wiswell).

Noyna (980ft., N. of Colne) : *Noynow Cragg* 1589 DL, *Noynowe* 1602, *Noynoe* 1612, *Noonow* 1614 ff., *Nonowe* 1627, etc., Colne R. Clearly O.E. *nōn* " noon," and O.E. *hōh* or O.N. *haugr* " hill," a name analogous to Mittaghorn (Switzerland), Middagsfjället, Nonsberget (North Sweden), Middagshögda (Norway), and meaning literally " noon hill," " a hill situated S. of a certain place so that the sun is seen above it at noon." Cf. on names of this kind Lidén NoB IV. 89, 124. *Noon* is [noin] in Lanc. dialects. Noyna Hill is almost due S. of Earby and Thornton in Yks.

Pendle Hill (1,831ft.) : *Pennul* 1258 IPM, *Pennehille* 1296 Lacy C, *Penhul* 1305 Lacy C, *Penhull* WhC 334, *Penhill* 1311, 1324 LI. The name is mostly used of the forest (*foresta de Penhull*, etc.). Cf. Pendleton, p. 77. The elements are *Pen-* from Brit. *pen* (Welsh *pen* " head ; top," etc. ; cf. Pendlebury, Pendleton, Salf.) and O.E. *hyll*.

Pike Law (1,189ft., E. of Pendle) : *Pikedlawe* 1329, *Pikedelawe* 1333 Kirkstall C. M.E. *pīked* " pointed " (from *pike* " point ; pointed hill ") and *hlāw*. The same name occurs in Blackburn (*le Pikedlowe* WhC 334), and Thieveley Pike (S. of Burnley) was formerly called *Pykelaw* 1528 CCR.

Stank Top (1,060ft., E. of Pendle) : *Stanghend* 1524, *Stang Toppe* 1546 CCR. *Stank* is O.N. *stǫng* " a pole."

Wolfstones (Trawden ; 1,455ft.) : *le Woluestones* WhC 333. " The wolf-stones," really the name of a county boundary mark. It is doubtful if *Wolf* is " wolf " the animal, or the O.E. pers. n. *Wulfa*.

BLACKBURN PAR.

This parish forms the W. part of the hundred, being separated from Whalley parish by the Calder, the Hyndburn, and the moors S. of the source of the latter river. It consists of a district on the S. bank of the Ribble and a broad area on both sides of the upper Darwen. The surface varies considerably. In the S. Darwen Moor reaches 1,320ft. From there the ground slopes towards the Ribble, but there are several minor hills, as Mellor Moor, Billington Moor, etc.

1. **Walton-le-Dale** (on the Ribble S. of Preston, v.) : *Waletune* DB, *Waleton* 1246 LAR, *Walton in La Dale* 1304, 1332 LF, *Walton in Le Dale* 1318 LF, etc., *Walton in the Dale* 1332 LS. O.E. *Wealatūn* " the *tūn* of the Britons."

Low Chapel (former name of Walton church) : *Capella* (*ecclesia*) *de la Lawe* 13 cent. WhC 90, *locum de la Lawe* 1283 ib. 114, *Law* 1577 Saxton, 1577 Harr. O.E. *hlāw* " hill." The church stands on a slight eminence.

Bamber Bridge (v. on the Lostock) : *Bymbrig* (in an early deed) VHL VI. 290.

Seems to be the " bridge of Bym " ; cf. *Bimme* pers. n. 1246 LAR, *Bymmecroft* (Eccleshill) 13 cent. WhC.

Brownedge (h. ; on an eminence) : *Brownage, Browneegge* 1551 DL. Apparently " brown hill."

Lemon House : cf. *de Lemoneshull* 1341 IN. First el. the pers. n. *Lagheman* 1246 LAR, *Laghmon* 1347 OR, from O.N. *Lǫgmaðr*, literally " law man, judge."

2. **Cuerdale** (on the Ribble, E. of Preston) : *Kiuerdale* c 1190 Ch, 1246 LAR, *de Keuirdale* 1279 ClR, *Keuerdale* 1293 LI, 1296, 1305 Lacy C, *Keuresdale* 1311 LI, *Keu'dale* 1332 LS, *Kyuerdale* 1356 LF. Cuerdale occupies a slight ridge of ground between the Darwen and the Ribble. Cuerdale Hall is in a haugh close to the Ribble. The first el. of the name may be identical with that of Cuerdley, p. 106. If so, the second el. is probably O.E. *halh* " haugh," which suits the situation of the place extremely well—indeed, much better than *dale*.

3. **Samlesbury** (on the Ribble, E. of Preston) : *Samerisberia* 1179 LPR, *Samelesbure* 1188f., 1194 LPR, *Samelesbur'*, *Samelisbur'* 1212 BF, *Samelesbiri* 1238 LAR. *Samelesbiry, Samelesbiri, (de Samlebir, Samlesbiry, Samplesbiry)* 1246 LAR, *de Samelesburi* 1252 LI, *Samlisbyri* 1258 IPM, *Samlesbury* 1267 LAR, 1311 LI, etc., *Samlisbury, Sampnelbiry, Sampnesbiry* 1278 LAR, *Samesbury* 1276, 1278 LAR, *Samlesbur'* 1332 LI, *Samsbury* 1577 Saxton ; *Shamplesbiry, de Schamelesbiry, -byr* 1246 LAR, *Scamelesbyry, Shampelesbyri, Shapnesbyri* 1277 LAR.

The old chapel of Samlesbury stands on the S. bank of the Ribble, with Samlesbury Lower Hall some way off on the river. I take this to be the site of the original Samlesbury. The etymology is much complicated by the variety of the early spellings. The forms with *S-* are in the majority, but there are a good many with *Sh-*, and it is not easy to see why *S-* should have been replaced by *Sh-*, whereas *S-* for *Sh-* is easily explained by Norman influence. If the original form had *Sh-*, I would compare the following names : *Shamele* (hundred Kent) 1275 HR ; Shalmsford (Kent) : *Shamelesford* 1285 FA, *Sahameleford* 1275 HR ; perhaps Shamblehurst (Hants) : *Samelherst, Scamelherst'* 1176 PR, *Schameleshurste* 1316 FA. All these may contain O.E. *sceamol* " bench, stool," or some derivative of it ; cf. *to þam scamelan* 909 BCS 629. The meaning of this word in topographical use is not clear, but very likely it may have been something like " ledge, shelf " ; cf. G. *sandschemel* " sand shelf " (Middendorff). In this case the word might refer to a ledge on the bank of the Ribble. In reality, Samlesbury Lower Hall stands on a slight ledge (c 50ft. above sea-level), which stretches as far as the church.

If the spellings in *Sh-* are to be disregarded the etymology is much more difficult. The first el. is hardly the pers. n. *Samuel*. If it is a pers. n., as the early forms rather suggest, it may be a derivative of the stem *Sam-* found in German names. This stem is not found in English names, but the related stem *Sōm* occurs in O.E. *Sœmel* and perhaps in the first el. of Semington, Semley, Wilts. *Burh* in this name, as in Salesbury, may mean " fortified house, fort " or " manor " ; cf. p. 8.

4. **Balderston** (on the Ribble, N.E. of Preston) : *Balderestone* a 1172 Whit. II. 359, *de Balderston, de Baldeston* 1246 LAR, *Baldreston* 1256 LF, 1311 LI, 1332 LS, etc., *de Balderston* 1297 LI, *Balderston* 1341 IN. " The *tūn* of *Baldhere* " ; cf. *Bealdhere* (Searle).

Myerscough (h.). Cf. Myerscough, Am.

Ramsholme Wood (on the Ribble): *Rammesholme* 1333 WhC 100. First el. apparently O.E. *ram* "ram" or *Ram* pers. n. Second O.N. *holm*, "island," etc.

Smalley: *Smalelei* a 1172 Whit. II. 359, *de Smalley* 1332 LI. "The small lea."

Sunderland: *Sunderland, -broc, -holm* a 1172 Whit. II. 359, *de Sunderland* 1246 LAR, (grangia de) *Sunderland* WhC 98; cf. p. 29. Sunderland Hall stands near the Ribble at a considerable distance from Balderston village. The meaning "outlying land" seems plausible.

5. **Osbaldeston** (on the Ribble, S. of Ribchester, h.): *Osbaldeston* 1246 LAR, 1292 LF, 1332 LS, etc., *Osbaldiston* 1258 IPM, 1311 LI, *Osebaldeston* 1337 LF, *Osbaston* 1577 Saxton; now [ɔ·bistn; ɔzbəldestn]. "The *tūn* of Osbald."

Oxendale Hall (near a brook): *Oxedeneklouh* c 1200 Whit. II. 400. *Oxen-* is a contraction of *Oxedene*, "ox valley."

Studlehirst: *de Stodelhirl* 1246 LAR, *de Stodelhurst* 1337 LF. *Studle-* is apparently a compound with O.E. *stōd* "stud" as first el., the second being O.E. *hyll*. Higher and Lower Studlehirst stand on a slope.

6. **Clayton-le-Dale** (on the Ribble, S. of Ribchester): *Clayton, Claiton* 1246 LAR, *Clayton* 1258 IPM, *Cleyton near Ribcestre* 1301 LF, *Claiton in the Dale* 1327, 1332 LS. "The *tūn* on clayey soil."

Madgell Bank (on a slight hill): *Maggeldes meduclif* c 1200 Whit. II. 400. A difficult name. The most plausible suggestion I can make is that the elements are O.E. **Mæggа* pers. n. (cf. O.E. *Mecgа*, and O.H.G. *Magio, Macco*, etc.) and O.E. *hēlde* "slope."

Showley [Hall]: *Scholfley* VHL VI. 263, *de Schollæye* 1339 WhC 292, *Sholey* 1497 LF. Showley Hall stands on sloping ground. The first el. of the name is probably O.E. *sceolh* "oblique, wry."

7. **Salesbury** (on the Ribble, E. of Ribchester): *Salesbyry, Salebyry* 1246 LAR, *Salebiry* 1258 IPM, 1266, 1272 LAR, etc., *Salebyri* 1276 LAR, *Salbury* 1278 LAR, *Salebury* 1288 LF, *Salebiri* 1284 LF, *Salesbyry* 1305 Lacy C; now [se·lzbri]. Salesbury Hall stands close to Sale Wheel (*Salewelle* 1296, 1305 Lacy C, *Salewell* 1311 LI; now [se·lwi·l]), a wide deep pool in the Ribble, in which are strong undercurrents, and which is said to be very dangerous. The elements of the name Sale Wheel are O.E. *salh* "sallow, willow" (or a derivative of it) and O.E. *wæl*[1] "a whirlpool; a deep still part of a river." The first el. of Salesbury is evidently identical with that of Sale Wheel. Perhaps both names really contain a place-name Sale, an earlier name of Salesbury.

Cadshaw (Higher and Lower): *Kaddehou, Cadeshoubroc, Cadeshouclou, Cadehouclou* c 1200 Whit. II. 400, *Cadshawe* 1617 Blackburn R. Sometimes written Cadger and pronounced [kadʒə]. The places are on the brow of a hill, near a brook. The elements of the name are the O.E. pers. n. *Cada* and O.N. *haugr* "hill" (or possibly O.E. *hōh*), later associated with *shaw*.

Loveley Hall: *Lovelay* c 1450 HS LXIV. 280, *Luffeley* 1473 VHL VI. 256, *Loueley* 1663 CCR. The name probably means "the lea of Lufa"; cf. Love Clough, p. 92.

8. **Dinckley** (between Dinckley Brook and the Ribble): *de Dunkythele, de*

[1] The same element is found in the name of another pool in the Ribble: *Sandwelle* 1296, *Sandwele* 1305 Lacy C, *Samewell* 1311 LI.

Dinkedelay, de Dinkidele 1246 LAR, *de Dinkedelegh* 1257 LI, *Dunkedeley* 1258 IPM, *Dinkedley* 1327 LS, *Dynkedlegh* 1332 ib., *Dynkedlay* 1341 IN, *Dynkedelay* 1369 LF, *Dynkedeleghbrok* 13 cent. WhC 1019, *Dynkeley* 1311 IPM. Like Worsley (p. 40), Dinckley consists of O.E. *lēah* and a curious first el. containing a theme *-ked-* or the like, which is difficult to explain. I submit that it may be an old Brit. name, *e.g.*, **Dīn-kēt*, corresponding to a Welsh *Din-coed* " fort of the wood " (or *Dīn-goed* " wood of the fort "). Cf. M.Bret. *Kaergoet* (*Kerquoet*) " village of the wood " (Loth 194, 199). Dinckley may have been the site of a Roman or British fort. There are traces of a Roman road and several Roman altars are said to have been found here (VHL VI. 336). Another possibility is that the first el. may be the O.W. pers. n. *Dincat* LL (O.Bret. *Dincat*), found in Dingestow, Monm. (*merthir dincat, landinegat* LL).

9. **Billington** (on the Ribble and the Calder): *de Billingduna* 1196 YCh 1524, *Billingdon* 1203 LPR, *Billindon* 1204 LPR, *de Bilingdon* 1208-25, *de Biligdun* 1208-20 DD, *Bilingdon* 1242 LI; *Billinton* 1208 LF, 1246 LAR, 1259 LAR, *Bilinton* 1241 LF, *Bilington, Billington* 1246 LAR, *Bylington* 1309 LF, *Bylinton* 1313 LF, *Bylyngton* 1325, 1336 LF, 1332 LS, *Billington* 1493 LF. The S.E. boundary is formed by a long ridge called Billington Moor, earlier *Billingahoth* c 1130 Sim. Durh. This name tells us that the first el. is O.E. *Billinga* gen. pl. " of the Billings." *Billingas* is most probably a derivative of O.E. *Bill(a)* or of *bill* " sword " (Björkman, NoB 7, 166). The earlier form of the name seems to have been *Billingdon*, really the name of Billington Moor, later supplanted by *Billington*.

Braddyll: *de Brad(e)hull, de Bradul* 1246 LAR, *de Bradhill* 1293 LI, *Bradhul* 14 cent. WhC 950. " Broad hill."

Brockhall (near the Ribble): *de Brochol* 1227 LF, *Brockhole* 1289 LF, *Brokhole-hirstsike* 1294 WhC 1065. " Brock hole," O.E. *brocc* " badger " and *hol* " burrow."

Chew, Chew Mill: *le Cho* 13 cent. WhC 233, 955, 987, (manerium de) *le Cho* 1303 WhC 972, *Cho, Choo* 1325 LF, *Chobank* WhC 960. The same name is found in Salford and in W. Yks. I suppose it goes back to O.E. *cēo* (*cian, chyun* pl.) " gill of a fish," which may have been used also, like O.N. *gil*, of " a narrow ravine, a valley." Chew Mill is on Bushburn Brook, which runs in a marked ravine near Chew Mill.

Hacking (at the confluence of the Calder and the Ribble): *de Haking* 1258 LI, *de le Hacing* 1292 LI, *del Hackyng* 1311 LI, *del Hakking* 1313 LI, (molendinum) *del Hakkyng, le Hakkyng* 14 cent. WhC 950. The same name is found in Salf. (p. 46). Over Hacking is in Aighton near the Hodder; it may be meant in some of the references adduced. Hacking, as shown by the definite article, is clearly not a patronymic. The name may be compared with O.E. *hæcwer* " a weir with a grate to catch fish " (= dial. *salmon-heck*); *hæc* is *hæcc* " hatch." Perhaps we should rather expect a form *Hatching*, but a form *Hacking* is also possible; cf. N. dial. *heck, hack* for *hatch*. Besides, *Hacking* may be a derivative of O.E. *haca*, apparently " a bolt," not from the cognate *hæcc*. I suppose *haking* is an old word for a " fish-weir," perhaps identical with *haking*, " a kind of net, or apparatus with net attached, used for taking sea-fish " (1602 NED: Carew, Cornwall). Over Hacking was very likely named after a family that came

from Hacking. Members of the Hacking family in Billington held land in Aighton (VHL VI. 328).

Langho : *Langale* 13 cent. WhC 1019, 1027, *Langalesik* 13 cent. ib. 1019. The second el. of the name is O.E. *halh*, presumably meaning " haugh."

Snodworth : *Snodiswrth* 1243 LI, *Snoddesworthe* 1296 Lacy C, *Snoddesworth* 1322 LI. The first el. is the O.E. pers. n. *Snod* (cf. *snod* adj. " smooth, sleek "), found in *Snoddesbyri* 972, now Upton Snodsbury, Worc. (Duignan).

Townworth : *hyghe Tunneworthe, Tunneworthe* (*hays, Rydynge*) c 1550 WhC 1176. Cf. O.E. *æt Tuneweorðe* 957 BCS 994 and Tunworth, Hants. This may be " *worþ* belonging to the *tūn* (*i.e.*, village)," perhaps " village fold."

10. **Great Harwood** (on the Calder, town) : *majori Harewuda* a 1123 Whit. II. 388, *Harewode* 1243 LI, *Harewude* 1246 LAR, *Magna Harwod* 1303 FA, *Magna Harwode* 1327 LS, *Harewode Magna* 1332 LS. The first el. may be O.E. *hār* " grey," or *hara* " hare."

Martholme (old manor) : *Merkedholme* 1324 Whit. II. 390, *Merkethholme* 1499 DL, *Martholme* 1577 Saxton. " The market holm." Martholme occupies a piece of low level land, bounded on three sides by the Calder and the Hyndburn. *Herwudesholm* 1200 LPR may be the same place.

11. **Wilpshire** (N. of Blackburn) : *de Wlypschyre* (*Wlypsire, Wlipsire, Wlipschyre*) 1246 LAR, *Wlipschire* 1258 IPM, *de Wypsire* 1272 LAR, *Wlyppeschyre* 1284 LAR, *Wilpschire* 1311 IPM, *Wlipsh'* 1332 LS, *Whypshire* 1341 IN, *Wylpshire* 1396 LF, *Lipshire et Whilpshire* 1589 TI, *Lipshyre* 1615 Blackburn R. This township occupies the hill called Wilpshire Moor (770ft.) and the adjoining lower land. Wilpshire proper is in a fairly deep valley.

This name offers particular difficulties. The second el. is O.E. *scīr*, but this term must here be used in an uncommon sense. There is no reason to believe that Wilpshire was ever the head of a hundred or the like. There are three W. Yks. names in *-shire*, which denote comparatively small districts, viz., *Borgscire, Hallamshire* and *Sourbyshire* (now Sowerby) ; cf. Goodall, p. 156. But apparently these names denote larger districts than Wilpshire. So do the Nhb. and Durh. names in *-shire* dealt with by Mawer, p. xiv f. But an analogous name is apparently Pinnock (v.) Glo. : *Pignocsire* DB, *Pinnocsir* 1211-13 BF, *Pynnukshire* 1316 FA. Possibly O.E. *scīr* could be used of an estate managed by a steward or the like. Another plausible meaning here is " boundary " (cf. *andlang scire* 956 BCS 982). The usual form of the first el. seems to have been *Wlip-*. The only Engl. word which it seems possible to adduce as its source is O.E. *wlips, wlisp*, " lisping." This might have been used as a nickname. The Brit. word for " wet," found in Welsh as *gwlyb* (O.Corn. *gulip*, Ir. *fliuch*) would be suitable from a formal point of view and it is used in Welsh place-names, but it does not seem to suit the locality.

Dewhurst : *de le Dewyhurst* c 1300 WhC, *del Dewyhirst* 1332 LS. Perhaps *dewy* has the sense " wet." M.E. *dewes* Langland P.Pl. (B) XV. 289 apparently means " damp places."

Hollowhead : *Hallhaede* 1200-8, *Hallehede* a 1300 DD. O.E. *hall* " hall " and *hēafod* " hill."

12. **Rishton** (E. of Blackburn, town) : *Riston* 1200-8 DD, 1258 IPM, *Ruston* 1243 LI, *Ryston* 1246 LAR, *Ruyston* 1277 LAR, *Rissheton* 1322 LI, *Russhton*

1332 LS, *Ryssheton* 1371 LF. O.E. *risc* " rush " and *tūn*. The town stands near the Hyndburn.

Cowhill : *Kuhill* 1200-8 DD, *de Cuhill* 1210-20 DD, 1246 LAR, *de Couhill* (*-hull*) 1332 LS. Literally " cow hill." The place is on a hill.

Cunliffe : *de Kuntecliue* (*Cumbecliue*) 1246 LAR, *de Cuntecliue* CC 674, *de Cundeclive* 1258, 1274 LI, *de Cunteclyue* 1276 LAR, *de Condeclyve* 1288 LF, *de Cundeclif* 13 cent. WhC 1027, *de Cundeclyf* 1277 DD, 1388 Moore MSS. The early forms seem to point to a first el. *Cunde-*, which may be the O.E. pers. n. *Cunda* (one ex. Searle), very likely a Brit. name (Forssner). Another possibility is that the original form was *Cunte-*, which may be identified with *cunte* " cunnus." " Cunnus diaboli " was a monkish name for a hollow in a rock through which people in Yorkshire used to crawl to be healed of sickness. Cf. Nyrop, Dania I. 16. There may have been at Cunliffe a rock of this character. Second el. O.E. *clif* " cliff," etc. The place is on a slope.

Dunscar : *Dungecarre* 12 cent. Whit. II. 388, c 1360 DD, *Dundgecarr* 1622 Blackburn R. O.E. *dynge* " dung, manure, litter," and O.N. *kiarr* " swamp," etc.

Sidebeet (or Sidebight) : *Le ffidebitht* (for *Side-*) 1258 LI, *Sydebiht* 1278 LF, *de Sidebuhte* 13 cent DD. " The wide curve," O.E. *sīd* " wide " and *byht* " bend, curve." Sidebeet is in a wide bend made by a brook. With *-beet* cf. [ni·t] for *night* in Lanc. dial.

Tottleworth : *Tottleworth* 1200-8 DD, *de Totlewrth* 1258 LI, *de Tatilwyrd* a 1288 DD. The first el. is no doubt an O.E. pers. n. **Tottla* ; cf. *Tottel* and *Tyttla* in Searle.

13. **Little Harwood** (N.E. of Blackburn) : *Little Harewud* 1246 LAR, *Parua Har(e)wode* 1327, 1332 LS, *Parva Harwood* 1341 IN, *Little Harewode* 1493 LF. *See* Great Harwood. Li. Harwood is separated from Gt. Harwood by Rishton township. Yet we must assume the two to have belonged together and to have been named from the same wood.

Ediholes : *Ediholes* 1200-8 DD, *Edyasholes* (for *Edyaf-*) 1292 PW, *de Edieles* 1284 LF, *de Edyefholes* 1310 VHL VI. 249, *del Ediholes* 1323 LCR. First el. O.E. *Eadgeofu* pers. n. (fem.) ; second O.E. *hol* "hollow," etc. The place stands near a valley.

Hastingley : *de Harstaneslegh* 1357 LF, *Harstonelee* 1618 CW 162. " The hoarstone lea " ; cf. p. 60.

14. **Ramsgreave** (N. of Blackburn) : *Romesgreve* 1296 Lacy C, 1311, 1323 LI, *Romesgrave* 1311 IPM, *Romysgreve* (wood) 1324 LI. Ramsgreave formerly consisted to a great extent of forest. The second el. of the name is O.E. *grǣf* " grove." The first is no doubt O.E. *ram* " ram " (possibly used as a pers. n.). All the early forms show *o* for O.E. *a* (*o*) before the nasal.

15. **Mellor** (N.W. of Blackburn, v.) : *Malver* c 1130 Whit. II. 330, *de Meluer* 1200-8 DD, *Meluer* 1246 LAR, 13 cent. WhC etc., (*de*) *Melwrith* 1246 LAR, *de Meluir* 1276 LAR, *de Meluyr* 1285 ib., *de Melure* 1274 LI, *Melure* 1311 LI, 1312 LF, 1327 LS, *Meluere* 1322 LI, *Melaire* 1332 LS, *Mellour* 1428, 1508 LF. The village stands on the slope of Mellor Moor, a hill of 733ft. above sea-level, and with remains of a speculatory fort of the Roman period. In Scandinavians, p. 116, I identify the name with W. *Moelfre*, a name of common occurrence meaning " bare hill." *Moel-* (Welsh *moel* " bald, bare ") goes back

to Brit. **mēl* from Prim. Celt. **mailo-* ; cf. Welsh *coet* (< **kaito-*) and *Cheetham*, p. 33. The second el. is identical with Welsh *bre* " hill."

Arley (on Arley Brook) : *Ereley* 13 cent. VHL VI. 262, *Erley, Arley* 1558 DL, *Arley* 1600 RS XII. Cf. Arley, Sa. (p. 45).

Shorrock Green: *de Shorrok* 13 cent. WhC 111, 1324 LCR, 1332 LS, *Old Shorock* 1411 VHL VI. 262 ; *Shorrocke greene* 1614 Blackburn R. The most plausible etymology seems to be O.E. *Scorran āc* " the oak of *Scorra*." Cf. (*to*) *Scorranstane* (Glo.) 896 BCS 574.

16. **Blackburn** (town) : *Blachebvrne* DB, *Blakeburn* 1187 ff. LPR, 1332 LS, etc., *Blakebourn, Blakeburn* 1311 IPM, *Blagburne* 1590 Burghley, *Blegburn* 1864 Staton. Blackburn is on the Blackwater, formerly Blackburn (*see* p. 66).

Audley (or **Haudley**) **Hall :** *de Haldeley* 1311 LI, *de Haldelegh* (*Aldelegh*) 1324 LCR, *Haudley* 1577 Saxton. O.E. *hald* " inclined ; sloping," and *lēah*. The place is on sloping ground S.E. of Blackburn.

Bastwell (N. of Blackburn) : *de Baddestwysel* 13 cent. WhC 101, *de Battistwyssel* 1329 ib. 263, *de Battestwysell* 1384 DD. The first el. is probably O.E. *Bædd* or *Badd* pers. n., found in *Bæddeswellan* 972 BCS 1282 (orig.) and in names such as Badsey, Worc. (*Baddeseia* 709, etc., Duignan), Baddesley, Warw. (*Bedeslei* DB, Duignan), etc. The second is O.E. *twisla* " fork of a river."

Beardwood (N.W. of Blackburn) : *de Berdewrthe* 1258 LI, *Berd*[*e*]*worthe, Berdworthgrene* 1296 Lacy C, *Berdeswurthgrave, Burdeswurthe* 1305 ib., *Berdeworthe* 1311 IPM, *Berdeworth, -greve* 1324 LI, *Berdwood* 1609 Blackburn R. The second el. was originally *worþ* (p. 20), but has been replaced by *wood*. The first may be *Bearda*, an O.E. pers. n. perhaps found in Bardney, Linc. (*Bardenai* DB), or rather a cognate name **Beard*. Beardwood is on the N. slope of Revidge Hill.

Oozebooth (N. of Blackburn, on Revidge Hill) : *de Huluysbothis* 1258 IPM, *Ulvesboth* 1296 Lacy C, 1324 LI, *Ulnebothes* 1311 IPM. Clearly " the booth(s) of *Ulf* " ; *Ulfr* is a well-known O.N. pers. n. There are Higher and Lower Oozebooth, hence the plural.

17. **Witton** (W. of and partly in Blackburn) : *de Witton* 1246 LAR, *Witton* 1311 LI, 1327 LS, *Wytton* 1332 LS. Probably *Wittan tūn*. O.E. *Witta* is a common pers. n.

Coo Hill : *Coohyll*[1] 1591 DL. Cf. Cowhill, p. 73.

Redlam (in a bend of the Blackwater) : *Reddlomme* 1609, *Redlom* 1615 Blackburn R. Doubtful. Perhaps O.E. *hrēod* " reed " and *lum* " pool " ; cf. p. 62.

18. **Pleasington** (W. of Blackburn, in a bend of the Darwen) : *de Plesigtuna* 1196 YCh 1524, *Plesinton* 1208 LF, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., *de Plesington* 1241 Kirkstall C, 1258, 1274 LI, *Plesington* 1267 LAR, 1497 LF, *Plessington* 1296 LF, *Plesyngton* 13 cent. WhC 106. No doubt O.E. *Plēsinga tūn, Plēsingas* being a patronymic from *Plēsa*, a name found in *Pleseley* (in Plesington) 1284 VHL VI. 267.

Feniscowles (partly in Livesey) : *de Feinycholes* 1276 LAR ; cf. *Fennyshales, Fenniscoles* 1307-9 VHL VII. 288, now [fenisko·lz]. The elements of the name are *fenny* adj. " dirty," and *scoles* " huts " (O.N. *skāli*). Cf. *de Fennycotes*

[1] *Coo-* represents a dial. form of *cow* with O.E. *ū* preserved as [u·]. This pronunciation is now rare in Lanc. dialects, except the northern ones. I have heard *brow* (of a hill) pronounced as [bru·] in Ribchester.

1284 LAR (Briercliffe). Feniscowles is on the Darwen, near its confluence with the Roddlesworth. The name may refer to muddy ground on the banks of the river.

19. **Livesey** (S.W. of Blackburn, bounded on the W. by Roddlesworth river, on the N. by the Darwen): *Liveseye* 1227 LF, *Liveshey* 1243 LI, *Liuesay, Lyuesay, (de Liveshay, -hey)* 1246 LAR, *de Livesai* 1257 LI, *de Lyvisay* 1258 LI, *Livysay* 1258 IPM, *Lyveseye* 1296 LF, *Lyvesay* 1353, 1356 LF, *Levesay* 1311 IPM, *Leuesay* 1332 LS, *Leyuesey* 1539 LF. The second el. of the name is no doubt O.E. *ēg* "island," etc. Livesay Hall is in a low situation near the Darwen. The first el. is presumably a pers. n., possibly O.E. *Lēof*, as suggested by Wyld, the early *i* being due to a W. Midl. development of O.E. *ēo*. But the early forms point rather to a base with short *i*, possibly related to O.E. *hlifian* "to stand out prominently, to tower."

Ewood (h. on the Darwen): *de Eywode (Euot)* 1246 LAR, *del Ewode* 1332 LS, 1341 IN. No doubt O.E. *ēa-wudu* "wood on the river." Cf. the same name p. 91.

Feniscliffe or **Finiscliffe** (on the Darwen): *Faniscliffe* 1522 VHL VI. 288, 1615 Blackburn R, *farnscliffe* 1600 RS XII. The material does not allow of a definite etymology. The place stands fairly high above a level piece of land along the Darwen.

Whithalgh: *de Quithale* 1246 LAR, *de Whythagh, de Whythalgh* 1324 LCR. "White haugh." The place is at the confluence of a brook with the Roddlesworth.

20. **Tockholes** (W. of Darwen town, bounded on the W. by Roddlesworth river): *de Tocholis* c 1200 CC, *Tocholes* 1246 LAR, 1497 LF, *Thocol, de Thochol* 1246 LAR, *Tokhol* 1259 LAR, *de Thocholes* 1269 LI, *Tockholes* 1311 LI. The township is on the slopes of moorlands. It does not appear what *hol* exactly means in this case, presumably hollow or valley. It is doubtful to what place in the township the name was first applied. The first el. is apparently O.E. *Tocca* pers. n., found in *Toccan sceaga* 755 BCS 181 (orig.), and Tockenham, Wilts. (: *Tocheha'* DB), cf. Tockington, Glo. (: *Tochintune* DB).

Hollinhead: *del Holynhevid* 1324 LCR, *Le Holynhed* 1381 CR 353. "Holly hill."

21. **Lower Darwen, Over Darwen** (townships on the Darwen, S. of Blackburn; Darwen town is in Over Darwen): *de Derewent* 1208 LF, *Derewent* 1246 LAR, *Netherderwent* 1311 IPM, 1335 LF, *Netherderwend* 1332 LS, 1339 LF; *in superiori Derwent* 13 cent. WhC 124, *de Superior Derwent* 1246 LAR, *Overderewente* 1276 ib., *Ovrederwent* 1311 IPM, *Ouerderwent* 1322 LF, *Ouerderuend* 1332 LS; *Darrun* 1868 Staton. The places were named after the river Darwen.

Blacksnape: *Blakesnape* 1614 Blackburn R. "Black pasture"; cf. p. 17.

Hoddlesden (E. of Darwen, on Hoddlesden Brook): *Hoddesdene* 1296, 1305 Lacy C, 1323 LI, *Hoddesden* 1311 IPM, 1324 LI, *Hodelesdon* 1324 AP, *Hodlesden* 1507 CCR; *Hoddisdenebrok* WhC 102. The *l* is intrusive, the first el. being O.E. *Hod* pers. n. (Searle), found in Hodsden, Herts.: *Hodesdone* DB.

Sough: *Swoughe* 1623, *Swough* 1625 Blackburn R. M.E. *sough*, "a boggy or swampy place, a small pool; a drain, a trench."

22. **Eccleshill** (E. of Darwen): *Eccleshull, de Eccleshil* 1246 LAR, *Eckeleshulle* 1276 LAR, *Ecleshull* 1301 LF, *Eccleshill* 1322 LI, *Ecclishull* 1332 LS. "The

church hill," named from a spur of the moorland range, which reaches 860ft. at New Sett End (VHL VI. 278). *Eccles-* I take to be the Brit. word **eclēs*, church (*see* Eccles, p. 37). Of the church there are no traces.

Grimshaw : *de Grineshare* 1265 LI, *de Grymeschawe* 1284 LAR. As there is a Grimshaw also in Cliviger, it is somewhat difficult to believe that the first el. is the O.N. pers. n. *Grímr*. Perhaps it is O.E. *grīma* " spectre." If so, Grimshaw means " the haunted grove."

23. **Yate** and **Pickup Bank** (E. of Darwen). The township consists of hilly country.

Yate Bank : *Yatebank* 1588 CW 221. *Yate* may be O.E. *geat* " gate." On *bank* " hill," *see* p. 7. In Yate Bank an elevation of over 1,000ft. is reached.

Pickup Bank : *de Pycoppe* 1296 Lacy C, *Pickope Bank* 1595 CW 97. The name consists of the words *pike* " a sharp point " (cf. Pike Law, p. 68) and O.E. *copp* " summit." Pickup Bank Height or Greet Hill reaches over 1,100ft.

WHALLEY PAR.

This large parish, the eastern part of the hundred, consists of 45 townships south of the Ribble, and one (Bowland-with-Leagram) north of it. It consists to a great extent of fell country, especially in the south and east; the highest point, Pendle Hill, is in the northern part. Old villages and homesteads are mostly in the valleys of the larger rivers, the Ribble and the Calder, with their tributaries. In mediæval times there were three large forest districts in Whalley : the forests of Pendle, Trawden and Rossendale. In these were several vaccaries or dairy-farms, some of which have later developed into villages and townships.

The parish is divided into chapelries. This division is on the whole followed for practical reasons.

WHALLEY CHAPELRY

1. **Whalley** (N. of the Calder, v.) : *Hwælleage* 798 Chr. D, *Hweallæge* 798 Chr. E, *Wallei* DB, *Walalege* c 1130 Sim. Durh., *Walleya* 1124, 1154 YCh (1475, 1486), *Wallega* 1184ff. LPR, *Walelega* 1211-13 ib., *de Walleye* 1245 LI, *Wallay* (*de Whalegh, de Whalley, Whallay*) 1246 LAR, *de Qualley* 1257 LI, *Walley* 1258 LI, *Whalleye* 1284 ChR, *Whallay* 1298 LF, *Whaulley* c 1540 Leland ; now [wɔ·li].

The second el. is O.E. *lēah* " lea " ; the old name of the church was *Alba Ecclesia subtus Legh* Whit. I. 66. The first cannot be O.N. *hváll* " hill " ; the name is undoubtedly older than the Scandinavian time. The earliest quotations point to a monosyllabic first el. O.E. *hwæl* or the like. We seem to have the same first el. in Whaley, Derby (: *Walley* 1255 IPM, *Whalleye* 1332, etc., Walker), and Whalton, Nhb. (: *Walton* 1203, etc., *Whalton* 1205, etc., Mawer). Whale, Wml., on the other hand, may be O.N. *hvāll*, as here *ā* does not become *ō*. Perhaps we may assume an O.E. word **hwæl* " hill," related to O.N. *hvāll*, but with different gradation. If so, Whalley must have been named after Whalley Nab, the most prominent feature in the neighbourhood of Whalley village. This etymology also seems to suit the situation of Whaley, Derb., which is situated at a spur of hill, and Whalton, Nhb., near which are two small hills.

Clerk Hill (on a spur of Pendle) : *Clerkhill* 1517 CS XLIV. 55, *Clarkehill* 1600

RS XII, 1604 CW 47. On this name Whit. II. 14 may be compared. The old name was *Snelleshowe* 1296 Lacy C, *-how* 1311 IPM, *-hou* 1305 Lacy C, 13 cent. WhC 277 ; *Snelsoe* 1618 DL. The name means " the hill of *Snell* " (*how* < O.N. *haugr* ; *Snell* very likely O.N. *Sniallr*).

Moreton (on the Calder) : *de Morton* 1246 LAR, *Morton* 1270, 1276 LAR, 1292 PW. O.E. *mōr* " moor " and *tūn*.

Portfield : *Portefeyld* 1553 WhC 1176. The place is on the N.E. side of a Roman encampment. First el. O.E. *port*, perhaps in the sense " fort." Cf. p. 34.

2. **Little Mitton, Henthorn, and Coldcoats** (W. and N. of Whalley).

Little Mitton (on the Ribble) : *Little Mitton* 1242 LI, 1278 LAR, 1322 LI, etc., *Little Mutton* 1283 LF, *parua Mitton* 1296 WhC 205, *Mitton* 1332 LS, *Parva Mitton* 1341 IN, etc. O.E. *gemȳþu* " junction of streams " and *tūn*. In Yks., opposite to Little Mitton, is Great Mitton, situated N. of the junction of the Hodder and the Ribble. This is no doubt the *gemȳþu* that gave name to the two Mittons.

Henthorn : *Hennethyrn* 1258 IPM, *-thyrne, -therne* 1276f. LAR, *Hennethirn* 1311 IPM, *Henthern* 1332 LS, *Henthorn* 1327 LS, 1360 LF, etc. O.E. *henn*, here used in the sense " female of wild birds," and O.E. *þyrne* " thornbush," also as it seems " clump of thornbushes," later exchanged for *thorn*.

Coldcoats (a detached portion, E. of Standen in Pendleton) : *Kaldecotes* 1243 LI, *de Caldekotes* 1246 LAR, *Caldecote* 1322 LI ; *Coldecotes* 1296 Lacy C, 1332 LS, etc. There are in England numerous places called Coldcoats, Caldecot, Caldecote, Caldecott. Taylor (Words and Places) may be right in his conjecture that this name has the same meaning as Cold Harbour, so that it meant " a place of shelter from the weather for wayfarers." Coldcoats stands fairly high up on the hillside.

3. **Pendleton** (on the W. slope of Pendle Hill, h.) : *Peniltune* DB, *Little Penulton* 1242 LI, *Penelton* 1246 LF, *Pennulton* 1262 LAR, *Penhulton* 1272 LAR, *Penhiltone* 1305 Lacy C, *Penhillton* 1311 IPM. There were two manors : Great and Little Pendleton : *parva Penilton* 1246 LAR, *Penhilton* (*Magna cum parua*) 1332 LS ; *magna, parua Penhulton* 1296 WhC 205, *Little Penhilton* 1311 IPM. On Pendle *see* p. 68.

Wymondhouses (h.) : *de Wymotehuses* 1285 LAR, *Wymondeshouses* 1296 Lacy C, *de Wymundhouses* 1303 FA, *de Wymondhous* 1324 LCR. The first el. is O.E. *Wīgmund* pers. n.

Standen : *Standen* 1258 LI, etc., *Standene* 1296, 1305 Lacy C, 1311 IPM. O.E. *stān* " stone " and *denu* " valley." The place is on Pendleton Brook, called *aqua de Standene* c 1200 Whit. II. 100.

4. **Wiswell** (N.E. of Whalley, v.) : *Wisewell* 1207 LF, *Wisewalle* 1243 LI, *de Wysewell* (*Viseual*) 1246 LAR, *Wisewall* 1262 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., *Wysewall* 1278 LAR, 1296 WhC 205, etc., *Wysewell* 1272 LAR, *Wysewalle* 1322 LI. There are several small streams in the district ; there is also a well called Old Molly's Well. The el. *well* may in this case mean " well " or " brook." The first el. may be O.E. *wise* " sprout, stalk." Or if *well* means " well," the first el. might be a substantivized adj. *wise* " the wise one," " the wise woman." Of course, there may have been an O.E. pers. n. *Wīsa* ; cf. O.H.G. *Wiso*.

Barrow : cf. *Barowclough, Barowecloghsik* 1324 LI. O.E. *bearo* " grove."

CLITHEROE CHAPELRY

5. **Clitheroe** (on the Ribble, town, castle; head of the honour of Clitheroe): *Cliderhou* 1102 Ch, 1176 LPR, 1212, 1242 LI, 1246 LAR, 1255 LF, 1332 LS, etc.; *Gliderhou* c 1200 Kirkstall C, *Cliderow* 1235 LF; *Cliderhow* 1246 LAR, *Clyderhou* 1236 LI, 1276 LAR, etc., *-how* 1258 IPM, 1276 LAR, *-howe* 1276 LAR, *Clyderawe* 1293 LI; *Clidrehou* 1311 IPM; *Gliderho* 1155-8 (1230) ChR, *Cliderho* 1260 LAR; *Clitherow* 1124 YCh 1486, *Clitherou* 1154 ib. 1475, *Clitherhou* c 1200 John of Hexham (Chron. & Mem. 75), *Clithero* 1356 CR 332, *Clytherawe* 1441 LF. Clitheroe Castle stands on a limestone crag.

The second el. is apparently O.N. *haugr* "hill." The first el. in the earliest sources is regularly *Clider-*, *Clither-*. We have to start from an O.E. form with *i*; if the O.E. form had had *y*, we should expect to find occasional spellings with *u*. A definite etymology of this el. cannot be given. Possibly we may compare dial. *clitter* "a pile of loose stones or granite débris" (Dev., EDD). Such an etymology would suit the case perfectly. The crag on which the castle stands consists of loose limestone, which crumbles off to a great extent. The same el. is possibly found in Clither Beck, Yks.: (quarry of) *Clitherbec* 1272 IPM. The word *clitter* perhaps belongs to a root of onomatopœic origin meaning "noise" or the like. If so, it is probably cognate with O.E. *clidrenn* "a clatter, noise," which agrees nearly in form with the first el. of Clitheroe.

Horrocksford: *Hurrocford* c 1330 VHL VI. 366, *horrockforth* 1600 RS. XII. 235. Horrocksford is close to the Ribble; there is now a bridge at the place. First el. apparently dial. *hurrock* "a piled-up heap of loose stones or rubbish."

Salthill (at a hill of 385ft.): *Salthille* 1296 Lacy C, *Salthill* 1324 LI. The meaning of *Salt-* is not apparent.

Syddles (or Siddows): *Sydales* 14 cent. WhC 1107, 1127, *Sydalith* ib. 1128. The place is near the Ribble. The name means "the broad haughs" (O.E. *sīd* adj. and *halh*).

6. **Mearley** (Great and Little, on the W. slope of Pendle Hill): *Merlay* 1241 LF, 1332 LS, *Merley* 1243 LI, *de Merlay* 1246 LAR; *Magna Merlay* 1102, c 1140 Ch; *Great Merlay* 1296, 1305 LF, *Little Merley* 1243 LI, *Magna et parua Merlaya* 1296 WhC 205, *Magna Merlay* 1303 FA. I suppose the first el. is O.E. *gemǣre* "boundary." Pendle Hill may have formed an important boundary in early times.

7. **Worston** (on the N.W. slope of Pendle Hill, h.): *Wrtheston* 1242 LI, *Wrthiston* 1258 LI, *Wurtheston* 1285 LAR, *Worstone, Worchestone* 1296, *Wurchestone* 1305 Lacy C, *Worston* 1311 IPM, 1320 LF, 1332 LS, etc. The hamlet stands on a brook not far from a small but steep and prominent ridge, Worsaw Hill: *Worsow* 1529, *Worsaw* 1538 CCR. Worsaw seems to contain the same first el. as Worston and O.E. *hōh* or O.N. *haugr* "hill." The first el. may be O.E. *worþ* "homestead," etc., but the regular genitive *-s* is remarkable. No O.E. pers. n. that may be the first el. is recorded, but an O.E. *W(e)orþ* or the like is very probably the base of Worthing,[1] Suss. Cf. O.H.G. *Werdo*, etc. (Förstemann). Worsthorn has the same first el. as Worston.

[1] The forms *Mordinges, Ordinges* DB are probably corrupt for *Wordinges* and point to an O.E. patronymic.

Angram Green: *Anggrome* 1508 CCR; *de Angrum* 1324 LCR, 1332 LS. Angram is apparently identical with Angram, Yks., a name found several times (Goodall, p. 59). One of the names appears as *Angrum* 1185-95 YCh 996. This seems to be the plural of O.E. **anger* = G. *anger* " pasture," etc.

8. **Chatburn** (N. of Clitheroe, on the Ribble, v.): *Chatteburn* 1242 LI, 1251 ChR, 1258 IPM, 1332 LS, etc., *-burne* 1292 PW, *Chatburn* 1341 IN. The village stands on a stream that falls into the Ribble; clearly this stream was called Chatburn, the second member being O.E. *burna* " burn." The first el. is no doubt the O.E. pers. n. *Ceatta*.

DOWNHAM CHAPELRY

9. **Downham** (N. of Pendle Hill; v.): *Dunun* 1188, 1189 LPR, *Dunum* 1194 ib., *Dunhum* 1243 LI, *de Dunham* 1246 LAR, *Dounum* 1251 ChR, 1276 LAR, *Dounom* 1332 LS, etc., *Dunnum* 1262 LAR. O.E. *dūnum* dat. pl. of *dūn* " hill, mountain." The village stands on the slope of a ridge of high land. Near it are the hill formerly called Greenhow and Worsaw Hill.

Gerna (S. of Downham Church): *Grenehou* c 1300 WhC 320, (pastura de) *Grenhou* (in Downham) 1305 Lacy C. Gerna stands at the foot of a small round green hill. The name means " the green hill " (O.N. *haugr* " hill ").

Ravensholme (on a brook): *Rauensholme* c 1250 WhC 319. First theme the pers. n. *Raven* < O.N. *Hrafn*.

10. **Twiston** (N.E. of Downham, on the Yks. border): *Tuisleton* 1102 Ch, *Twisleton* c 1140 ib., *Twysilton* 1242, 1243 LI, etc., *Tuysilton* 1258 IPM, *Twyselton* 1332 LS, etc., *Twiselton* 1327 LS, 1346 FA, *Tuyston* 1270 LAR, *Twiston* 1504 LF. First el. O.E. *twisla* " fork of a river." The township stands between Ings Beck and another small brook, a tributary of it; cf. *Twisleton-brok* WhC 333.

PADIHAM CHAPELRY (N.W. of Burnley)

Heyhouses and Higham (extra-parochial) belonged to Pendle Forest.

11. **Read** (E. of Whalley, between Calder and Sabden Brook): *Revet* 1202 LPR, *Reved* 1246 LAR, etc., *Revid* 1258 LI, *de Revid* 1292 LI, *Reued* 13 cent. WhC 1067 ff. 1311 IPM, etc., *Reuid* 1332 LS. The village stands on the slope and near the end of a ridge which attains 860ft. above sea-level. The name is probably an old compound with O.E. *hēafod*, here in the sense " a hill, ridge," as second el. The first el. may be O.E. *rāge* " female of the roe "; cf. Roeburn *infra*. This hypothesis receives some support from a form *Rieheved* quoted by Whit. II. 35 from a deed of 1418. Cf. the name *æt Rægeheafde* in the O.E. translation of Bede. The early loss of *h* and contraction of the vowels offers no difficulties; cf., *e.g.*, Newsham in De.

12. **Simonstone** (N.W. of Padiham, v.): *Simundestan* 1292 IM, *Simondestan*, *Symondeston* 1278 LAR, *Simundistan* 1292 LI, *Simundeston* 1246 LAR, *Simondiston* 1258 IPM, *de Simondestone* 1296 Lacy C, *Symoundeston* 1327 LS, *Simoundeston* 1332 LS. " The stone of Sigemund."

Huntroyde: *Huntrode* 1412 VHL VI. 500, *Huntteroade* 1598 Padiham R. O.E. *hunta* " hunter " or **Hunta* pers. n. and *rod* " clearing."

13. **Padiham** (town, on the Calder): *Padiham* 1251 ChR, 1258 LI, 1332 LS, etc.,

Padingham 1292 PW, 1296, 1305 Lacy C, *Padyham* 1305 Lacy C, 1311 LI, *Padynngeham* 1311 LI. O.E. *Padinga hām.* O.E. *Pada* is a known name.

High Whitaker : *Whitacr* 1296 WhC 205, *Whytacre* 1296 Lacy C, *High Whittaker* 1547 LF. " White acre."

14. **Hapton** (S.W. of Burnley, S. of the Calder ; v.) : *Apton* 1243 LI, *Hapton* 1246 LAR, 1311 IPM, 1332 LS, etc. I take the name to go back to O.E. *hēaptūn* from *hēap* " heap " ; cf. Heap, p. 61. I suppose the name refers to the hill of 575ft. close to Hapton Hall and the site of Hapton Castle, or to Great Hill (1,303ft.) on the slope of which stood Hapton Tower.

Birtwisle (old h., now lost ; cf. Birtwell Close in S.E. Huncoat, O.M. 1846-51) : *Bridestwisel* 1209 LF, *Briddistuysil* 1258 IPM, *Bridhistuwisil* 1292 LI, *Briddestwysel* 1296 WhC 206, *Brydestwysel* (*de Breretwysel*) 1311 LI, *Brittwysell* 1395 LF. The first el. of the name is O.E. *Bridd* pers. n. rather than *bridd* " bird " ; the second is O.E. *twisla* " junction of streams."

Shuttleworth (h., old manor) : *de Schutlesworth, de Suttelesworth* 1246 LAR, *de Shotelisworth* 1277 LAR, *Shuttelesworth* 1329 LI, *de Shuttlesworth* 1332 LS, *Shotilworth* 1482 LF. Cf. the same name p. 63.

15. **Dunnockshaw** (S. of Hapton ; a booth in Rossendale) : *de Dunnockschae* 1296 Lacy C, *de Dunnokschaw* 1323 LCR, *de Dunnokshagh* 1332 LS, *Donocshay* 1536 CS 103. The same name occurs in SLo. This renders it unlikely that *Dunnock-* is an unrecorded O.E. pers. n. *Dunnoc.* It is probably *dunnock* " hedge-sparrow " (1400, etc., NED). The hedge-sparrow, locally in Lanc. *dunnock*, is " a resident common throughout the county all the year round " (VHL I. 192).

16. **Heyhouses** (N.W. of Padiham) : *Heyhowses* 1509, *Heyhouses* 1518 CCR. *Hey-* is O.E. *hēg* " hay " rather than *hege* " enclosure."

Sabden (town ; in the valley of Sabden Brook) : *Sapeden* c 1140 Ch, 1377 CCR, *de Sappeden* (*Sapedon*) 1377 CCR, *Shapedenhey, -banke* 1463-4 Whit. I. 358, *Sabdenbank* 1504 CCR. Sapley (Hunts.) is derived by Skeat from O.E. *sæppe* " spruce fir " and *lēah.* " Spruce valley " would give a good meaning.

17. **Higham with West Close Booth** (N. of Padiham, part of Pendle Forest) :

Higham (v., on the slope of a ridge) : *Hegham* 1296 Lacy C, 1324 LI (vaccary), 1325 LCR, *Highamboth, Heghamclose* 1464 Whit. I. 358f. O.E. *hēah* " high " and *hamm* " enclosure ; pasture," etc., or possibly *hām* " homestead."

West Close : *Westecloos* 1324 LI (vaccary), *Westclos* 1325 LCR, *le Westclose* 1464 Whit. I. 358. Self-explaining.

Copthurst (at a hill) : *Coppethursthey* 1464 Whit. I. 358, *Copthyrst Howse* 1539 CCR. " Peaked hill " ; cf. p. 51.

Hunterholme (on the Calder) : *Huntersholme* 1507, *Hunterholme* 1511 CCR. *Hunter* is presumably a family name.

NEWCHURCH IN PENDLE CHAPELRY

This chapelry corresponds to a large part of the old forest of Pendle E. of Pendle Hill. The modern townships are all old booths or vaccaries. The chapelry was named from Newchurch in Goldshaw Booth.

18. **Goldshaw Booth** (on the S.E. slope of Pendle Hill) : *Goldianebothis* 1324 LI,

Goldiaue, the other Goldiaue 1325 LCR, *Nethir-, Overgoldshagh* 1464 Whit. I. 359, *Over-, Nethergouldeshey* 1502 Whit. I. 297. The name is remarkable. The original form seems to have been *Goldiaue-both(is)*, *Goldiaue* being an O.E. woman's name *Goldgeofu* (cf. *Golgifu* in Searle; for the vowel *a* in the second member cf. Ediholes p. 73). Later *Goldiaue* was apprehended as a place-name (cf. Wheatley Booth, etc.) and came to be used alone. *Goldiave* became *Goldshaw* by association with *shaw*, after *dj* had become [dž], as in O.E. *micgern* < *midgern*; of course, in this case the change took place later. The O.E. pers. n. *Goldgifu* seems to be found in *acra Goldgive, Goldgivewik* Reg. Prioratus beatæ Mariæ Wigornensis (Camden Soc.). Another, to me less probable, explanation is that the vaccary was originally called *Goldgeofu* "the gold-giver," *i.e.*, "the fat pasture" or the like.

The Craggs: *lez Craggez* 1464 Whit. I. 359, *Craks* 1518, *le Craggs* 1532 CCR. *Crag* is a Celtic loanword (p. 9).

19. **Barley with Wheatley Booths** (E. of Pendle Hill).

Barley (the W. part; v.): *Bayrlegh* 1324 LI, *Barelegh* 1325 LCR, *Barleboth* 1462 Whit. I. 298, *Barleybothe* 1507, 1513 CCR. Evidently "barley lea" (O.E. *bere* "barley").

Wheatley Booth (the N. and E. part): *Whitley in Haboothe* 1502 Whit. II. 297, *le Wheyteley* 1516, *Witley Bothe* 1524, *Witley* 1526 CCR. "Wheat lea." Wheatley seems to have been originally a large district, to judge by the names Wheatley Carr *infra* and Wheatley Lane in Old Laund Booth. Of some interest is the name of a ford (situation unknown), which apparently contains the name Wheatley: *Whateleyford* 1464 Whit. I. 359, *Watlyngfore* 1526, *Watlyngforthe* 1529, *Whyttleyford* al. *Wattelyngford* 1539 CCR. If the form *Watlyng-* is old, it would seem to be the gen. of O.E. *Whǣtlǣaingas* "inhabitants of Wheatley."

Firber: *Firber* 1546, *Firthbarre* 1557 CCR. O.E. *fyrhþ* "frith" and *beorh* "hill."

Haw (or **Hay**) **Booth**: *Hagh* 1325 LCR, *Haghebothe* 1324 LI, *Hawbothe* 1507, *Hayboth, the Haybothe* 1513, *Hayghboth* 1515 CCR. First el. O.E. *haga* "enclosure," etc.

White Hough: *Whithalgh* 1324 LI, 1325 LCR, *Whitehaweboth* 1464 Whit. I. 359, *Whytalgh* 1546 CCR. "The white haugh." The place is on Pendle Water.

20. **Roughlee Booth** (Roughlee v. is on Pendle Water, N.W. of Nelson): *Rughley* 1296 Lacy C, *Rughelegh* 1324 LI, *Rughlegh* 1325 LCR, *Over-, Netherroghlegh* 1462 Whit. I. 298, *le Roughlee* 1515 CCR; now [ruf li·, ðə ruf li·]. Literally "the rough lea." The ground along Pendle Water is very uneven, with many small ridges and hillocks.

Dimpenley Clough: *Dymppanleigh* 1564 CCR. Etymology obscure.

Thorneyholme (h. on Pendle Water): *Thorneholme* 1535, 1537 CCR. "The thorny water-meadow."

21. **Wheatley Carr Booth** (on Pendle Water, N. of Nelson): *Wheteleycarre* 1464 Whit. I. 359, *Wheitley Carr* 1539 CCR. No doubt named from Wheatley *supra*.

22. **Old Laund Booth** (on Pendle Water, N.W. of Nelson): *Oldeland* 1462 Whit. I. 298, *Olde Lande* 1504 CCR. "The old laund," *i.e.*, "glade, pasture" (Fr. *lande*).

Brownbrinks (on a steep slope): *Bronebreke* 1523, *Brownebrinke Hey* 1545,

Browne Brynke Hey 1552 CCR. "Brown slope." *Brink* < O.N. *brekka* (< **brinka*) or a corresponding O.Dan. word.
Fence (v.): *del Fence* 1425, *the Fence* 1515 CCR. No doubt simply *fence* "enclosure."

BURNLEY CHAPELRY

A large district on both sides of the upper Calder. New Laund Booth, Filly Close and Reedley Hallows (extra-par.) are parts of the old Pendle Forest.
23. **Reedley Hallows, Filly Close and New Laund Booth** (N.W. of Burnley, on the Calder):
Reedley Hallows: *Redelegh Halowez* 1464 Whit. I. 359, *Rydelehalghs* 1464 ib. I. 298, *Redehalowes* 1513, *Redyhalus* 1564 CCR. The "haughs" or "water-meadows of Reedley," named from **Reedley** (O.E. *hrēod-lēah*) S. of the Calder. The ground is low and level on both sides of the river.
Filly Close (N. of the Calder): *Filicloos* (vaccary) 1324 LI, *ffyliclos* 1325 LCR, *Filiclos* 1333 OR. *Filly* is O.N. *fylja*; *close* is an O.F. word.
Moor Isles (or **Moorhiles**): *Mawre Hillez* 1517 CS XLIV. 53, *Mawre Hyles* 1541 CCR, *Mawer Hyles* 1554 DL, *Moorehiles* 1608 Burnley R. "Ant-hills," the first el. being O.N. *maurr* "ant," the second *hile*[1] "cluster," also in *pisamor hile* "ant-hill" (in Lanc. dial.).
New Laund Booth: *Newland* 1462 Whit. I. 298, *Newlaund* 1507 CCR. "The new laund"; cf. Old Laund Booth.
24. **Ightenhill Park** (N.W. of Burnley): *Ightenhill* 1242, 1311 LI, etc., *Hyghtenhull* 1251 ChR, *Hucnhul* 1258 IPM, *Ictenhille, Ichtenhille* 1296 Lacy C, *Higtonhull* 1296 WhC 206, *Itinhill, Hitenhill, Histenhell* 1336 Whit. I. 309, (park of) *Ightenelle* 1345 OR; now [aitn(h)il]. The place was named from the hill on which the old manor-house stood (530ft.), now apparently called Park Hill. I identify *Ighten-* with Welsh *eithin* "furze" (= O.Bret. *ethin* "rusci," O.Ir. *aitenn* "furze," Gael. *aitionn* "juniper") from **ektīn* (< **ak-tīn*). Brit. *ektīn* would no doubt become O.E. or M.E. *Ihten*, just as *heht* > *hight*. Very likely the Brit. name of the hill was something like O.W. *ros ir eithin* "the gorse moor" LL 221, and the name was adopted by the Anglians as *Ehtin*, to which *hyll* was added. The same word (with loss of final *-n*) perhaps is the first el. of Ightfield, Sal. (*Istefelt* DB) and Ightham Ke. (*Eghteham* 1316 FA). Ightham is on Oldberry Hill, the highest point of Ightham Common.
25. **Habergham Eaves** (S.W. of Burnley): *Habringham* 1242 LI, 1305 Lacy C, etc., *de Habrigham* 1258 LI, *Habring(g)eham* 1296 Lacy C, *Habrinchm* 1296 WhC 206, *Habrincham* 1324 LI, 1358 Whit. II. 179, *de Habercham* 1269 LI, *de Habryngham, de Abricham* 1407 f. CR, *Habrygham* 1425 CCR, *Haberjambe* 1527 LP I. 144 (pers. n.), *Haberjam* 1551 LF; *Abrynghan Eves* 1510, *Haberiam Eives* 1561 CCR, *Haberchamevys* 1539 DL. I suppose Habergham was named from the most prominent physical feature of the township, viz., Horelaw, a hill of 1,153ft., on the slope of which the old hall stands. I conjecture that this was called O.E. *Hēabeorh*; cf. O.E. *hēahbeorh* "mountain." *Habercham*

[1] Cf *del Hyles* 1332, *del Mourehyles* 1366 LS (Bickerstaffe), "the highway between *le hyles* and Howkeshagh" 1509 CCR (Tottington), *Nelle Hyles* 1549 ib. (Trawden). Possibly *hile* goes back to an O.E. **hygel* "hill," corresponding to G. *hügel*.

1269 may be simply *Hēabeorh-hām*. Shortening of *ēa* to *ea* (whence *a*) would easily take place in such a form. The usual early form I take to represent O.E. *Hēabeorginga hām*, " the hām of the dwellers by *Hēabeorh*." This latter would seem to have been the common form, but association with *Hēabeorh* was always possible, so long as this name was in use. However, a derivative of O.E. *Hēahburh* pers. n. or even *Hēaburh* " high fort " is also possible : O.E. *Heaburginga hām*. The addition Eaves seems to mean " edge of a hill " ; cf. Oakeneaves (*Okynheveys* 1509, *Okeneves* 1524 CCR), the name of a place c 900ft. above sea-level on the slope of Horelaw.†

Clifton (h. ; on the slope of Park Hill) : ? *de Clifton* 1377, *Clifton* 1495 CCR. " Cliff *tūn*."

Cronkshaw : *del Cronsschaghe* 1305 Lacy C, *de Cronkeschaw* 1324 LCR, *de Crounkeschawe* WhC 1143, *Cronkshay* 1507 CCR. O.E. *cranuc* (*cronuc*) " crane " and *shaw*.

Gannow : *Ganhow* 1526 CCR. Etymology obscure.

Gawthorpe Hall : *de Gouthorp'* 1256 (copy of 1439) DD, *de Goukethorp* 1324 LI (p. 191), *Gawthrop* 1472 Lindkvist, p. 141. O.N. *Gaukr* pers. n. and *þorp*.

Pickup : *Picoppe*, *Picop* 1425 CCR ; cf. p. 76.

26. **Burnley** (town) : *Brunlaia* 1124 YCh 1486, *Brunleya* 1155-8 (1230) ChR, *Brunley* 1154 YCh (1475), 1251 ChR, 1296 Lacy C, etc., *Bronley* 1258 IPM, *Brumley* 1292 PW, 1341 IN, *Brumleye* 1294 ChR, *Brunlay* 1324 LI, 1332 LS, *Bruneley* 1311 IPM, *Burneley* al. *Brunley* 1533 DL, *Burneley* 1577 Harr. Burnley stands on the Brun, which joins the Calder N. of Burnley town. There are two (or even three) alternative explanations, between which it is not easy to choose. The name *Brun* may be O.E. *burna* " stream " (cf. *Brunne*, earlier form of Bourne, Linc.). The early forms seem to favour this explanation. Or the stream may have had a name derived from the adj. *brūn* " brown." The vowel would easily be shortened in the name Burnley, and Brun may be a back-formation. In favour of this may be adduced Brownside, the name of a place on the Brun : *Brownes Wode*, *Brownesyd* 1542 CCR. Lastly, Burnley may mean " the brown lea," the river-name being a back-formation. *Brom-* is probably due to association with O.E. *brōm*, but assimilation to the initial *B-* (cf. O.E. *plūme* < Lat. *prunus*) may have contributed to the change.

Brunshaw : *Brunschaghe* 1296 Lacy C, *Brounshagh* 1311 LI. W. of the Brun. This may be the " brown shaw " or the " shaw on the Brun."

Fulledge : *Fullach* 1510, *Fulege* 1523, *Fulhege* 1525 CCR. The place is on the Calder. The name means " foul (*i.e.*, dirty) letch " (cf. p. 15). An identical name is *Fulelache* 1211-32 Kirkstall C (Bowland, Yks.).

Heysandforth (on the Brun) : *Feasandford* 1496 LF, *Fezandforthe* 1596 Burnley R, *Fezandford* 1608 CW 88 ; *Haysondforth* 1500 DL, *Hezandforth* 1549 CCR. Apparently " pheasant ford." The change from *F-* to *H-* may be due to dissimilation.

Royle (on the Calder, by a small hill) : *Rohille* 1296 Lacy C, *Roel* 1324 LI, 1325 LCR, *Le Roile Hill* 1558, *the Roole Hill* 1560, *Roill Hill* 1564 CCR. " Roe hill."

Saxifield (on the S. slope of Marsden Height) : *Saxifeldyk* 1324 AP, *Saxxefeld* 1425, *Saxyfeld* 1507, *Saxfeld* 1510 CCR, *Saxesfeld* 1549 DL. First el. possibly O.E. *Seaxa* or O.N. *Saxi* pers. n.

Towneley Park (S. of Burnley): *Tunleia* c 1200 Whit. II. 189, *Tunley* 1243 LI, *Touneley* 1296 Lacy C, *Thunleye* 1303 FA, *Tounley* 1322 LI, *Tounlay* 1346 FA. Probably "the lea belonging to the town," *i.e.*, Burnley.

27. **Cliviger** (S.E. of Burnley): *Cliverchcr* 1196 LF, *Cliueschre, Cliuecher, Cliuercher* 12, 13 cent. Kirkstall C, *Clyuacher, de Clyuaker* 1246 LAR, *Clyvichir* 1258 IPM, *Clyuacher* 1284 LAR, 1296 WhC 206, 1327 LI, *Clyvacher* 1294 ChR, 1341 IN, *Clivacher* 1296 Lacy C, *Clyvachre* 1311 IPM, *Cliuach'* 1332 LS; *Clevachre* 1305 Lacy C, *Cleveger* 1551 LF; *Clyfacre* 1311 LI (II. 32), *Clinacres, Clivacres* 1324 AP; [tlivitʃər, tlividʒər] Ellis p. 350. Simply, "cliff acre." O.E. *æcer* here appears exceptionally with palatalization; cf. Alsager, Ches. (*Alsacher* 1317 AD VI., *Alsachere* 1322 ib.), and *atchern*, etc., from O.E. *æcern* in NED and EDD. Practically all the land of the township is on a steep slope E. of the Calder. On the palatalization in Cliviger, etc., *see* Anglia-Beiblatt 32, p. 155ff.

Barcroft (near the Calder): *de Bercroft* 1296, *de Bercroftes* 1305 Lacy C. O.E. *bere* "barley" and *croft*.

Dineley (W. of the Calder): *de Dynley* 1296 Lacy C, *de Dynlay* 1305 ib., *de Dynleye* 1323 LF, *de Dynelay* 1311 LI, 1340, 1342 LF. Lands called *Stypdyne* in Cliviger are mentioned 1551 VHL VI. 486. Does this contain O.E. *dȳne* in *ofdȳne* "slope"? The place is on a steep slope. Dineley Knoll reaches c 1,175ft.

Grimshaw: *de Grymeschagh* 1311 LI; cf. p. 76.

Helly Platt (E. of the Calder, 800ft. above sea-level, Lower Helly Platt c 625ft. above sea-level): *de Heley* 1311 LI, *Hele place* 1536 CS 103, *Heathies Platte, Helyplatts* 1590 DL. "High lea." *Platt* is no doubt *plat* "a piece of ground"; cf. p. 31.

Holme (v.): *de Holme* 1305 Lacy C, *del Holm* 1311 LI, *le Holme* 1380 Whit. II. 203, *Holme* 1577 Harr. O.N. *holmr*. The vil. is on a piece of low level land along the Calder.

Meer Clough (h.): *del Meerclogh* 1311 LI. "Boundary clough" (O.E. *gemǣre* "boundary"). The clough must have been an old boundary.

Ormerod: *de Ormerode* 1305 Lacy C, 1311 LI. O.N. *Ormr* or *Ormarr* pers. n. and O.E. *rod* "clearing."

Thieveley (W. of the Calder on a steep slope): *Thaueley* 1301 VHL VI. 485, *Theveley* 1620 CW 207. First el. M.E. *theve* "brushwood" or the like, found in O.E. *þefanporn*, etc.; cf. *Thevethornes* LI II. 196 (meadow Bl.). Or else dial. *theave* (late M.E. *theyve*) "a young ewe" (NED, EDD).

28. **Worsthorne w. Hurstwood** (E. of Burnley).

Worsthorne (v.): *Worthesthorn, Wrdestorn* 1202 LF, *de Wurthesthorn* 1246 LAR, *Wrthisthorm* 1258 IPM, *de Worthesthorne* 1285 LAR, *Worstorn* 1296 WhC 206, *Worthestorn* 1332 LS, *Worsthorne* 1496 LF; now [wə·stho·n]. The second el. is O.E. *porn* "thornbush"; the first is the same as that of Worston, p. 78.

Hurstwood (h.): *de Hurstwode* 1285 LAR, *Hirstwode* 1370 LF, *Hirstewod* 1397 LF. O.E. *hyrst* and *wudu* "wood." Hurstwood stands at the foot of a hill; so *hurst* may here mean "hill, hillock."

Bottin (in Hell Clough): *de Bottedene* 1292 Whit. II. 230. First el. apparently an O.E. pers. n. *Botta* as in Botley, Hants. (*Botelie* DB, *Botteleye* 1316 FA). Cf. Skeat, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1907-10, p. 65.

High Halstead: *de Halstedes* 1292 Whit. II. 230, *de Hallestedes* 1330 LF, *del*

Hallestudes 1332 LS, *Heigh Halsted* 1544 CCR. The place stands on a slope, some 750ft. above sea-level. O.E. *hall-stede* " place (site) of a hall." *Hall* may have the same meaning as in New Hall p. 64.

Rowley (on the Brun) : *de Roulay* 1324 LI, *Rowley* 1600 RS XII. Now [ro·li]. Possibly O.E. *rāw* " row, street," and *lēah*. Or the first el. may be O.E. *rūh* " rough." If so, the modern pronunciation is due to the spelling.

29. **Briercliffe with Extwistle** (N.E. of Burnley).

Briercliffe : *Brerecleve* a 1193 Whit. II. 221, *de Brereclive* 1258 LI, *Brerecliue, -clyf* 1285 LAR, *Brereclive* 1296 Lacy C, *Brerecliffe* 1311 IPM, etc., *Brerclif* 1332 LS. O.E. *brēr* " briar " and *clif*. The township consists of two ridges, on the northern one of which is Briercliffe.

Burwains : *Burwens* 1541, *Burwyns* 1559 CCR ; now [bo·winz, bə·winz]. " The borran or cairn." *Borran* is common in place-names in N.W. England. Cf. *burganes lapidum* c 1200 YCh 1700, *Cringelborthan, Cringelborhanes, -broghan* 13 cent. LC 177 ff. (Bolton-le-Sands; *Cringel-* is O.N. *kringla* " circle "), *Borgan* FC II. 152, *Borganes*[1] ib. 137, *Griseburghanes* 13 cent. CWNS XX. 67 (Wml.). The word is apparently cognate with O.E. *byrgan* " to bury." Cf. NED s.v. *borwen, burian*.

Cockden : *Cockden* 1559 CCR. Probably O.E. *cocc* " cock " and *denu*.

Haggate (v.) : *Hackgate* 1640 Burnley R ; now [hag ge·t]. Cf. *the Hackgait* 1539 CCR (Goldshaw). O.E. *hæc-geat* ; *hæc* being O.E. *hæcc* " wicket " etc. (> mod. *hatch, hack, heck*). *Hatchgate* in the sense " a wicket " is given in NED, in the sense " gate at the junction of manors or parishes " in EDD.

Higher Ridihalgh : *de Redihalgh* 1324 LCR, *Redehalgh* 1509, *Heigh Redehalgh* 1534 CCR. " The reedy haugh, or water-meadow." The place is near Thursden Brook.

Thursden : *Thirsedeneheved* 1324 AP, *Thirsden* 1515 CCR. O.E. *þyrs* " giant " and *denu* " valley." The place is on Thursden Brook.

Walshaw (on Walshaw Clough) : *de Wolleshagh* 1311 LI, *de Walleshagh* 1332 LS, *de Walschagh* 1333 WhC 995. O.E. *wælla* " brook," and *scaga* " shaw."

Extwistle (the S. part) : *Extwysle* a 1193 Whit. II. 226, *Extwisil* 1243 LI, *Extwysel* 1303 FA, *Extwesil* 1322 LI, *Extwisell* 1332 LS, 1346 FA, etc. Extwistle was probably named from the junction (O.E. *twisla*) of the Swinden and the Don. The first el. is perhaps O.E. *exen* pl. of *oxa* " ox." *Ex-* is not uncommon for *Ox-* in early forms of names, but is no doubt frequently a corrupt spelling. Exx. *Excum* (Oxcombe, Linc.) HR I. 302, *Execroft* (Oxcroft, Camb.) 1346 FA, *Exeslededale* (usually *Oxe-*) Percy C 136. Early spellings do not favour derivation from a pers. n. O.E. *Ecci* (Searle), even if they do not render it impossible.

[1] The form *Borganes* (*Burwens*, etc.) does not seem to be plural. I am inclined to believe that M.E. *borghanes, burghanes* is a derivative with a suffix *-asnō* from the old subst. *burg-* (prob. preserved in Engl. *burrow* ; cf. p. 8) which seems to be the base of O.E. *byrgan* " to bury." This suffix is found in Goth. *hlaiwasnōs*, " tomb " (cf. O.E. *hlāw, hlǣw*, " mound "), *arhwazna* " arrow," O.H.G. *alansa* " awl," *segansa* " scythe," O.E. *æfesn* " pasturage," *lyfesn* " charm " (cf. Kluge, Stammbildungslehre, § 86). If this is right, we must assume a Prim. Engl. **bur}æsn, *bor}æsn*, whose *æ* was preserved before the group of consonants, and in which *-sn* became *-ns* by metathesis. Cf. O.H.G. *alansa*, etc., and O.E. *-els* (in *byrgels*, etc.) < *-isl*. With *borghanes* instead of *borghans* we may compare M.E. *birieles* < O.E. *byrgels*.

Kempesbirines c 1200 CC (Winstanley) " the warrior's tomb," apparently has as second el. O.E. *byrigness* " burial," here concrete " burial-place."

COLNE CHAPELRY

The N.E. part of the hundred.

30. **Marsden** (E. of the Calder, on both sides of Walverden Brook, now partly absorbed in Nelson[1] and Brierfield towns): *Merkesden* 1195ff. LPR, *Merkelesden* (*de Marchesden, Marchdene*) 1246 LAR, *Merclisden, de Merchisden* 1258 LI, *Merclesden* 1327, 1332 LS, *Marclesden* 1363 OR. There are two parts: Great and Little Marsden: *in Majori Merkedenna* 1180-93 YCh 1514, *Merclesden major, Little Merkelstene* 1242 LI, *Gret Merclesden, Little Merlesden* 1251 ChR, *Merklesden, parua Merclesden* 1296 WhC 206, *Merclesdene, Parva Merclesden* 1296 Lacy C, *Great Mersden* 1458 LF, *Little Mersden* 1496 LF. Now [ma·zdin]. The first theme of the name is probably O.E. *mercels* "mark; mark to shoot at, marked spot." Whether *mercels* here means "a monument," "a boundary mark," or "a place for practising marksmanship," or something else, cannot, so far as I can see, be determined. O.E. *mercels* had palatal *c*, and early forms like *Marchesdene* perhaps show the palatal. But the form *mercles* would arise by metathesis, where *c* remained a stop; cf. M.E. *rekles, rekels, recheles* "incense" < O.E. *rēcels*. The second el. is O.E. *denu* "valley." The valley of Walverden Brook is very deep; this was clearly called *Mercelsdenu*.

Catlow (on the slope of a hill c 940ft. high): *de Catlow* 1311 LI, *de Catlowe* 1332 LS, *Catlow* 1478 CCR; now [katlə]. O.E. *catt* "cat," here no doubt "wild cat," and *hlāw* "hill."

Clover Hill (on Walverden Water): *Claverhole* 1516, *Clauerholle* 1527 CCR. "Clover hollow."

Grindlestonehurst: *Grendilstonhirst* 1425, *Gryndillstonharst* 1496 CCR. *Grindlestone* is a common north country (also Lanc.) word for "grindstone." The name means "hill where grindstones were got."

Hendon (on Hendon Brook): *de Henden* 1425 CCR. O.E. *henn* "hen" and *denu*.

Linedred: *Lyverode* (for *Lyne-*) 1464 Whit. I. 358, *Lynerode* 1540 CCR, *Lyneroid* 1602 Burnley R. Evidently "flax clearing" (O.E. *līn* "flax" and *rod* p. 16).

Lomeshay (on Pendle Water): *Lomeshagh* 1443 CCR, 1464 Whit. I. 358, *Lomeshaw* 1496, *Lagher Lomeshey* 1533, *Lomyshey* 1541 CCR; now [ləmiʃi]. Perhaps "loamy shaw."

Scholefield: *de Scolefeld* 1324 LCR, 1425 CCR, *Heigh Scole Feild* 1540 ib.; now [sko·fi·ld]. First el. O.N. *skāli* "hut."

Shelfield: *Sholfolt* 1510, *Shelefeild* 1550 CCR. The place is on the slope of a pointed hill called Shelfield. The name may have as first el. O.E. *scelf, scylf* "peak"; the second seems to be O.E. *feld*. But as the forms are late the second el. may be O.E. *hyll*; cf. Shelfield, Warw. (< *Schelfhull* 1322).

Swinden (at Swinden Clough): *Swyndene* 1562 CCR. "Swine valley."

Walverden (on Walverden Water): *Walfredum* 1296 Lacy C, *Walfreden* 1311 IPM, *Woolfarden* 1478, *Walferden* 1522 CCR. The regular *f* in early forms indicates that the first el. is a compound, perhaps O.E. *wælla* "stream" and *fyrhþ* "frith."

[1] Named from an inn, The Lord Nelson Inn. Brierfield must have been one of the Marsden town-fields.

Whackersall (on Colne Water): *de Wakerehal, de Wakershal* 1246 LAR, *de Wakerishale* 1324 LCR, *Wakersale* 1356 CR 332. O.E. *Wœcer* pers. n. and *halh* "haugh."

31. **Barrowford Booth** (N. of Nelson, v.): *del Barouforde* 1296 Lacy C, *Barouford* (vaccary) 1324 LI, 1325 LCR, *Over-, Nethirbarowforth* 1464 Whit. I. 359. Barrowford vil. is on Pendle Water. The name has as its first el. O.E. *bearo* "grove." There are two old villages, Higherford and Lowerford, whose names seem to refer to two different fords.

Blackay: *Blakay* 1296 Lacy C, 1324 LI, etc., *Blackay* 1305 Lacy C, *Blakehey* 1464 Whit. I. 358. "The black hey."

Blacko (v.): *Blackowe* 1514 CCR, *Blackow* 1575 CW 22. Named from Blacko Hill, p. 67.

Fulshaw: *Fulshagh* 1324 LI. O.E. *fūl* "foul, rotten" and *scaga* "shaw."

Rishton Thorns: *Russheton thornes* 1507, *Ryssheton Thornes* 1510 CCR. Rishton is possibly a family name.

32. **Colne** (on Colne Water; town): *Calna* 1124, 1154 YCh (1475, 1486), 1155-8 (1230) ChR, *Kaun* 1242 LI, *de Calne* 1246 LAR, 1253 LAR, *de Caln* 1255 LAR; *Caune* 1251 ChR, 1305 Lacy C, *Kaune* 1296 Lacy C; *Colne* 1296, 1305 Lacy C, 1311 IPM, 1332 LS, etc.; now [ko·n]. The old form was obviously *Calne*; *Caune* is a Norman spelling, and *Colne* is due to a change *al* > *ol*. The name is probably an old river name. Cf. *aqua de Colne* 1464 Whit. I. 359, *Colne Eey* 1538 CCR. Colne (*Calne* 1170-85 YCh 1692) is the name of a river in S.W. Yks. Calne (Wilts.), which appears as *Calne* 955, etc. (Ekblom), stands on a stream. The etymology of the river-name must be left open; it is no doubt British.

Alkincoats: *Altenecote* 1201 LPR, 1242 LI, *-s* 1204 LPR, *Altanecotes* 1203 LPR, *de Altancotes* 1303 FA; *Alcancotes* 1296 WhC 206, *de Alcancotes* 1296 Lacy C, *de Alkencotes (-kotes)* 1311 LI, *Altencotes* (surname) 1332 LS. The place stands on a ridge; cf. *Alkencotegge* 1528 CCR. The form with *t* is the earlier. No definite etymology of the name can be given. *Alt-* recalls Welsh *allt* "a hill-side" (cf. Alt p. 29) and may very well be derived from that Brit. word. But the rest of the first el. is obscure. A diminutive of *allt* (*alltan* "little cliff") is thinkable. On *coats see* p. 9.

Ayneslack or **Hainslack** (on the Yks. border, near a stream): *Haynslak, -e* 1425 CCR. Second el. *slack* "valley" (from O.N. *slakki*). The first is possibly O.Scand. *hegn* "hedge; enclosure."

Carry Bridge: *le Carrehey* 1443 CCR, 1464 Whit. I. 358, *Carrehey* 1527 CCR; *Carybridge* 1604 Colne R. *Carry* is from *Carr-hey, i.e.*, O.N. *kiarr* "swamp" and O.E. *hege* (or possibly O.E. *haga*, O.N. *hagi*) "enclosure."

Emmott: *de Emot* 1296 Lacy C, 1324 LCR, 1332 LS, *de Emote* 1311 LI, *Emot* 1341 IN. O.E. *Ēa(ge)mōtu* "junction of streams"; cf. *æt Ea motum* 926 Chr (D). Wycoller Brook and Laneshaw River join near Emmott Hall.

Heyroyd: *Heyroide* 1524, *Heyrode* 1527 CCR. "High clearing"; cf. *rod* p. 16. The place is in a high situation.

Langroyd: *le Langrode* 1475, *Longrod* 1540 CCR. "The long clearing."

Standroyd: *Stanrede* 1465, *Stanrode* 1539 CCR, *Staynrode* 1540, *Stanerode* 1542 DL. "Stone clearing."

33. **Foulridge** (N. of Colne, on the Yks. border; v.): *de Folric* 1219, 1221 f. LAR, *de Folrigge* 1246 LAR, *Folrig* 1296 WhC 206, *Folerigg* 1311 IPM, *Folrigg*, *Folrigge* 1322 LI, 1346 FA, *ffolrige* 1332 LS, *Fulrigge* 1542 DL, *Folrige* 1551 LF; now [fo·lridž]. I suppose the first el. of the name is O.E. *fola* "foal." The ridge that gave name to the place may be Pasture Hill (786ft.) W. of Foulridge village. The name may mean "the ridge where foals grazed" (cf. Pasture Hill) or "the foal's back" owing to some likeness to one.

Acornley: *Akerlandeleye* 1259 VHL VI. 546, *Acrondley* 1608 CW 1. M.E. *acre-land* "ploughed or arable land" (NED) and *lea*.

Barnside (a detached part): *Bernesete* 1258 IPM, 1296 WhC 206. The first el. is probably a pers. n., O.E. *Beorn* or O.N. *Biǫrn*, *Biarne*, the second being *set* "a shieling" (p. 16). The place is in a high situation. Near it is **Knarrs**; cf. *Bernesetknarres* WhC 333. *Knar* "a rugged rock or stone" is found *e.g.* in Gaw. 2166.

Monkroyd: *de Monkerode* 1332 LS, *Monkrude* 1542 DL. "The monks' clearing." The place belonged to the priory of Pontefract (Whit. II. 253).

34. **Trawden** (S.E. of Colne, on the Yks. border; v.): *Trochdene* 1296 Lacy C, *Troudene* 1305 ib., *Troweden* 1311 IPM, *Troudene* 1324 LI, *Trouden* 1356 CR 332; now [trɔ·din]. O.E. *trog* "trough," later "hollow or valley resembling a trough," and O.E. *denu* "valley." The village of Trawden is in a broad troughlike valley.

Beardshaw (W. of Trawden vil.): *Berdeshaw* (vaccary) 1324 LI, *Berdeshagh* 1325 LCR, *Over-*, *Netherberdshaw* (vacc.) 1422-23 CCR, *Berdshaughboth* 1464 Whit. I. 359, *Berdshabothe* 1507 CCR. First el. perhaps the pers. n. found in Beardwood Bl.

Beaver: *Beaver* 1640, *Bever* 1644 Colne R. The place is on a knoll in a high situation. Though it is surprising to find a French name in such a remote spot, I suppose Beaver is identical with Belvoir, Linc., and means "fine view."

Lodge Holme: *Logeholme* 1557; *Loygemosse* 1530 CCR. Cf. Lanc. dial. *lodge* "a reservoir of water stored for mill purposes."

Winewall (on Trawden Water): *Wynewelle* 1296 Lacy C, *Wynwell* (vaccary) 1324 LI, *Wynwelle* 1325 LCR, *Wynewall* 1507 CCR. The first el. seems to be O.E. *Wina* pers. n., the second being *wella* (*wælla*) "stream." Winewall may be an old name of Trawden Water. The present pronunciation [wainwɔ·l] seems to be due to the spelling.

Wycoller (on the Yks. border, E. of Colne; v.): (causey of) *Wycoluer* WhC 333, *Wycolure* 1324 LI, *Wyculure* 1325 LCR, *Overwicoller*, *Netherwycoller* 1464 Whit. I. 359, *Wykeoller Deyne* 1561 CCR, *Wicoler* 1577 Harr.; now [waikɔlə]. The vil. stands at the foot of Combe Hill on Wycoller Brook. An old road from Colne to Keighley passes the vil. (cf. *Cawsay Clough* 1561 CCR). The name seems to be a compound of O.E. *wīc* and *alr* "alder." O.E. *wīc* very likely means "a dairy-farm" or the like. The early forms of the second el. are remarkable, but we may compare *Lightholevers* 1246 for Lightollers (p. 58). Perhaps *v* was introduced between *l* and *r* in the same way as *th* in M.E. *alther-* from O.E. *eallra*. The labial character of *l*, which has caused *al* to become [ɔl], may explain the fact that the intrusive consonant came to be *v*.

ALTHAM CHAPELRY

S. of the Calder, W. of Burnley.

35. **Altham** (h.): *Elvetham* c 1150 Whit. II. 265, *de Eluetham* 1200-8 DD, *de Alvetham* 1243 LI, 1257, 1278 LF, etc., *Halwetham*, *Eluetham* 1246 LAR, *Aluetham* 1308 LF, 1332 LS, etc., *Altham* 1383 LF, *Aluethambrok*, *-lode* 1337 WhC 1045. The h. stands near the Calder. Two alternative explanations of the name seem possible. The first el. may be the O.E. pers. n. *Ælfgeat* (> M.E. *Alviet*, etc.), the second being O.E. *hām* or *hamm*; this is Wyld's suggestion. Or the first el. may be O.E. *ælfet*, a side-form of *elfet*, *ielfet* "swan" (cf. p. 21); if so, the second el. is no doubt O.E. *hamm*. O.E. *ylfethamm* actually occurs in a charter (973-4 BCS 1307). I am inclined to prefer the second alternative.

Hindle: *Hindil* 1210-30 (copy of 1596) DD, *de Hindehull* 1332 LS. First el. O.E. *hind* "female of the hart."

Hoghton is a place-name found WhC 305 (campo de *Hoghton*); cf. *de Hoghton* 1332 LS (under Altham). This would seem to be an old name in *-tūn*. Cf. the same name in Leyland.

36. **Clayton-le-Moors** (W. of Altham, N.W. of Accrington): *Cleyton* 1243 LI, *Clayton* 1263, 1277 LAR, *de Clayton super Moras* 1284 LAR, *Claiton s̄r Moras* 1332 LS, *Clayton othe Mores* c 1370 CR 348, *Clayton on the Moors* 1390 LF. Cf. Clayton-le-Dale, p. 70.

Dunkenhalgh (old manor): *Dunkansale* 1208-20 DD, *de Dunkaneshalghe* 1285 LAR, *Dunkinhalghe* 1577 Saxton. The first el. is the Goidelic pers. n. *Duncan* (O.Ir. *Donnchad*, Gael. *Donnchadh*; O.E. *Dunecan* 1093 Chr.); the second is O.E. *halh* "haugh." The place stands on the Hindburn.

Hay Slacks: *Haislackes* 1210-30 DD. Second el. O.N. *slakki* "valley."

Henfield or **Enfield** (h.): *Hyndefeld* 1376 DD, *Henfeld* 1523 CCR. First member O.E. *hind* "female of the deer." But the occurrence of the el. *hind* in Hindburn, Hindle, and Henfield is curious. Possibly Hindle, Henfield are elliptic for *Hindburnhill*, *-feld*.

Ringstonhalgh: *de Ryngestoneshalgh* 1352, *Ryngstonhalgh* 1422 DD. The meaning of the first el. is not obvious; perhaps "stone circle." Cf. *Ringstones* 1641 RW 141 (Ringstones, Tatham).

Sparth: *Sparth* 1455, 1574 DD, *the Sparthe* 1542, *the Sparth* 1663 CCR. Sparth is also the name of a field in Irlam (VHL IV. 364). A similar form is *le Sporthe* (Heaton Norris, Sa) 1282 IPM, denoting a piece of land. If the older form was *Sporth*, we may derive the name from O.N. *sporðr* "tail." Cf. Bartle, Am. *infra*. But there seems to have been a side-form with *a* of O.N. *sporðr*, the base of Norw. dial. *spærl*, *spæl* "tail," also "a strip, a narrow piece." Cf. the Norw. place-names *Spælen* NG IV. 1, 159 and *Sperle* NG XII. 2.

ACCRINGTON CHAPELRY

37. **Old** and **New Accrington** (the district round Accrington town): [Haya de] *Akarinton* a 1194 Kirkstall C, *Akerynton(a)* 1258 ib., *Akerunton*, *Akerinton*, *Akerynton* 1258 LAR, *Acrinton* 1292 PW, *Ackryngton* 1311 IPM, *Acryngton* (vaccaries) 1324 LI. This name may mean "acorn *tūn*" (O.E. *æcern* "acorn"

and *tūn*). New Accrington (the S. part) was long regarded as in the forest (VHL VI. 424). Oak mast was formerly of great importance as food for swine, and a homestead may well have been named from such produce; cf. Swinton, a common name. O.E. *Æcerntūn* might become M.E. *Akerenton, Akerinton* and the like, just as *Fearndūn* became *Farindon, Farendone*, now Faringdon (Berks.). There is no O.E. pers. n. from which the first el. can be with any probability derived. But if the Frisian names *Akkrum, Akkeringa*, Dutch *Akkerghem*, etc., are correctly derived in Nomina Geographica Neerlandica I. 168f. from a pers. n. *Akker*, a corresponding O.E. name may perhaps be assumed from which *Accring-* might be derived.

Antley : *Amteleiasic* a 1194 Kirkstall C, *de Anteley* 1296 Lacy C, *Antilay* 1324 LI. Literally " ant lea "; O.E. *æmette* " ant " and *lēah*.

Baxenden (v.): *Bastanedenecloch* a 1194 Kirkstall C, *Bakestandene, Bakestondene, de Bakestonden* 1305 Lacy C, *Bacstanden* 1324 LI, *Baxtonden* 1464 Whit. I. 360. The first el. is *bakestone* " a flat stone or slate on which cakes are baked in the oven " (1531 ff. Lanc., etc., NED). This word is common in place-names, probably denoting places where bakestones were to be found. Cf. *Bacstanebec* CC 885, *Bakesta(i)neforde* Guisb. C. Baxenden is on a brook.

Brocklehurst (on a hill slope): *Brocholehirste* 1296 Lacy C. Cf. Brockhall p. 71.

Cowhouses : *Couhouses* 1324 LI, *Couhous* 1325 LCR, *Cowehous* 1464 Whit. I. 359. Self-explaining.

Dunnyshope (near a brook): *Dunshope, Dunserope* 1241 LF, *Dunschopfal* 1305 Lacy C, *Dunsopkar* 1324 LI. " The hope (or valley) of *Dunn* "; *Dunn* is an O.E. pers. n. The form *Dunny Shop* in O.M. 1846-51 is remarkable.

Friarhills: *Frerehull* 1464 Whit. I. 359, *Frerehill* 1552 LP III. 130. Self-explaining.

Icornhurst : *Ikecornehurst* 1464 Whit. I. 360, *Hycornehurst, Thykynhirst* 1526 LP I. 132. " Squirrel hurst or copse." O.N. *ikorni* " squirrel."

Ryley, High Ryley : *Rilay, Rylay* 1324 LI, *Rylayker* 1296 Lacy C, *Highriley* 1464 Whit. I. 360. O.E. *ryge* " rye " and *lēah*.

Scaitcliffe : *Sclateclyff* 1527, *Scaitclyff* 1535 CCR. " Slate cliff." Cf. p. 59.

Warmden Clough : *Warineden* (for *Warme-*) a 1194 Kirkstall C. " Warm valley."

CHURCH CHAPELRY

N. and W. of Accrington.

38. **Church** (E. of Hyndburn brook; town): *Chirche* 1202 LF, 1258 LI, 1332 LS, etc., *Chiereche* 1204 LPR, *Chyrche* 1202 LF, 1284, 1285 LAR, *Churchkyrk* 1536 LP II. 105. O.E. *cirice* " church." The first record of a church (or rather chapel) dates from 1296 (VHL VI. 403), but the name shows that a church must have been here from ancient times.

Ponthalgh : *Pouthale, Poutehale* c 1288, *Poutehalgh* 1482 DD, *Povthalgh* c 1450 HS LXIV., *Pontawghe* 1536 LP II. 106, *Puttaughe* 1556 DD, *Powtalghe* 1574 DL. Ponthalgh is in a tongue of land between the Hyndburn and a tributary of it; the place was clearly in a haugh. The older form of the name was *Pouthalgh, Pont-* being due to misreading. The first el. is perhaps *pout* the name of a fish. If an O.E. pers. n. *Pūta* existed, however, it is a more probable first element.

39. **Oswaldtwistle** (S.W. of Church): *de Oswaldthuisel* 1208-25 DD, *de Oswalde-*

t(h)wihil (*Oswaldithwihil*) 1219, 1221 f. LAR, *de Oswalde(s)twisel* 1246 LAR, *Oswaldtuysil* 1258 IPM, *Osewaldewysel* 1276 LAR, *Osewaldestwisel* 1327 LS, *Oswaldestwysell* 1332 LS. O.E. *Oswald* pers. n. and *twisla* "fork of a river." Two brooks join in the township.

Aspden or **Aspen** (on a small stream): *Aspedene Clogh* 1200-8 DD, *de Haspeden* 1246 LAR, *de Aspeden* 1286 LAR, 1323 LCR, 1329 LI. "Aspen valley."

Catlow Hall: *de Cattelow* c 1280 DD, *de Catlou* 1305 Lacy C, *de Cattelowe* 1317 LF, *de Catlowe* 1332 LS. O.E. *catt* "cat" and *hlāw* "hill."

Duckworth (once a separate vill): *Ducworth, Ducworthley* 1241 LF. The place is on a brook. The first el. may be O.E. *duce* "duck" or a pers. n.; cf. Duxbury *infra*. The second is *worp* "enclosure," etc.

Knuzden (Brook): *Knuzdenbroke* 1200-8 DD, *Knousedene* Whit. II. 403, *Knowesden* WhC 334. The first el. is doubtful. There is no reason to identify it with that of Knowsley, as the loss of *l* could not be explained in the same way (by dissimilation).

40. **Huncoat** (E. of Church, on the N.W. slope of Hameldon Hill; h.): *Hunnicot* DB, *Hun(n)ecotes* 1241 LF, *Huncotes* 1246 LAR, 1296 Lacy C, *Hunecote* 1296 WhC 206, *Huncote* 1332 LS, etc.; *de Huntcot* 1227 LAR. O.E. *Huna* or *Hun* pers. n. and *cot* (p. 9).

HASLINGDEN CHAPELRY

In the S., on the Salford border.

41. **Haslingden** (E. of the Irwell; town): *Heselingedon* 1242 LI, *Haselen-, Heselindene, Aselin-, Aschelindene* 1246 LAR, *Haselingden* 1251 ChR, *Haselindene* 1258 Kirkstall C, *Has(s)elinden* 1269 LI, *Haselinden* 1332 LS, *Haslyngdene* 1341 IN, *Haselden* 1577 Harr. O.E. *hæslen* adj. "of hazels" and *denu* "valley." H. town lies in a valley. **Haslingden Grane** (*Grayne* 1566 CCR, *ye Grane* 1681 Altham R) is a hamlet. *Grane* is M.E. *grain* (< O.N. *grein* "branch," etc.) "fork; branch; valley branching out of another." The hamlet is in a valley branching out W. from the central valley.

Ewood (on the Irwell): *de Thewode, de Tewode* 1269 LI, (manor of) *Le Ewode* 1323 LI, *del Ewode* 1325 LCR; now [i·wud]. O.E. *ēa-wudu*, like Ewood in Livesay, p. 75.

Helmshore: *Hellshour* 1510 CCR; cf. *Helme croft, Helmecroft* (Haslingden) 1546 CCR. The place stands on a fairly steep ridge between the Irwell and a tributary of it. *Helm* is no doubt *helm* "a shed" (perhaps < O.N. *hialmr*); cf. *Helme* c 1215 WhC 1067, *de Helme* 1324 LCR, referring to a place in Read. The second el. is no doubt *shore* "a steep cliff," etc., cf. p. 58.

Holden, Broad Holden (E. of Haslingden Grane): *de Holdene* 1305 Lacy C, 1325 LCR, *de Holden* 1332 LS; *Brodeholden* 1520 LF. "The hollow valley." The places were named from the valley just referred to.

42. **Henheads** (N. of Haslingden, on a hill-side): *Henhades* 1464 Whit. I. 359, *Henneheedes* 1507 CCR. "Hen hills"; cf. Henthorn p. 77, and Hades p. 57. Near Henheads was formerly *Overhaddes* 1507 CCR.

43. **Higher Booths** (township consisting of some booths in the old Forest of Rossendale; N.E. of Haslingden).

Crawshaw Booth : *Croweshagh* (vaccary) 1324 LI, 1325 LCR, *Crawshaboth* 1507 CCR. " Crow shaw," O.E. *crāwe* " crow " and *scaga*.

Gambleside : *Gameleshevid* (vaccary) 1324 LI, *Gameleshevyd* 1325 LCR, *Gamelseud* 1507 CCR. *Gamel* pers. n. (probably O.N. *Gamall*) and *hēafod* " hill." The place is in a high situation.

Goodshaw Booth : *Godeshagh, Godischaw* 1324 LI, *Godeshagh* 1325 LCR, *Godshaugh* 1507, *Gudsheybothe* 1527 CCR. If the spelling *Godischaw* be at all trustworthy, the first el. may be O.E. *Gōdgȳþ*, M.E. *Godith* pers. n. (fem.). Or it may be O.E. *Gōda*.

Love Clough (in the valley of a small stream) : *Lugheclogh, Lufclough* 1324 LI, *Lufclogh* 1325 LCR, 1425 CCR, *Luffecloch* 1464 Whit. I. 360. The spelling *Lugheclogh* is no doubt due to dittography. The first el. is probably O.E. *Lufa* or *Lufu* pers. n.

44. **Lower Booths** (chiefly on the N. bank of the Irwell; part of Rossendale Forest).

Rawtenstall (town ; on Limy Water) : *Routonstall* (vaccary) 1324 LI, 1325 LCR, *Runstall, Rounstall, Rotenstall* 1507 CCR. Cf. Rawtonstall in W. Yks. : *Routonstall* 1274, *Rutonestal* 1276, *Routunstall* 1298 (Goodall). The name means " the roaring pool " (or " stream "). The first el. is the pres. part. of M.E. *routen* " to roar, bellow " from O.N. *rauta*. Second el. O.E. *stall* " pool in a river," perhaps also used of a stream (cf. p. 159).

Constable Lee : *Constabillegh* 1324 LI, 1325 LCR, *Cunstabellegh* 1324 LI. " The lea belonging to the constable."

Oakenhead : *Okenheved* 1305 Lacy C, *Okenhevedwod* 1464 Whit. I. 359, *Okenheid wod(de)* 1507 CCR. " The hill clad with oaks."

NEWCHURCH-IN-ROSSENDALE CHAPELRY

45. **Newchurch-in-Rossendale** (N.E. of Rawtenstall; the greater part of the old Forest of Rossendale, for the most part desolate hill country).

The Forest of Rossendale : *Rocendal* 1242 LI, *Rossendale* 1292 PW, 13 cent. WhC 154, *Rosendale, Roscyndale, Roscindale* 1296 Lacy C, (*de*) *Roscyndale* 1324 LI, *Rossyndale* 1311 LI, *de Roscundale* 1308 OR 160, *Rosendale* 1577 Harr. A clough with a stream (Whitewell Brook) runs from N. to S. past Newchurch through the middle of the district. This is very likely the valley that gave name to the forest. The first el. of the name is difficult, partly on account of the variation in the spellings. But I take it that *c, sc, ss* cannot point to any other early form than *Rossen-*. Possibly this might be connected with Welsh *rhos* " moor." A (diminutive) *Rhossan* is found in Welsh as the name of Ross in Heref. (*Rhossan ar Wy*) ; cf. Owen's Pembrokeshire II. 407, where other examples of *Rossan* in place-names are given. The word is once exemplified as the name of a brook. Such a form might have given E. *Rossen-* ; but of course the connection is doubtful.

Newchurch : *Newchurch Rossindall* 1590 Burghley.

Bacup (town) : *ffulebachope* c 1200 WhC 154, *Bacop* (vaccary) 1324 LI, *-e* 1325 LCR, *Bacopboth* 1464 Whit. I. 360, *Bacobbothe* 1507 CCR ; now [be·kəp]. Bacup stands on the upper Irwell, which here runs from N. to S., turning west just

below Bacup. The second el. is O.E. *hop*, here used in the sense " a smaller opening branching out from the main dale." The first el. is perhaps O.E. *bœc* " back," used in the sense " a ridge " or " hill " (cf. *back* " a hill " in the Ches. dial.); cf. Backbarrow in Lo.

Deadwin Clough : *Dedequenclogh* (vaccary) 1324 LI, 1325 LCR, *Dedewhenclogh* 1464 Whit. I. 360, *Dedonclough* 1507 CCR. " The clough of the dead woman " (O.E. *dēad* adj. and *cwene* " woman "). A dead woman may have been found in the clough.

Deerplay, Deerplay Moor : *Derplaghe* 1296, 1305 Lacy C, *Derpelawe* 1324 LI. " The place where deer play." O.E. *dēor-plega*.†

Lumb (on Whitewell Water) : *Le Lome* 1534 CCR. Cf. the same name p. 62.

Sharneyford (N. of Bacup) : *Schernyford* WhC 334. " The miry ford "; cf. O.E. *scearn* " dung."

Sow Clough (at a valley of the same name): *Soclogh* 1463 Whit. I. 353, *Sooclogh* 1528 CCR. Literally " sow clough "; *So-* represents a Northern development of O.E. *sugu*.

Tunstead : *Tunstede* (vaccary) 1324 LI, *Tunsted* 1325 LCR, 1507 CCR. O.E. *tūnstede* " village," very likely also, as in this case, " deserted site of a *tūn*."

Wolfenden : *Wolfhamdene* (vaccary) 1324 LI, 1325 LCR, *Wolfendenboth* 1507 CCR. " The valley of the *wulfhamm* " apparently. O.E. *hamm* originally meant " enclosure," and O.E. *wulfhamm* might mean the same thing as O.E. *wulfhaga*, *i.e.*, " enclosure to protect the flocks from wolves " (Crawf. Ch. p. 53). Or it might mean " enclosure to trap wolves in." But *hamm* is found with the name of an animal as defining el. without such a sense, as in O.E. *heafoces hamm* (BCS 1169), *ylfethamm* (ib. 1307).

WEST DERBY HUNDRED

Derbei hvndret DB, *Derbi* 1169 LPR, *de Derebi Wapentachio* 1188 LPR, *Derebiscire* 1197 LPR, *Derbisire* 1212 LI, *Derebyschyre* 1246 LAR, *Derbischyre* 1252 IPM, *Westderby wapentake* 1265 IPM, *Derbishir* 1327 LS, *Westderbishire* 1338 LF.

West Derby hundred forms the S.W. part of the county. It is bounded on the W. and S. by the sea and the Mersey. The N. boundary is (or was) partly formed by Martin Mere and the Douglas. The surface is on the whole flat or slightly undulating. The highest point, Billinge Hill with Brownlow,[1] reaches nearly 600ft. above sea-level.

Before the Conquest the three hundreds of West Derby, Newton, and Warrington corresponded to the present West Derby, and West Derby proper comprised only the western half. Soon after the Conquest the present hundred of West Derby was formed.

Warrington (*Walintvne hvnd'* DB) is considered to have comprised the present Warrington, Leigh, and Prescot parishes, and Culcheth township in Winwick. Newton hundred (*Neweton hd'* DB) corresponds roughly to Winwick and Wigan parishes.

Newton hundred is often called **Makerfield,** and this name is frequently

[1] *Ye Browne Low* 1616 Upholland R.

added to the names Ashton, Ince, and Newton. Early forms: *Macrefeld* 1121 Ch, *Machesfelda* 1123 Ch, *Machesfeld Wapentachio* 1169 LPR; *Makefeld* 1206, 1213 LPR, *Makefeud* 1246 LAR; *Makifeld* 1206 LPR; *Makeresfeld* 1204, 1205, 1215 LPR, *Makerefeld* 1213 LPR, *Makerfeld* 1243 LI, 1261 LAR, etc., *Macresfeld* 1280, 1291 ChR, *Makrefeld* 1338 LF.

We have to start from the early forms *Maker-* and *Makeresfeld*. Such as *Makefeld*, *Makesfeld* have probably lost an abbreviation-mark for *er* after the *k*. The interchange of forms with and without the genitive *s* would seem to point to a pers. n. as the first el., but if so I can only suggest that it is the name *Macharius* (found in Liber Vitae and DB), which does not seem convincing. A place-name as first el. often has the gen. form. Examples are Nympsfield, Glo. (first el. identical with Nymet, Dev.), *Andredes leage* Chr. A. 477, *Andredes cester* Chr. A. 491 (first el. *Andred*, the old name of the Weald). I believe *Maker* is a Brit. place-name, identical with Welsh *magwyr* "wall, ruin" (O.W. *macyrou* pl. LL 143), O.Bret. *macoer* "wall" (Loth 148) from Lat. *macēries*, *macēria* "wall." The O.Brit. form must have been **macēr*. This is a common name in British countries.

Macoer (Brittany) Loth 148, 219.

Maker (par., vil. Cornw.): *Makere* 1346 FA, *Magre* 1428 FA.

Magor (Monm.): *Magor* 13 cent. LL.

Fagwyr (Wales). *F-* for *M-* is due to lenition.

Makerton (Cornw.; in Maker): *Macretone* DB, *Makerton* 1284 FA.

I suppose *Macēr* was the British name of some place in Makerfield and was adopted by the Anglian invaders. From it was formed the name Makerfield. The original Makerfield may have been Ashton, near which there are traces of a Roman road, and where a fort may once have been. Two fields in Ashton were called the two Makerfields in the 16th cent. (VHL IV. 131). Or it may have been Newton, where there are two ancient barrows, one of which at least is called Castle Hill (ib. IV. 132). The surface of Newton is flat, especially in the N. part, where Newton vil. and Castle Hill stand.

The old division into three hundreds is not kept up here, as it would make it necessary to separate parts that belong together geographically. But the two old hundreds of Warrington and Newton are dealt with first, the original W. Derby hundred coming last.

Names of Rivers

Glazebrook (a trib. of the Mersey): *Glasebroc* c 1230 CC, *Glasebrok* 1246 LAR, *Glasbrooke* c 1540 Leland, *the Gles* or *Glesbrooke water* 1577 Harr. Cf. Glazebrook p. 95. The name may be compared with Glaisdale, Yks. (*Glasedale*, *rivum de Glasedale* 1223 Guisb. C.), also with Glasenbach, Glasbach in Germany (: *Glasa* 933, etc., *Glasipach* in Förstemann). *Glas-* is probably an old river-name. Förstemann suggests an adj. *glasa-* "bright." Another possible source (for the Engl. names) is Celt. *glasto-* "green, blue" (Welsh *glas*, *e.g.*, in *glaspull* LL 78, a river-name; Ir. *glas*).

Sankey (falls into the Mersey near Warrington): *Sanki* 1202 LF, *Sanky* 1228 ClR, 1251 ChR, *Sonky* 1228 WhC 372. *See* Great Sankey p. 105. This is no doubt a Celtic name. As regards the ending such Welsh river-names as *Tywi*

(Tobios Ptol.), Honddu (: *hodni* LL 242), Troggi (*Taroci* LL 236), Trothi (: *trodi* LL 123, etc.) may be compared. Etymology obscure.

Goyt (a trib. of the Sankey): M.E. *gote* "water-course, stream."

Otter's Pool (Liverpool): *Hot'pol* 1228 ClR, *Oterpol* 1228 WhC 371, *Otirpul* 13 cent. WhC 568. Clearly "otter-pool." Near this was a brook called *Hoskellesbroc*, *Haskelesbroc* 1228 ClR, *Oskelesbrok* 1228 WhC 371. The name contains the pers. n. O.N. *Askell*. There is another Otterpool in N. Meols: *Oterpul* c 1250 Farrer, History of N. Meols p. 11, *Otrepol* 1311 LI.

Alt (falls into the sea): *alt* c 1190 CC, *alte* c 1200 CC, *Alth(e)*, *Alta* a 1220 CC, *Alth* c 1260 CC, *Alte* 13 cent. WhC 490. The name is no doubt Celtic. It cannot be derived from Welsh *allt* "cliff," as the river flows through flat country. Gael. *alt* means "a stream"; a similar sense might have developed in the Brit. language of Lancashire. But it is also possible that Alt is quite distinct from *allt*. There is in Wales a river called Aled, an affluent of the Elwy, whose name appears in early sources as *Alet* (*e.g.*, *Ughalet* "above Alet," 1335 Seebohm, Tribal Custom in Wales, Appendix p. 61). Brit. *Alet* might have become Alt just as *Cunētio* became Kent.

Eller Beck (a trib. of the Douglas) gave name to a place: *de Ellerbek* 1246 LAR, 1366 LS. First el. M.E. *eller* "alder" (very likely < O.N. *elri* "alders"). The brook is called *riuulus de Egacras* 1189-96 Ch, obviously from a place *Egacras* ib. ("edge-acres"); an earlier name is apparently Blithe, found in Blythe Hall (*see* p. 122).

Tawd (Lathom): *taude* 1577 Saxton, *the Taude* 1577 Harr. *See* Tawdbridge, Lathom p. 123.

WARRINGTON PAR.

This parish embraces the low-lying districts N. of the Mersey, between Glazebrook and Sankey Brook, and Burtonwood W. of the latter.

1. **Rixton with Glazebrook** (E. of Warrington).

Rixton: *Rixton* 1201ff. LPR, 1212 LI, 1332 LS, etc.; *de Riston* 1246 LAR, *Richeston* 1260, 1262 LAR, *de Ryckeston* 1259 LAR, *Rigston* 1577 Harr. The first el. is probably a pers. n., O.E. **Rīc*, as suggested by Sephton, or *Rīcsige*.

Glazebrook: *de Glasbroc* 1227 LF, *Glasebrok* 1246 LAR, etc., *Glasbrok* 1258 LAR, *Glasebroc* 1261 LAR, 1341 IN, *Glasebroke* 1332 LF. The place was named from the Glazebrook, which forms the E. boundary.

Hollins Green or **Hollinfare** (h.): *Holling greene* 1577 Harr., *Hollyn grene* 1577 Saxton; *Le Fery del Holyns* 1352 VHL III. 339, [*the*] *holynfeyr'* 1504 RS XII., *cap. de Helingfare* 1550 LR, *Hollynfayre* 1556 LF, *Hollen Ferry* 1565 DL. First el. O.E. *holegn* "holly." The el. *-fare* apparently means "ferry" or "ford"; it seems to be O.E. *fær* "passage," etc., here in a concrete sense. The place is on the Mersey.

2. **Woolston with Martinscroft** (E. of Warrington).

Woolston: *Oscitonam* 1094, *Ocsitonam* 1122, *Ulfitonam* 1142, *Oxsitonam* 1155, *Wlfitona* c 1180 Ch., *Wolueston*, *Wulueston* 1246 LAR, *Wlston* 1257 ChR, *Wolston* 1327, 1332 LS, 1389 LF, etc. If the earliest forms can be disregarded, the etymology seems to be O.E. *Wulfes tūn* from *Wulf* pers. n. Some early forms perhaps point rather to *Wulfsiges tūn*.

Martinscroft : *de Martinescroft(e)* 1332 LS. The pers. n. *Martin* is found in O.E. (Searle).

3. **Poulton with Fearnhead** (E. of Warrington).

Poulton (v.) : *Poltonam* 1094, 1122 Ch, *Pultonam* 1142, 1155 Ch, *Polton* 1246 LF, *Pulton* 1268 LAR, 1417 LF. First el. O.E. *pōl, pull* " pool." Poulton vil. stands near Padgate stream ; the meaning of *pōl* may be " a stream."

Fearnhead : *Ferneheued* 1292 HS XL. 158, *del ffermhed* 1332 LS, *Fernyhed* 1467 LF. " Fern-clad height." O.E. *fearn* " fern " and *hēafod* " hill." The hamlet stands c 45ft. above sea-level.

Bruche (old manor) : *del Bruch* 1280, *de Briche* 1314 HS XL. 157 f., *de(l) Bruche* 1292, 1304 OR, *Bruche* 1577 Harr., *Brych*e 1577 Saxton. Evidently O.E. *bryce* " breaking," here in the sense " broken up ground, newly cultivated land." Cf. *Newebruches* 13 cent. WhC 826 and *breach* " a piece of land broken up by the plough " (1594, etc., NED).

4. **Warrington** (town) : *Walintvne* DB, *Werineton* 1228 ClR, *Werington* 1246, 1285 LAR, 1246 LF, 1332 LS, etc., *Werinton* 1259, 1278 LAR, *Queryngton* 1258 LAR, *Werygnton* 1296, 1321 LF, 1322 LI, etc. ; *Warryngton* 1332 LI, *Waringtun* c 1540 Leland. The first el. is a patronymic, probably identical with the first el. of Warwick (: *Wærincwicum* 1001 CD 705, *æt Wæringwicum* Chr. 914C), *i.e.*, a derivative of the stem *Wār-* (*Wēr-*), common in O.E. pers. names.

Arpley (in a bend of the Mersey) : *Arpeley* 1416 TI, 1465 Warr. First el. O.E. *eorp* " dark," possibly used as a pers. n. There is hardly any reason to adduce O.N. *Erpr, Jarpr* pers. n.

Howley (in a bend of the Mersey) : *le Holey* 1314, *Holay* 1334 HS XL. 159, *Hollay* 1465 Warr. O.E. *holh* " hollow " and *lēah*.

Orford (h.) : *Orford* 1332 LI, *de Orford* 1332 LF, *Overforthe* 1465 Warr., 1529 DL. Probably " the upper ford." The hamlet stands N. of Warrington not far from two streams. The Roman road from Wigan to Warrington crossed the Orford Brook at Longford Bridge (Codrington, Roman Roads, p. 89).

5. **Burtonwood** (N.W. of Warrington ; v.) : *Burtoneswod* 1228 Ch, *Bourtonewod* 1251 ChR, *Burtonwode* 1298 LI, 1322 LI, 1332 LS, *Burtonwod* 1341 IN. Burtonwood was put into the forest of Lancaster by Henry I. Its old name was *Burton* : 1200 LPR ; cf. *hay of Burton, Burtunebrok* 1251 ChR. The name is O.E. *Burhtūn*. on which see p. 32.

Bewsey Hall : *Beausee* 1330 LI, *Beause* 1416 TI, *Bewsey* 1503 RS XII., 1516 DL. Fr. *beau sé* " beautiful seat."

Bradley (old manor) : *Bradley* 1577 Harr. ; cf. *Bradelesbroc* 1228 ClR, *Brodeleghbrok* 1228 WhC 372. " Broad lea," O.E. *brād* and *lēah*.

Dallam, D. Moss : *Dallum* 1328 VHL III. 325, 1416 TI, *de Dalhom* 1332 LS. The place is on Sankey Brook. The name may consist of O.E. *dæl* " valley " and *hamm* " a meadow," etc.

WINWICK PAR.

This large parish, situated N. of Warrington, is bounded on the E. by Glazebrook, on the W. by Sankey Brook. The surface varies considerably. In the S. the ground is low, in the N. an altitude of 350ft. is reached.

1. **Culcheth** (in the E., on the Glazebrook): *Culchet* 1201f. LPR, *de Kulcheth* 1246 LAR, *Culchit* 1246, 1258 LAR, *Kulchit* 1243 LI, *de Kilchith* 1246 LAR, *Culchith* 1284 LAR, 1311 LF, etc., *Culcheth* 1322 LI, 1346 FA, etc., *Kulchith* 1332 LS, *Culchyth* 1387 LF, *Kilcheth* 1577 Saxton. Exceptional are: *de Culchef* 1246 LAR, *Kylchid, de Kylchyld* 1276 ib., *Kelchit* 1269 ib., *Culchi(l)k* 1278 ib., *Kyllechyrth, Kilchith* 1285 ib., *de Kilchif* 1303 LF, *Kelshawe* 1556 LF, *Culsheth* 1583 DL, *Kilshay* 1590 Burghley. See also Wyld and VHL IV. 156. The name is a compound of the Brit. words corresponding to Welsh *cil* "back; corner, nook; retreat" (common in Welsh place-names), and *coed* "wood." The same elements are found in Kilquite, Cornw. (: *Kylgoyd* 1303 FA), Colquite, Cornw. (: *Kilcoit* 1308 IPM), Cilcoit, Monm. (: *cilcoit* LL 221), Blaencilgoed, Pembr. (: *Blanculcoyt* 1325 IPM) and probably Culgaith, Cumb. The name may mean "back wood" or "retreat in a wood."[1] As regards the palatalization of the medial *c*, Lichfield (from O.E. *Liccedfeld* < Brit. *Lētocēton*) may be compared. The variation between *-t, -th* is found also in Penketh p. 106, and Tulket Am. The church is called Newchurch: *Newchurch* 1577 Saxton.

Flitcroft: *Fluttecroft* 1212 LI, *Flittecroft* 1292 PW. The first el. is doubtful.

Holcroft (on Glazebrook): *de Holecroft* 1246 LAR, 1330 LF, 1332 LS, *de Holcroft* 1301, 1314 LF, *Holcroft* 1577 Harr. The "hollow croft," O.E. *holh* "hollow" and *croft*. Cf. Hole Mill Farm in Holcroft.

Kinknall: *de Kynkenale* 1311, 1314 LF, *-hale* 1332 LS. The first el. seems to be O.E. **Cyneca* from *Cyne* and names in *Cyne-*, like *Wineca* from *Wine*. The second is O.E. *halh* "haugh, water-meadow." The place is not on a stream, though not far from one.

Peasfurlong: *de Pesefurlanig* 1246 LAR, *Pesforlong* 1554 LF. The name means "the furlong where pease were grown."

Risley: *de Ryselegh* 1284 LAR, *de Risselley* 1285 ib., *de Riselegh* 1328 LI, 1332 LS. O.E. *hrīs* "twigs, brushwood" or perhaps *hrīsen* adj. and O.E. *lēah*.

Scholefield. No early forms. Cf. Scholefield Sa. p. 56.

Twiss, Twiss Green: *de Twisse* (*Twysse*) 1258 LAR, *del Twysse* 1276 LAR, *del Twys* 1314 LF, *Twistgrene* 1565 DL. *Twis* is a word not found in O.E. or M.E. literary sources, meaning "the place where two streams meet." It occurs in Cockersand Chartulary in a context where it is obviously a common noun: *a quadam Twis* 561; cf. *tofto inter Twis et fontem Sanctæ Mariæ* 559 (Allerton). The word is related to O.E. *getwis* "germanus," *getwisa* "twin," *twisla* "fork of a river"; it may go back to an O.E. adj. **twis*. Twiss is N.W. of Culcheth church in a tongue of land between two streams.

2. **Southworth with Croft** (E. of Winwick).

Southworth: *Suthewrthe* 1212 LI, *Suthworth* 1326 LF, *Sotheworth* 1327, 1332 LS,

[1] The latter meaning is suggested by Förster, Keltisches Wortgut im Englischen (1921), p. 213. Förster suggests that the vowel of the first syllable, which seems to go back to O.E. *y*, represents a Brit. [y·], an intermediate sound between Prim. Celt. *ū* and Brit. *ī*. I am not sure this is correct, as the change *ū* > *ī* must have taken place very early. I am more inclined to believe that O.E. *y* in this case is a substitution for a sound developed from Brit. *i*, due to shortening of *ī*. This would have given Welsh *y* [ə], but the O.W. sound, as suggested by the spelling *i, y*, was very likely not greatly different from the Mod. Welsh *y* in words like *dyn*, which is pronounced rather like a [y]. Shortening of *ī* seems to account for spellings such as *Blanculcoyt* supra and *Culcudyn* LL 320 (Kilgiden, Monm.).

1422, 1432 LF; *Seftewurd* 1185 LPR. O.E. *sūþ* "south" and *worþ* "enclosure," etc.
Croft: *Croft* 1212 LI, 1284 LAR, 1341 IN, *Crofte* 1321 LF, 1327, 1332 LS. O.E. *croft* "small field," etc.

3. **Houghton, Middleton,** and **Arbury** (E. of Winwick).
Houghton (v.): *Houton* 1263 LAR, *Hoghton* 1327 LS, 1341 IN. O.E. *hōh* "spur of land" and *tūn*. Houghton Green vil. stands on a slight ridge.
Middleton [Hall]: *Midelton* 1212 LI, 1332 LS, 1341 IN, *Middelton* 1327 LS. "The middle town."
Lynnall (in Middleton): *de Lynals* 1381 CR 362. O.E. *līn* "flax" and *halh* "haugh."
Arbury: *Herdbiri* c 1215 CC, *Herbury* 1243 LI, *Erthbury* 1246 LF, *Erthbyry* 1246 CC, *Erbury* 1332 LS, 1346 FA, *Eresbury* 1322 LI. O.E. *eorþburg* "earth-fortification." There do not now seem to be any traces of such a fortification. Arbury in Herts. and Cambs., both names of Roman camps, are very likely to be explained in the same way. Burrow-on-the-Hill (Leic.) is *Erdborough* 1316 FA.

4. **Winwick with Hulme** (N. of Warrington).
Winwick (v.): *Winequic* 1170 ff. LPR, *Wynewhik* 1192 WhC 39, *Wynequic* 1212 LI, *Quinequike* c 1210 CC, *Wynquik* 1332 LS; *Winewich* 1204 LPR, *Whinewic* 1205, 1206 LPR, *Wynewyke* 1212 RB, *Wynewyc* 1212 LI, *de Winewik, Wennewyk* 1246 LAR, *Wonewyke, -wycke* 1518 LP I. 71, *wynnik* 1590 Burghley. This name is no doubt correctly explained by Wyld as a compound of O.E. *Wineca* pers. n. and O.E. *wīc*. The loss of *k* seems due to the change *kw* > *hw* found often in northern dialects. Cf. *Wynewhik* 1192 *supra*.
Hulme (h.): *Hulm* 1246, 1276 LAR, 1332 LS, 1341 IN, etc. O.Dan. *hulm* "island," etc. *See* p. 13. Hulme stands on slightly rising ground near Sankey Brook and a tributary of it. The land along the Sankey is low and stated to be liable to floods.

5. **Newton-in-Makerfield** or **Newton-le-Willows** (town): *Neweton* DB, 1201 LPR, *Niweton* 1177 LPR, *Nieweton* 1202 ff. LPR, *Neuton* 1212 LI, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., *Neuton Macreffeld* 1257 ChR, *Neuton in Makerfeld* 1332 LF. "The new town."

6. **Kenyon** (v.): *Kenien* 1212 LI, *de Kenien* 1269 LAR, *Kenian* 1243 LI, 1302 ib., *de Kenian* 1246 LAR, *Kenyan* 1258, 1284 LAR, 1311 LF, 1332 LS, etc., *Kynian* 1276 LAR, *Keynyan* 1310 LF. The surface is level. There is no stream of any importance. On the border of Croft (to the S.) is a place called Kenylow (*Kenylo Bridge* in O.M. 1846-51); *Kenylaw* (*Lache*) is exemplified in VHL IV. 169 from 1287, 1292. *Keny-* may very well be a worn-down form of *Kenion*.

The name Kenyon looks un-English. I suspect a Brit. origin for it. It is to be noticed that Kenyon adjoins Culcheth. The ending *-an* reminds one of that of Cardigan from Welsh Ceredigiawn (O.W. *Cereticiaun*) or of the pers. n. *Maban* in *Maban(es)hou* CC 1048, *Mabandall* (Halton) c 1225 FC II. 160, from Welsh *Mabon*. But a definite etymology is difficult to attain. One possibility is that the name contains the common Welsh pers. name *Einion*, which must in an earlier period have had the form *Eniōn*. A combination of a noun ending in *-k* with *Eniōn* might have been misunderstood; cf. O.N. *Koðran* < Ir. *Mac Odráin* "the son of Odrán." A Brit. **Cruc Eniōn* "Einion's mound" (Welsh *crug*

"mound") might have been taken to mean *Cruc Ceniōn*, and *Ceniōn* to be the name of the mound, *Cruc Ceniōn* being translated as *Ceniōn hlāw* > *Kenylow*. This is, of course, very uncertain.

7. **Lowton** (v.; N.E. of Newton): *Lauton* 1202ff. LPR, 1212 LI, 1332 LS, etc., *Lawton* 1432 LF, *Laweton* 1500 LF; *Laitton* 1201 LPR is obviously miswritten. First el. O.E. *hlāw* "hill; mound," M.E. *lawe* in the Alliterative Poems. Lowton is on slightly rising ground.

Byrom (old manor): *de Burum* c 1265 CC, *Buyrom* 1306 HS XL., *Byrum* 1328 LF, *Byram* 1577 Saxton. O.E. *bȳrum* "(at) the byres."

8. **Golborne** (v.; N. of Newton): *Goldeburn* 1187 LPR, 1278 LAR, 1302 LF, 1332 LS, etc., *Goldburne* 1203 LPR, 1212 LI, *Goldeburne* 1271 LAR, 1328 LF, etc., *Goldburn* 1390 LF; *Golburn* 1259 LAR, *Golborne* 1468 LF; corrupt are *Goseburn* 1202 LPR, *Gold(e)burc* 1201, 1206, 1207 LPR, *Golburc* 1205 LPR.

G. village stands on Millingford Brook, which must have formerly been called Golborne; Leland (c 1540) calls it *Golforden*. We may compare *Goldeborne* Bl. (VHL VI. 324) and (in) *goldburnan* 969 BCS 1240 (Midds.). It is improbable that the first el. is *gold*, the name of the metal. *Gold* (O.E. *golde*) is the name of some yellow plants, *e.g.*, Calendula officinalis. It is hardly too bold to assume that it was in early times used also of the marsh marigold (Caltha palustris). The etymology is probably O.E. *golde* "marsh marigold" and *burna* "burn."

Lightshaw: *Lightshagh* 1322 LI, *Lyghtshagh* 1396 LF. "The light shaw," light meaning either "thin, not thick" or "light in colour."

9. **Haydock** (N. of Newton, v.): *Hedoc* 1169 LPR, *Heddoch* 1170f. LPR, *de Heidoc* ? 12 cent. HS XXXII. 184, *Haidoc* 1212 LI, *Haydok* 1286 LF, 1332 LS, etc., *de Hadock* 1292 HS XL. 158, *Haydock* 1322 LI, *Heydok* 1508 LF. There are no prominent physical features suggesting a definite etymology. The surface of the township is flat or undulating.

The second el. of the name cannot be O.E. *āc*; forms in *-oc* are too early. Harrison suggests as first el. O.E. *hege*, as second el. O.E. *docce* "dock" (a plant) or O.N. *dǫkk* "hollow." But O.E. *docce* ought probably to have appeared as *-docke* in the earliest forms. Scand. elements are extremely rare in this district. We have found some probably British names in Winwick par., and as *-ock* recalls the common Celtic suffix *-āko* (O.W. *-awc*, Welsh *-og*), Haydock may be suspected to be one too. The name may represent a derivative of Welsh *haidd* "barley," analogous to Welsh Clynnog (< M.W. *Kellynnawc*, from *celyn* "holly"; cf. Jones p. 54) and particularly Ceirchiog, the name of a parish in Anglesey (: Welsh *ceirch* "oats"). A Welsh derivative of *haidd* would have had the form *Heiddiog* from earlier *Heiðiauc*. This name is perhaps evidenced in *Heythock moore*, Pembr. (Owen's Pembrokeshire I. 1) and in Llanhaithog, Heref. (: *Lenheydok* 1326 IPM); cf. Bannister. It is true we should expect the Brit. word to have given E. *Haythock*. But substitution of O.E. *d* for Brit. *ð* is possible. In early O.E. there was no sound *ð*; Prim. Germ. *ð* at an early date became *d*, and *þ* between vowels probably remained as [þ] for some time after the immigration of the Anglo-Saxons. Bülbring § 474 thinks the change took place about 700. An analogous case is O.E. *Temede* (now Teme), the name of a river, corresponding to Welsh *Tefaidd* or *Tefedd* (Owen's Pembrokeshire I. 202), in which *dd* [ð] is no doubt due to earlier *s* (cf. O.E. *Temese* "the Thames").

Cf. also Meend, Glouc., earlier *Munede* (Welsh *mynydd* " hill "), Longmynd, Shr., and the like (*see* McClure p. 157f.), and Cuerden, Leyl.

Cayley (old estate) : *de Caylegh* 1323 LI. First el. perhaps O.E. *Cæga* pers. n. as in Cainhoe, Beds. But O.E. *cæg* "key" in some unrecorded earlier sense is also possible.

10. **Ashton-in-Makerfield** (in the N. ; v.) : *Eston* 1212 LI, *Aystone* 1246 LF, *Ashton* 1255 LF, 1259 LAR, *Asshton* 1327, 1332 LS, *Assheton in Makrefeld* (*Makerfeld*) 1338, 1430 LF. O.E. *æsc-tūn* " ash town."

Brynn (old manor) : *de Brunne* 1276 LAR, *del Brynne* 1432 LF, *the Bryn* 1491 LP I. 4, *Bryne* 1503 DL, *Bryn Park* 1577 Harr. It is possible Brynn is identical with Welsh *bryn* " hill," O.Bret. *bren* " colline." Bryn Hill is the name of a place near Brynn. Welsh *bryn* is common in place-names. Bryn in Shropsh. (*Bren* 1272 IPM) is no doubt the same word.

I do not think Bryn is from O.E. *byrna*, a doubtful side-form of *burna*. The Dan. word *brønd* " well " is now held to be a late form of *brunn*, due to a change *u*>*y*>*ø*. Cf. Kock, Svensk Ljudhistoria II. § 809f. The same explanation no doubt holds good for Norw. (dial.) *brynn* and for *brin* " rivulet " in the Shetland and Orkney dialects. But Brynn might be a late form of O.E. *brunna* (*burna*) ; cf. Brindle in Leyl.

Garswood (old estate) : *Grateswode* 1367 VHL IV. 142, *Gartiswode* 1479 LF, *Garteswodde* 1508 DL. The early forms do not throw sufficient light on the name. Cf. *Gartemos* (Astley) c 1210 CC.

LEIGH PAR.

S.E. of Wigan.

Leigh : *de Lecthe* c 1265 CC, *Leeche* 1276 CC, *Legh'*, *Legh*, *Leth*, *-e*, *Leech'*, *Leythe*, *Lecht*, *de Leze* 1276 IM, *Legh* 1292 LF, *Leegh* 1341 IN, *Leth* 1451 CC. The name, according to VHL III. 414, was formerly also used of the district formed by Westleigh and Pennington, sometimes also Bedford, *i.e.*, the W. part of the parish. The old village, now the town, of Leigh stands partly in Westleigh, partly in Pennington. It seems not improbable that the names Astley, Tyldesley, Shakerley really contain as second el. the place-name Leigh : Astley = East Leigh, etc. Leigh is O.E. *lēah* " open land, meadow," etc. The country is on the whole flat, but rises slightly in the N.E.

1. **Westleigh** (v. ; W. of Leigh town) : *Westlegh* 1238 LAR, 1340, 1350 LF, *Westeleghe*, *Westeleie* c 1260 CC, *Westley* 1276 IM, 1396 LF, *Westelegh* 1327 LS, *Westeley* 1332 LS. This name probably means West Leigh.

2. **Pennington** (now in the town of Leigh) : *Pinington* 1246 LF, *de Pyninton*, *de Pynington* 1246 LAR, *Pininton* c 1240 CC, 1299 LF, *Pynintonn* 1299 LF, *Pynyngton* 1322 LI, 1332 LS, etc., *Pynynton* 1327 LS, 1340 LF, *Penyngton* 1372 LF. The name is etymologically distinct from Pennington in Lo., which always has *e* in the first syllable. Its first el. is apparently a patronymic O.E. *Pin(n)ingas*. It is true an O.E. *Pin* or *Pinna* is not well evidenced ; cf., however, *Pinnan róde* 1043 CD 767 and *Pin* Ellis B (Searle).

Etherston Hall : *Etheriston* 1338 VHL III. 430, *Ether(e)ston* 1415 TI. The first el. is apparently a pers. n., *e.g.*, O.E. *Eadrīc* or *Eadrēd*, or *Æðelrīc*, *-rēd* (cf. Elswick Am.). The second el. is O.E. *tūn* or possibly *stān* " stone."

3. **Bedford** (E. of Leigh town and Pennington) : *Bedeford* 1201 LPR, 1258 LAR, c 1260 CC, 1332 LS, etc., *Bedford* 1258f. LAR, 1322 LI, etc. " The ford of Bede " (O.E. *Bēda*). The ford was probably over Pennington Brook.

Eckersley (apparently a lost name ; cf. Eckersley Fold in Tyldesley) : *de Ekclia* 1259 LAR, *Ekersleght* 1371 VHL III. 434. The first el. seems to be a pers. n., perhaps O.E. *Ecghere* or *Ecgheard* with change of *g* to *k* before *h*. Second el. O.E. *lēah*.

Graveoak : *Gravoke manor* 1563 DL. Perhaps literally " the oak by the grave."

Hopecarr (on Pennington Brook) : *Hopkar* 1329 VHL III. 433. O.E. *hop* " a piece of dry land in a fen " or the like (cf. p. 13) and O.N. *kiarr* " swamp."

Shuttleworth : *de Shuttlesworth* 1332 LS. *See* p. 63.

4. **Astley** (v. ; E. of Leigh) : *Asteleg(h)e* c 1210 CC, *Asteleg* 1246 LAR, *Estleg*, *Hasteleg*, *Astel* 1258 LAR, *Esteleg(h)e* 1268 CC, *Astelegh* 1309 LF, etc., *Asteleye* 1311 IPM, *Asteleghe* 1332 LS, *Astley* 1479 LF, etc. Either " East Leigh " or " east lea."

Blackmoor : *Blakemor* c 1210 CC, *de Blakemor* 1298 LI. " Black moor " is the meaning in the earliest example.

Morleys [Hall] : *Morleghe* c 1210 CC, *de Morlegh*, *de Morleghes* 1332 LS, *Morley* c 1540 Leland, *Morley* al. *Morlas* 1546 LF, *Morelees* 1577 Saxton. First el. O.E. *mōr* " moor." The place is a little to the S. of Blackmoor.

5. **Tyldesley with Shakerley** (N.E. of Leigh).

Tyldesley (town) : *Tildesleia* c 1210 CC, *Tildesle* 1212 LI, *de Tyldesleg* 1246 LAR, *Tildeslege* c 1280 CC, *Tildeslegh* 1332 LS, etc., *Tyldeslegh* 1322 LI, etc. The first el. seems to be a pers. n., perhaps found also in Tilberthwaite, Lo. But an O.E. *Tild(e)* is unknown and difficult to explain. On the other hand *Til-* is a common name-el., as in *Tilfrip*, *Tilrēd*, *Tilweald*. Possibly an early contraction of *Tilrēd* or *Tilweald* to *Tild-* may be assumed. Or *Tild(e)* may be a hypochoristic form of one of these names.

Shakerley (h.) : *Shakerlee*, *Shakerlegebroc* c 1210 CC, *Schakeslegh* 1246 LAR, *de Schakerley* 1284 LAR, *Shakerleie* c 1280 CC, *de Shakerlegh* (*Shakreslegh*) 1332 LS, *Shakerslegh* 1384 LF. With this name are to be compared : *Scakeresdalehefd* 1189-96 Ch (Ormskirk), Shackerley, Le. Perhaps the first el. is O.E. *scēacere* " robber " (=O.H.G. *scâhhâri*), possibly used as a pers. n. ; cf. *semita latronum* (near Ramsbottom) 13 cent. Whit. II. 324. But the common occurrence of the el. is remarkable and renders some other etymology desirable. In NED *shakers* (pl.) is evidenced in the sense " quaking-grass, Briza media " from 1597. The word is found in Ches. dial. If this is an old word, it may be the first el. of Shakerley.

Chaddock Hall : *de Chaydok* 1246 LAR, *de Chaidoke* 1323 LI, *de Chaidok* 1332 LS. Nothing in the situation of the place throws any light on this remarkable name. The early forms have *ai* (*Chadoc* temp. Henry III., quoted VHL III. 442[2], is found in a late transcript) ; the first el. can thus not be the pers. n. *Chad*. I suspect Chaddock, like the similar Haydock, is a Celtic name. But the etymology is too doubtful to be discussed here.

Cleworth : *de Cleworthe* 1332 LS, *Cliworth* 1600 RS XII. The place stands on a slight hill. The name very likely contains the elements O.E. *clif* " height "

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and *worþ* " enclosure," etc. Cf. Clewer, Berks., identified by Skeat with O.E. *clifware* " cliff men " in *clifwara gemære* (Kent).

6. **Atherton** (N. of Leigh, town) : *Aderton* 1212, 1243 LI, *de Haderton* 1246 LAR, *de Aserton, de Adserton* 1265 LI, *Atherton* 1322 LI, 1332 LS, etc., *de Atherton* 1298 LF, *Athirton* 1340 LF, etc., *de Athirton* 1293 LI. The first el. is probably O.E. *Æðelhere* or *Æðelrēd* (>*Æðere, Æðerred*). But *Eadhere* (suggested by Sephton) or *Eadrēd* is also possible. Atherstone, Warw. (*Aderestone* DB, *Edrideston* 1246), Atherstone-on-Stour, Warw. (*Edricestone* DB, *Athericstone* 1248), Arreton Ha. (*Atherton* 1316 FA) may be compared. The forms *Adser-, Aserton* may be Norman spellings.

Chowbent (now in Atherton town) : *Chollebynt, Shollebent* c 1350 VHL III. 437, *Cholbent* 1496 ib. ; but *Cholle* 1385 ib. ; *Chowebent* c 1550 DL. Cholle is also used as a family name (*e.g., de Cholle* 1322 LI). Perhaps it is identical with (*de*) *Cholale* (apparently a lost place near Liverpool) 1323 LI, 1325 LCR, 1330 LF, *i.e., Cēol(a)* pers. n. and *halh*. The second el. *-bent* seems to be correctly explained by Wyld as " bent-land." Cf. Chequerbent, N. of Leigh.

WIGAN PAR.

This parish, the district round Wigan town, is separated by the Douglas from Leyland hundred.

1. **Abram** (S.E. of Wigan ; v.) : *Adburgham* a 1199 CC, 1246, 1303 LF, 1332 LS, etc., *Edburgham* 1212 LI, *de Abburgham* 1246, 1263 LAR, *Abraham* 1372 LF, etc., *Abram* 1461 CC. The " *hām* of *Eadburh* " (Harrison). *Eadburh* is a common fem. O.E. name.

Bamfurlong : *Banforthlang* 1448 VHL IV. 111, *Banforthland* 1538 LP II. 92, *Banforlonge Hall* 1553 DL, *Bamferlonge* 1584 Wigan R. O.E. *bēan* " bean " and *furlong*. Cf. Peasfurlong p. 97.

Bickershaw : *Bikersah, Bikesah* c 1200, *Bikersahge* c 1240 CC, *Bykersha[gh]* 1395 LF. The first el. is presumably identical with that of Bickerstaffe, De. *See* further Bickerstaffe, which is better evidenced in early records. Bickershaw is apparently not on a brook.

Occleshaw : *Aculuesahe, Aculuesaue* a 1199 CC, *de Aculleschwe, Akolwesag* 1246 LAR, *de Okelshagh* 1303 LF. " The shaw of *Ācwulf*." *Ācwulf* is a common O.E. pers. n.

2. **Hindley** (E. of Wigan, v.) : *Hindele* 1212 LI, c 1230 CC, 1246 LAR, *Hindeleye* 1259 LAR, *Hyndeley* 1285 LAR, 1332 LS, *Hindelegh* 1301 LF, *Hyndelegh* 1303, 1335 LF, etc., *Hindley* 1479 LF. The first el. is O.E. *hind* " doe."

Platt Bridge : *platte* 1212-42 CC, *Plat Bridge* 1599 Wigan R. Cf. Platt Sa. p. 31. The addition *Bridge* shows that this is probably dial. *plat* " a foot-bridge " (1652ff.), derived in NED from O.F. *plat*.

3. **Aspul** (N.E. of Wigan) : *Aspul* 1212 LI, c 1210 CC, *Apshull, de Haspull, de Aspyll* 1246 LAR, *Aspull* 1262 LAR, *Asphull* 1332 LS, *Aspehull* 1421 LF. O.E. *æsp* " aspen " and *hyll* " hill." The township occupies fairly high land.

4. **Haigh** (on high land, N.E. of Wigan, v.) : *Hage* 1194 LPR, *Hache* c 1210 CC, *Hagh* 1298 LF, 1312 LI, etc. ; *Haghe* 1303 FA, 1332 LS ; *Hawe* 1330 LI, c 1540 Leland, *Hay* 1539 CC, *haigh* 1581 Wigan R, *Thaigh* al. *Le Haigh* 1628 DL. O.E.

haga " enclosure " ; also " homestead, messuage." As regards the sound development, cf. p. 21.

5. **Ince-in-Makerfield** (S.E. of Wigan, of which it is a suburb) : *Ines* 1202 LPR, 1212 LI, 1284 LAR, 1327 LS, etc., *Hynis* a 1199, c 1210 CC, *Huines* 1204 LPR, *Ynes* 1206 LPR, 1261 LAR, *Hines, de Inys* 1246 LAR, *Ynes, Yins* 1261 LAR, *Inies, Ines* 1262 LAR, *Hyns* 1276 LAR, *del Henes* 1285 LAR, *Ins in Makerfeld* 1332 LS, *Ins* 1341 IN.

This is a British name, identical with Welsh *ynys*, O.Bret. *inis*, O.Ir. *inis*, etc., " island." The Celtic word is often used to denote a " holm," " a water-meadow " and the like. Cf. on Ir. *inis* Joyce I. 441, on Welsh *ynys* Bannister p. 5. Ince is found as a place-name also in W. Derby (: Ince Blundell) and in Ches. The latter appears as *Inise* in DB. Ince (Ches.) with Elton forms an " island " in the low country along the Mersey. Ince-in-Makerfield township to no small extent consists of mossland (VHL IV. 101). No doubt the name originally referred to some higher dry land among mosslands.

6. **Wigan** (town) : *Wigan* 1199 Ch, 1477, 1501 LF, *Wygan* c 1215 CC, 1237, 1246, 1278, 1284 LAR, 1317 LF, 1332 LS, 1387 Trevisa V. 329, etc. ; *Wyan* 1420 LF ; *de Wigani* (for *Wigain* ?) 1209 LPR, *Wigayn* 1245 ChR, *de Wygayn, de Wygain* 1246 LAR, *Wygayn* 1258 ChR. Wigan stands near the river Douglas. It is held to be identical with Coccium of the Roman time.

It is difficult to believe that this can be a Germanic name. A Brit. origin seems plausible. The usual early form is *Wigan*. The side-form *Wigayn* (*Wygain*, etc.) may be due to the influence of the pers. n. *Wigan* which often appears as *Wigayn*, etc. This pers. n. is apparently of Breton origin (O.Bret. *Uuicon, Guegon*, M.Bret. *Guegan*, Loth 174, 208) ; the form *Wigayn* is to be explained in the same way as M.E. *Aleyn* by the side of *Alan*. If the place-name Wigan is of Brit. origin, at least two[1] alternative explanations seem possible. It may be identical with Gaul. *Vicanum* (now *le Vigan*), derived by Holder from the pers. n. *Vicanus*. Or it may be analogous to Wigan in Anglesey. This seems to be an ellipsis of an earlier name of the type *Tref Wigan* or *Bod Wigan* " the village (homestead) of one Wigan." A place-name *Bodewygan* (not identical with Wigan) actually occurs in early sources relating to Anglesey (The Extent of Anglesey 1294, in Seebohm, Tribal Custom in Wales, App. A. p. 12). The Welsh pers. n. *Wigan* may represent O.W. *Uuicant* (cf. Welsh *Morgan*<O.W. *Morcant*). If Wigan in Lanc. is due to similar ellipsis it may contain a name corresponding to O.W. *Guicon*, O.Bret. *Uuicon*. As regards the ending *-an* we may compare the name *Maban* (DB) < O.W. *Mabon*. The medial *g* is due to Brit. lenition.[2]

Gidlow : *de Guddelawe* 1246 LAR, *de Gedelowe, de Gydelawe* 1285 LAR. First el. apparently O.E. *Gydda* pers. n. in *gyddan dene* 943 BCS 789 (Berks.), perhaps found also in Gidcot, Gidleigh (Devon). Second el. O.E. *hlāw* " hill."

Poolstock : *Pulstoke* 1520, *Pullstoke* 1528 DL. First el. O.E. *pull* " pool " ; second O.E. *stoc* " place." The place is close to Poolstock Brook.

[1] Dr. Bradley, EHR 26, p. 822, suggests a derivative of Welsh *gwig* (< Lat. *vicus*). This is, of course, possible.

[2] The different treatment of Brit. *k* in Eccles, Maker(field), where lenition also must have taken place, may be due to a difference between Brit. *g* (< *k*) and O.E. *g*, which caused substitution sometimes of O.E. *g*, sometimes of O.E. *k* (*c*). In Pedersen's opinion (I. 119ff.), *k* by lenition first became a pure tenuis, whence later usually *g*.

Scholes : *del Scoles* 1332 LS, 1342 LF, *Scooles* 1555 LF. O.N. *skāli* " hut."
Swinley : *de Suyneley* 1283 CC, *de Swynlegh* 1332 LS, 1384 LF. O.E. *swīn* " swine " and *lēah.*
Whelley : *Whelley* 1553 LF, 1603 Wigan R. First el. perhaps as in Wheelton (p. 132), *i.e.*, O.E. *hwēol* " wheel."
7. **Pemberton** (S.W. of Wigan): *Penberton* 1201 LPR, 1242 LAR, *Penbreton* 1202 LF, *Pemberton* 1212 LI, 1241, 1292 LF, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., *Pembirton* c 1225 CC, 1292 LF, etc., *Pembreton* 1284 LAR, *Pemburton* 1396 LF.

I believe this is a compound of *pen* " hill " (a Brit. word on which *see* p. 41) and O.E. *beretūn* " barton." Pemberton seems to have been one of the beretuns of Newton (VHL IV. 79). The place stands at the foot of the hill (310ft.) which has given name to Orrell ; this may have had an earlier name *Pen.* Derivation from O.E. *pen* " a fold " is possible, but seems improbable.
Hawkley : *Hawkley* or *Hawcliffe* 1512 VHL IV. 81, *Hawkeley* 1520 DL, *Haucley* 1586 Wigan R, *hawcliffe* 1600 RS XII. Earlier forms are needed. First el. no doubt O.E. *hafoc* " hawk."
Laithwaite : *Leikeththeit, Leikestheith* c 1200 LPD II. 197, *Leicketeitegate* c 1200 CC. First el. probably O.N. *Leikr* ; cf. Lindkvist p. 117. On *thwaite, see* p. 19.
Markland : *de Marclane, de Markelan* 1278 LAR, *Marclan* 1323 LI, *de Marclan* 1383 LF. The second el. is O.E. *lanu* " road." The first seems to be O.E. *mearc* " boundary," etc. ; the name is perhaps equivalent in meaning to dial. *markway* " a track to enable the holders of the divisions of a common field to have access to them " (EDD).
Norley : *de Nortlegh* 1293 LI, *de Northlegh* 1306 AP, 1320, 1321 LF. " The north lea."
Tunstead : *Tunstede* 1202 LF. Cf. the same name p. 93.
8. **Winstanley** (S.W. of Wigan): *Vnstanesle, Vnstaneslega* 1206, 1207 LPR, *Winstanesle* 1212 LI, c 1200 CC, *Winstaneslee* c 1200 CC, *Winstaneslege* 1212 LI, *de Wynestaneslegh* 1246 LAR ; *Winstanlee* c 1200 CC 657, *Winstanlegh* 1332 LS. " The lea of *Wynstān.*" *Wynstān* is a common O.E. pers. n. ; *Winestan* DB is very likely the same name.
Blackley Hurst : *Blakeleie, -broc* c 1200 CC. The place is situated at a hill.
9. **Billinge** (N.E. of St. Helens ; v.): *Billinḡ* 1202 LPR, *Bulling* c 1200 CC, 1204 LPR, 1212 LI, 1278 LAR, etc., *Billing* 1206 LPR, 1246 LAR, *Bullynth* 1292 VHL IV. 83, *Bullyng* 1321 LF, *Bullinge* 1332 LS, *de Billyngge* 1332 LF, *Billynge* 1366 LF, *Billindge* 1580, 1585 Wigan R. According to Wyld the name is pronounced [bilindž].

In Billinge township is the top of Billinge Hill (over 550ft.), and it would be reasonable to suppose that it was named from the hill. Cf. Billinge Hill in Bl (p. 66). Only the usual form *Bulling* seems to point to O.E. *-y-*, and perhaps we have to start from an O.E. *Byllingas*, a patronymic formed from O.E. *Bulla* or *Bolla* pers. n. But between *b* and *l* O.E. *i* might well have become *y* ; cf. Pilkington, p. 49. I am inclined to believe that the name is an original hill-name.
Birchley : *Biricherelee* 1202 LF, *Birchelei(e)brok* a 1212 CC, *Bircheley* 1422 LF. O.E. *birce* " birch " and *lēah.*
Crookhurst : *Crochurste* a 1212 CC, *Crochurst* 1256 LF, *de Crochurst* 1246 LAR, *de Crokhirst* 1262 LF. The first el. is doubtful. It may be M.E. *crōk* " bend,"

or the pers. n. *Crōc* (probably Scand.). But cf. O.E. *crochyrsta* (pl.) 947 BCS 834, *crochyrst* 963 BCS 1125 (Berks.).

Falling (apparently now lost) : *Falinge* a 1212 CC. O.E. *fælging* " fallow land.' Cf. Falinge p. 60, and *see* p. 10.

Gautley : *Galtley* Wood 1551 DL. Is the first el. O.N. *gǫltr* " hog " or *Galti* pers. n. ?

10. **Orrell** (S.W. of Wigan) : *Horhill* 1202 LPR, *Horhull* 1204, 1205 LPR, *Orhille* 1206 LPR, *Horhul, Horul* 1212 LI, *Orul* a 1220 CC, *Oril* 1272 LAR, *Orhul* 1292 LF, *Orell* 1332 LS. An altitude of over 300 ft. is reached at Orrell Mount ; this is no doubt the hill after which the township was named. The first el. might be O.E. *ōra* " margin, bank." The Douglas forms the northern boundary of the township, but the higher country is some way distant from the river. More likely the first el. is O.E. *ōra* " ore," though it is true there seems to be no evidence of any other mining than coal-mining having been carried on in Orrell.

Lamberhead Green (v.) : *Londmerhede* 1519 LF. O.E. *landgemǣre* " boundary " and *hēafod* " hill." The place is on the boundary between Orrell and Pemberton. It stands on a hill.

11. **Upholland** (W. of Wigan, v.) : *Hoiland* DB, *Hollande* 1202 LF, *Holand* 1224 LF, 1332 LS, 1341 IN, *Upholand* 1226 LI, 1298 LI. Upholland is so called to distinguish it from Downholland. The name is to be compared with Downholland (which see), with Hoyland in Yks. (: *Hoiland, Holand* DB), Holland in Linc. We have to choose between O.E. *hol-land* " hollow land " and *hō-land* from *hōh* " heel ; spur of hill," etc. As regards Upholland derivation from *hōh* is extremely probable, as the village stands on the slope of a ridge. The early forms with almost exclusive *-l-* also point to *Hōland* ; later shortening of the vowel has taken place. The spelling *oi* in early forms points to *Hō-* ; *oi* is probably a Norman spelling for *ō* (cf. Menger, The Anglo-Norman Dialect p. 74f.). In early northern texts as the Cursor Mundi (MS C) *oi* is used to denote *ō*.

Pimbo : *Pembowe, Pimbowe* 1598 DL. The place is on the N.W. slope of Billinge Hill. Earlier material is necessary.

12. **Dalton** (W. of Wigan, on the Douglas) : *Daltone* DB, *Dalton* 1212 LI, 1276 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., *Daltun* a 1225 CC. The place was no doubt named after the valley of the Douglas : O.E. *dæl* or possibly O.N. *dalr* " valley " and *tūn*.

Ashhurst Beacon, A. Hall : *de Aschehyrst* 1285 LAR, *de Asshurst* 1323 LI, *de Asshhurst* 1332 LS, *de Asshehurst* 1321, 1341 LF, *Ashhurst* 1577 Saxton. O.E. *æsc-hyrst* " ash-hill." Ashhurst Beacon is on a hill reaching c 570ft.

Dalton Lees : *de Daletanelees, de Daletonlees* c 1240 CC, *Dalton leis* 1461 CC. " The Dalton meadows " (O.E. *lēah*).

Hawksclough : *Havekesnestescloch* c 1200 CC, *Hauekenestiscloch* c 1240 CC. " Hawksnest clough."

PRESCOT PAR.

This large parish stretches from the Mersey N.W. far into the hundred. The ground varies; there is chiefly level country along the Mersey and in the N., but higher land (about 250ft.) in the middle.

1. **Great Sankey** (W. of Warrington ; v.) : *de Sonchi* c 1180 Ch, *Sanki* 1212 LI, *Sonky* 1243 LI, 1278 LAR, 1322 LI, 1332 LS, etc., *de Saunky* 1246 LAR, *Shonkey*

1258 LAR, *Sanky* 1285 ChR, *Great Sonky* 1325ff. LF, 1332 LI. Gt. Sankey is bounded on the S. by the Mersey and on the E. by Sankey Brook, which separates it from Little Sankey (in Warrington). The place was no doubt named from the brook. *See* p. 94.

2. **Penketh** (W. of Great Sankey, on the Mersey; v.): *Penket* 1243 LI, 1285 LAR, ChR, etc., *Penketh* 1259 LAR, 1285 ib., 1290 LF, 1332 LS, etc., *Penkith* 1259 LAR. This is, in my opinion, a British name, a compound of the Celtic words found in Welsh as *pen* "end," etc., and *coed* "wood" (Brit. **kēto-*<**kaito-*). This is also suggested by McClure p. 86. The name is common in Wales, and is found in Cornwall and Brittany: Pencoed, Montg., Glam.; Penquite, Cornw. (: *Penkuek, Penquit* 1326 OR I. 294f.); Penhoat, Brittany (: *Penhuet* 1282, *Penquoet* 1325, etc., Loth 224). Cf. also Pencoyd, Heref. (: *Pencoyt* 1291, 1330 Bannister). The name no doubt means in most cases "the end (edge) of the wood."

3. **Cuerdley** (on the Mersey, N.E. of Widnes): *Kyuerlay, de Kyuerdeleg, Cunercheleg* 1246 LAR, *Kyuerdelegh* 1275 LI I. 240, *Keuerdeley* 1282 LI, *Kynerdele* 1301 OR, *Keuerdelegh* 1324 LI, 1331 Ind, *Kyu'delegh* 1327 LS, *Keu'deley* 1332 LS, *Keerdelegh* 1344 LF. This curious name must be compared with Cuerdale Bl. The following suggestion may be made. Early forms seem to point to an O.E. base **cyfrede* or the like, apparently an adj. This might be compared with Core in Chipping par. (earlier *Couere, Covre*) and words mentioned under this name, *e.g.*, O.H.G. *chubisi* "hut," O.N. *kofr* "chest," O.N. *kūfr* "rounded summit," etc. If the original meaning of the stem was something like "round, convex object, mound" (cf. Torp-Fick, p. 47), the adj. would mean "rounded, convex" or the like. The ground rises somewhat in the township, an altitude of c 65ft. being attained.

4. **Widnes** (town): *Wydnes* c 1200 WhC 803, *Widhnes* 13 cent. ib. 805, *Wydenes* 1242 LI, *Wydnes* 1251 ChR, 1255 IPM, 1271 Ind, etc., *Widnesse* 1271 LAR. Widnes stands at a headland jutting out into the Mersey. The elements of the name are O.E. *wīd* "wide, large," and O.E. *næss* (or O.N. *nes*) "promontory."

Appleton (h., formerly apparently the name of the township): *Apelton* 1182 LPR, 1243 LI, etc., *Appelton* 1183ff. LPR, 1332 LS, *Apilton* 1246 LAR, 1322 LI. Cf. O.E. *æppel-tūn* "orchard." Appleton is a common place-name.

Farnworth (church, formerly chapel): *ffarneword* 1324 WhC 815, *ffarnword* 1337 WhC 817, *Farneworth* 1518 LF. O.E. *fearn* "fern" and *worþ* "enclosure," etc.

Denton: *Denton* 1272 WhC 821, 1292 PW, *de Denton* 1246 LAR, 1332 LS. O.E. *denu* "valley" and *tūn*. The place stands near a brook.

Upton: *Upton* 1251 ChR, 13 cent. WhC 812, *Uptone* 1292 PW, *de Hupton* 1246 LAR, *de Upton* 1276 LAR. O.E. **upp-tūn* "the upper tūn." Upton is in the northern higher part of the township.

5. **Ditton** (N.W. of Widnes, on Ditton Brook; v.): *Ditton* 1194 LPR, 1212 LI, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., *Dytton* 1298 LI; *Dutton* 1202 LPR, 1327 LS, 1341 IN; *de Dithon* (*Ditgthon*) 1246 LAR. No doubt O.E. *dīctūn*; the 1246 forms last quoted to some extent corroborate this. The occasional form *Dutton* may be due to confusion with Dutton, N.W. Ches. The ditch which gave name to the township seems to be found as the first el. also of the next name.

Ditchfield (c 1 m. N. of Ditton): *del Dichefeld* 1322 LI, *de Dychefeld* 1332 LS, 1341 IN.

Slynehead (now apparently lost, but cf. Slynehead Farm in the N.E. corner of Gt. Sankey) : *de Slyneheud* 1323 LI, *de Slyneheued* 1326 LCR. Cf. Slyne in Lo. *Slyne* is apparently an O.E. **slinu* or the like, meaning " slope " or " hill."

6. **Bold** (N.E. of Widnes) : *Bolde* 1204 LPR, 1212 LI, etc., *Bold* 1257 LAR, 1340 LF, etc., *Boulde* 1332 LS, *Boolde* 1577 Saxton. O.E. *bold* " dwelling, house, palace."

Barrow (Hall) : *del Barwe* 1284 LAR, *de Barwe* 1332 LS, *del Barowe* 1332 LF. O.E. *bearo* (g. *bearwes*) " grove." The place stands in level country.

Cranshaw (Hall) : *Croncisschagh* 1337 WhC 817, *Craynsey* 1587 CW xi. The first el. is O.E. *cranuc, cronuc* " crane," later replaced by *crane*.

Holbrook : *de Holebrok* 1332 LS, *de Holbrok* 1335 LF. Whittle Brook was formerly called Holbrook (*the Holebrok* 1339 HS XLI. 226) " the hollow brook."

Lunt Heath : ? *du Lund* 1292 LF. O.N. *lundr* " grove."

Quick (sometimes called a vill ; now lost) : *Quike* 1202 LF, *Lawike* 1212 RB, *Lawyke* 1212 LI, *de la Quicke, la Quike* a 1220 CC, *de Quike* 1276 LAR. Cf. Quick, Yks. : *Quyk* 1297, *Quike* 1232 (Goodall). I propose as the source *quick* " a quick-set hedge " (1456 NED). Cf. *Cwichege* 772 BCS 207.

7. **Cronton** (N. of Widnes, v.) : *Growynton* 1242 LI, *Crohinton* 1243 ib., *Crouington* 1246 LAR, *Croynton* 1322 LI, 1327, 1332 LS, *Croenton* 13 cent. WhC 811ff., *Crouwenton* 1333 LF, *Crounton* 1346 FA ; *Crawynton* 1292 PW, *Craunton* 1341 IN. Wyld derives the first el. from O.E. *crāwe* " crow," whereas Sephton suggests an O.E. pers. n. derived from *crāwe*. The early forms do not favour these etymologies ; we expect more early forms with *aw*. The rare *Crawynton* and the like may be due to the change *ow*>*aw* ; cf. p. 21. The form *Grewinton* (12 cent.) quoted under Halsnead *infra* should probably be read *Growinton*, *e* having been miswritten or misread for *o*. An O.E. base **Crowinga-* or **Crōinga-tūn* seems most plausible. No O.E. pers. n. from which a patronymic *Cro(w)ingas* may be derived is known, but we may perhaps compare Fris. *Kroyenga, Krooyenga* (Winkler).

Pex Hill (a hill of 200ft.) : *Peghteshull* 13 cent. WhC 812. *Peght-* is O.E. *Pe(o)ht* " Pict " or a hypochoristic form of names such as *Peohthelm, Peohtwine*, etc.

8. **Rainhill** (S. of St. Helens ; v.) : *Reynhull, -hill* 1246 LAR, *Raynhull* 1285 LAR, 1346 FA, 1354 LF, *Raynull* 1258 LAR, 1322 LI, *Reynhull* 1301 LF, *Rayne-hull* 1332 LS, *Raynhill* 1400 LF. The township occupies the S. slope of a hill, which was no doubt originally called Rainhill. Lindkvist p. 74 suggests as first el. O.N. *rein* " strip of land forming the boundary of a field or estate," and points out that the hill forms the boundary against Eccleston. But it is doubtful if *rein* could be used of such a boundary ; the fields of Eccleston and Rainhill hardly met on the hill. And we do not expect a Scand. word as the first el. It seems plausible that Rainhill and Rainford have the same first el. The early forms of the latter point to a dissyllabic first theme (*Raine-*) ; in Rainhill the unstressed vowel would be dropped early before the *h-*, which was often silent. This el. is very likely a hypochoristic form (*Regna*) of O.E. names in *Regn-, Regen-* ; *Regenheah, -here, -þryþ* are certain O.E. names. A possible example of the O.E. *Regna* is found in Rainham, Nrf. (*Reineham* DB, *Reynham* 1302 FA) ; cf. Rainton, Yks. (*Rainincton, Reineton* DB), Rainton, Durh. (*Reinun-, Re(n)ingtun* c 1125 Mawer), Rennington, Nhb. (*Reiningtun* 1104-8 Mawer).

Ritherope (N.E. of Rainhill, near a brook): *Rydrope Brook* 1557 DL. O.E. *hrȳðer* " ox, cow " and *hop*, here perhaps in the sense " a valley."

9. **Whiston** (S.W. of St. Helens; v.): *Quistan* 1190 CC 603f., 1252 IPM, 1332 LS, etc., *de Quicstan* 1246 LAR, *Wytstan, de Wytston* 1252 IPM, *Whistan* 1272 LAR, 1376 LF, *Quystan, Wystane* 1278 LAR, *Whystan* 1284 LAR, *Quitstan* 1292 PW, *Whitstan* 1341 IN. The name means " white stone "; there must have been a conspicuous white stone at the place. Whiston in Worc. has the same etymology; the white stone is in this case mentioned in early records.

Halsnead: *Grewinton Halfsnede* 12 cent. VHL III. 392[13], *Halsnade* 1246, 1256 LAR, *Holsnade* 1246 LAR, *de Hallesnad* 1257 LAR. Obviously " half part "; *snede* means " a small piece, morsel " (O.E. *snǣd*); cf. NED. The earliest form indicates that Halsnead originally belonged to Cronton, which it adjoins.

Ridgate: *Rudegate* 1277, *Le Ridgate* 1304 Ind, *de* (*la*) *Ruddegate* 1284 LAR, *Ruddegate* 1337 WhC 817. This name means " the cleared road "; *rid* vb. (M.E. *rüdden, ridden*) means " to clear (a way)," etc. *Gate* is O.N. *gata* " road." According to Bartholomew, Rudgate is the name of a portion of Ermine Street between Tadcaster and Aldborough. *Ruddegate* in the example from WhC 817 designates a road.

10. **Prescot** (town): *Prestecota* 1178 LPR, *Prestecote* 1189-96, *prestecot* 1189-98 Ch, *de Prestcote* 1246 LAR, *de Prestecote* 1254 LF, *Prestecote* 1329 LF, *Prestcot, -cott* 1341 IN. Some of the examples rather refer to Prescot parish. Prescot is a small township, having been cut off from Whiston as a manor for the rectory (VHL III. 353). The name means " the rectory, the rector's manor," O.E. *prēosta cot*. O.E. *cot* may here be used in the sense of " manor," like O.E. *cotlīf*, on which *see* Maitland, Domesday p. 334, and Bosworth-Toller (Suppl.).

11. **Eccleston** (W. of St. Helens; v.): *Ecclistona* 1190 CC, *Eccliston* a 1220 CC, *Accliston* 1243 LI, *Ecleston* 1246 LAR, *Eccleston* 1276 LAR, 1327, 1332 LS, etc. First el. a Brit. form of Lat. *ecclesia*; cf. Eccles in Salf., p. 37.

Glest: *Glest* a 1220 CC 606, 1333 Moore MSS (1075), *de Glest* 1276 LAR, *Gleast* 1602 DL. Glest is in the N.W. part of the township. There seem to be no physical features that help to explain the name. It may possibly be a derivative of the base *glēs* discussed under Gleaston Lo.

Scholes: *Eschales* a 1190, *Scolys* 1451 CC. O.N. *skāli* " hut."

Thatto Heath (partly in Sutton): *Thetwall* 12 cent. VHL III. 358, *de Thotewell* 1246 LAR. Thatto Brook is mentioned in the deed quoted in VHL. So Thatto may have been originally the name of a brook. The elements of the name seem to be O.E. *pēote* " waterpipe, channel, torrent, cataract " and *wælla* " stream."

Wolfscroft, -head (now lost; sometimes called a vill.): *Wolfscroft, de Wulcroftheued* 1276 LAR. " The croft of *Wulf* "; O.E. *Wulf* is a pers. n.

12. **Sutton** (S.E. of and partly in St. Helens): *Sutton* 1200 AP, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc. O.E. *sūð-tūn* " south town."

Burtonhead: *Burton(e)heued* a 1230 CC 597, *de Burtonheued* 1246 LAR, *Burtonheued* 1284 LAR, *Bortonheved* 1292 PW. Burton must be the name of the old manor which gave name to Burtonwood, the township adjoining Sutton on the E. Yet Burtonhead is in the W. part of Sutton. *Head* in this and the following names means " hill."

Eltonhead: *Eltoneheued* a 1230 CC, *de Eltonheued* 1284 LAR, 1332 LS, *Eltonheved*

1292 PW, *de Eltonheved* 1337 LF. The first el. must be *Elton*, the name of a lost place, representing an O.E. *Ellan tūn*.

Micklehead : *Myckleheade* 1600 RS XII. 239. " The great hill." O.E. *mycel* " great."

Sherdley : *de Sherdilegh* 1323 LI, *de Sherdelegh* 1332 LS, *de Schardeley* 1337 WhC 816, *de Sherdeley* 1386 LF. The first el. appears to be O.E. *sceard* " a gap in an enclosure."

Woodfall Hall : *Wudefal* a 1230 CC, *de Wodefal* 1321 LF, *de Wodefall* 1332 LS. The name may mean literally " wood-fall," *i.e.*, " place where trees have fallen down " (O.E. *fell, fœll*, " falling "), or " wood-felling," *i.e.*, " place where wood may be felled." But in EDD *fall* is given in the sense " a valley, hanger " (W. Yks.) ; cf. also p. 10.

13. **Parr** (E. of St. Helens) : *Par* 1246 LAR, c 1265 CC, 1341 IN, etc., *de Parre* 1298 LI, *Parr* 1327, *Paar* 1332 LS. If O.E. *pearruc* " fence ; paddock " (=O.H.G. *pfarrih, pferrih*) is a Germanic word and a derivative of a shorter word, found in O.H.G. *pharra* " parish," originally " district " or the like, then Parr may be derived from an O.E. **pearr* of a similar meaning ; cf. also M.E. *parren* " to enclose ; fold " (1300, etc.), dial. *par* " an enclosure for beasts " (1819, etc.), according to NED possibly going back to M.E. **parre*, O.E. **pearre*. Parham, Suff. is supposed by Skeat to contain *parr* " enclosure." But the history of O.E. *pearruc*, etc., is not sufficiently clear. I find that Harrison suggests a meaning " stock-enclosure " (Surnames 1912).

Laffog or **Leafog** (old estate) : *Lachok* 1246 LAR, *de Laghoc* 1271 LAR, *de Laghok(e)* 1323 LI, *de Laghok* 1332 LS, *Laghoughe* 16 cent. LR 386. This name is explained in VHL III. 115 as " law-oak," referring to " the celebrated oak in Allerton, where the sheriff's tourn may have been held." Presumably it is for the pers. n. *Laghok* borne by land-holders in Woolton that this etymology is meant, but there may have been a " law-oak " also in Parr. The etymology is somewhat suspicious, because *-ok* is found as early as 1246 ; yet it may be correct. It is perhaps not without importance that Broad Oak (*Brode oke* 1589 Walton R) is the name of another estate in Parr. If Parr comes from an O.E. *pearr* " enclosure," this may have meant a place fenced in for the holding of a thing (cf. Hoops Reallex. I. 470), and the " law-oak " would have been a holy oak on the place.

14. **Windle** (N. of and partly in St. Helens) : *Windhull* 1201 LPR, 1202 LF, *Windhill* 1202 LPR, *Windul* 1201 CC, *Windhul* 1212 LI, *Wyndul* 1243 LI, *Wyndhill* 1272 LAR, *Wyndhull* 1332 LS, 1340 LF, etc. I suppose the name means literally " windy hill." Windhill is a well-known name. One is in W. Yks. Cf. Windhill in N.Lo., *windbergh* 891 BCS 564, Windybank in W. Yks. (*see* Goodall), Windy Bank p. 58. A height of 260ft. is reached in the township.

Cowley : *de Collay* 1319 SC, 1332 LS. As there are collieries at the place the name seems to have as first el. O.E. *col* " coal."

Hardshaw : *Haureteschagh* 1339 VHL III. 373, *de Hardeschawe* 1391 Moore MSS, *Hardshaghe* 1585 DL. The early forms are not sufficiently clear to make an etymology possible. The first el. is perhaps a pers. n., *e.g.*, O.E. *Hēahrēd*.

Haresfinch (Harrfinch O.M. 1846-51) : *Herthefellige* 1201, *Hertfellinge* 1201-1220, *de Hertfulling* 1251 CC, *de Horfalling, de Herefalling* 1246 LAR, *Arflynche* (sur-

name) 1539 CC; a pers. n. *Harflynch* is mentioned VHL III. 373. The second el. is apparently either O.E. *fælging* "fallow land" (cf. p. 10) or *felling* vbl. noun of *fell*. The first el. is seemingly O.E. *heorp* "hearth." The meaning of the compound is not obvious. It is interesting to find that the second el. seems to have had palatalized *g*. The loss of *l* is remarkable.

St. Helens (town) was formerly the seat of a chapel dedicated to St. Helen: *Sct Elyus* (!) *chap.* 1577 Saxton.

Windleshaw: *Wyndell Shaae Park* 1548, *Wyndleshay* 1551 DL. First el. the name Windle.

15. **Rainford** (N. of St. Helens, v.): *Raineford* a 1198 Ch, *Reineford* 1202 LF, *Rayneford* 1256, 1315 LF, 1332 LS, etc., *Raynford* 1246 LAR, 1354 LF, etc., *Reynford* 1321 LF; *Reinesford* 1246 LAR, *Raynesford* 1262 LF, *Raynsford* 1503 LF. Rainford vill. is on Sankey Brook. The name seems to mean "the ford of *Regna*"; cf. Rainhill p. 107. Lindkvist p. 133 suggests as first el. O.N. *reyni* "rowan-trees." This is not convincing, as Scand. names are extremely rare in the district.

Forshaw (lost): *de Fourocshagh* 1315 LF, *de ffoureokshaghe* 1332 LS, *Fauroshawe* 1446 LF (surname). The name means "four-oak-wood."

Mossborough: *Mossebarrowe* 1516 DL, *Mosbarrow* 1577 Saxton, *Mosburowe* 1600 RS XII. The place stands on a piece higher ground in mossland. Second el. apparently O.E. *beorh* "barrow, hill."

CHILDWALL PAR.

A district S.E. of Liverpool, bounded on the S. by the Mersey.

1. **Hale** (W. of Widnes, v.): *Halas* 1094 Ch, *Hales* 1094 LC 793, 1227 ChR, *Hale* 1201 LPR, 1276 LAR, 1332 LS, etc. O.E. *halh* (dat. *hale*) "a haugh, river-meadow," or rather the plural of the word (O.E. *halas*). The village stands in a bend of the Mersey on low ground.

2. **Halewood** (N. of Hale, v.): *Halewode* c 1200 CC, *Halewood* 1509 LF. Obviously "the wood belonging to Hale." Halewood was originally part of Hale.

Halebank: *Halebonk* 1426, *-bank* 1509 LF. Halebank is on the Mersey.

The Hutt: *the Hutt* 1499 Moore MSS, *the Hutte* 1546 ib., *Hutte* (man.) 1526 DL. I suppose the Hutt was originally a hunting-lodge in Halewood, and that the name is the word *hut*. The only difficulty is that Engl. *hut* is not evidenced in the NED until 1650 and that the Fr. *hutte*, from which it is usually derived, is not found much earlier. Perhaps the source of *hut* is rather Du. *hut*.

3. **Speke** (S.E. of Liverpool, on the Mersey; v.): *Spec* DB, 1212 LI, *Speke* 1252 IPM, 1313, 1418 LF, *Spek* 1276 LAR, *Speck* 1278 LAR, *Specke* 1320 LF, *Speek* 1332 LS, c 1360 CR 333. The vill. of Speke stands about a mile from the Mersey on slightly rising ground, while Speke Hall is on the bank of the river. There is nothing in the situation that suggests in what direction the etymology should be sought. I suppose the name must belong to the stem *spek, spak* dealt with by Torp-Fick p. 506, and found *e.g.* in M.L.G. *spâk* "dry," *spaken* pl. "dry twigs," O.H.G. *spah(ho)* "dry brushwood," M.H.G. *spach* "dry," Norw. dial. *spæk* "chip of wood." In O.E. we find *spæc*, pl. gen. *spaca* (or rather *spēc, spāca*) apparently "a twig," which perhaps forms the first el. of Spetchley,

Worc. (*Spœcleahtun* 816 BCS 356, *Speclea* 967 ib. 1204, Duignan) and *spachrycg* 814 BCS 346 (Middendorff s.v. *spœc*). A derivative O.L.G. *speckia* " causeway of fascines " is found in place-names (Förstemann 834f.). If Speke contains a word belonging to this group, we have to start from an O.E. *spēc, spēc,* identical with Norw. *spœk.* The meaning may have been " brushwood " or the like.

Oglet (h., by the Mersey) : *Okelot* 1321 VHL III. 131, *de Og(o)lot* 1323 LI, *de Oglot* 1324 LCR, *de Oglet* 1323 LCR. The second el. appears to be O.E. *hlot* " portion, share " (cf. p. 13). The first may be O.E. *āc* " oak," but the O.E. pers. n. *Oca* (or *Occa*) may also be thought of. Somewhat earlier forms are needed.

4. **Garston** (S.E. of Liverpool, town) : *Gerstan* 1094, 1142, 1155 Ch, 1212, 1226 LI, 1246 LAR, 1265 IPM, 1332 LS, 1367 LF, etc. ; *Gerhstan* 1122, *Gerestanam* 1142 Ch, *Gerestan* 1212 RB ; *Grestan* c 1155 Ch, 1215 LPR, *de Grestan* 1325 LCR (104) ; *Gerstun* 1297 LI, *Gerston* 1202 LPR, 1324 LI. The early forms tell us that the second el. is not O.E. *tūn,* but O.E. *stān.* O.E. *gœrs* " grass " is then not a plausible first el. I believe Garston is simply a compound of O.E. *grēat* " big " and *stān.* As regards the loss of *t* before *s* we may compare Whiston, in the earliest quotations usually *Quistan, Whistan. Great* in northern dialects often appears as *gert* (14 cent. NED). The earlier metathesis in the place-name is easily accounted for by the fact that early shortening of the vowel must have taken place. The forms with *Gere-* are not common ; the *-e-* may be intrusive. But so long as a *Gretstan* or *Gertstan* has not been found this etymology remains doubtful. *Gerhstan* 1122 may be miswritten for *Gertstan. Gretestan* (hundr., Glo.) DB contains O.E. *grēat* and *stān.*

Aigburth (h.) : *Aykeberh* c 1200 CC, *Aikeberh, Eikeberhe* c 1250 CC, *Aykebergh, Aikebergh* 13 cent. WhC 559f. O.N. *Eikiberg* from *eiki* " oaks " and *berg* " hill."

Grassendale (on the Mersey) : *parvam Gresyndale* 13 cent. WhC 585f. Apparently M.E. *gresing* " pasturing, pasture-land " and O.E. *dœl* or O.N. *dalr* " valley." Cf. Gressingham Lo. However, if the form *Gresselond Dale* given VHL III. 125 is trustworthy, the first el. is perhaps rather *gres-land* " grass-land," *gres* being a Scand. word for *grass.*

5. **Allerton** (a suburb of Liverpool) : *Alretune* DB, *Alreton* c 1200 CC, 1241 LF, *Alerton* 1322 LI, *Allerton* 1327, 1332 LS, 1418, 1441 LF. O.E. *alr* " alder " and *tūn.* The form *de Aluerton* 1276 LAR, if belonging here, would seem to show the same intrusive *v* as early forms of Wycoller p. 88.

6. **Much** and **Little Woolton** (townships S.E. of Liverpool) : *Vluentune, Vuetone* DB, *Wlueton* 1187 HS LIV. 184 (orig.), 1258 LAR, *Wlvinton* 1188 HS LIV. 187 (orig.), *Wulueton* 1246 LAR, *Wolveton* 1322 LI, *Wolventon* 1323 LI, *Wolleton* 1403 CR ; *Wolueton Magna cum parua* 1327 LS ; *Wolueton Magna* 1332 LS, *Magna Wolneton* 1341 IN ; *minor Wolueton, inferiori Wolueton, parua Wolueton* c 1200 WhC 801-9, *Wolueton parua* 1332 LS. The etymology seems to be *Wulfan tūn,* though the preservation of the *n* of the first el. in some early forms is remarkable (cf. p. 22).

Brettargh Holt (the N. part) : *Bretharue, Bretharwe, Bretarwe* 13 cent. WhC 806f., *Bretharche* 1292 PW. Second el. *ergh* " shieling " (*see* p. 10) ; the first is apparently the gen. of O.N. *Bretar* or O.E. *Brettas* " Britons."

In DB is mentioned a manor *Wibaldeslei* in Woolton. This is, of course, O.E. *Wīgbaldes lēah*. *Wīgbald* is a common name.

7. **Childwall** (E. of Liverpool): *Cildeuuelle* DB, *Kydewelle, Childewell* 1094 Ch, *Cheldewell* 12 cent. LC 13, *Childewell* c 1190 Ch, 1302 LI, *Childewalle* 1212 LI, 1332 LS, 1376 LF, *Childewall* 1243 LI, *Childewal* 1268 LAR, *Childwall* 1423 LF; *Chaldewall* 1238 LF; now [tʃilwəl] or "Childow" VHL III. 108. Childwall stands on Childwall Brook. The second el. of the name is O.E. *wælla* "well; brook." The first el. is to be compared with that of Chilton, Som. (*Cildatūn* 1052 CD 796, *Cildetone* DB), Childwick, Herts (*Childewik* 1303 FA), Hanley Child, Worc. (*Childrehanle* 1275 Duignan), etc. Skeat looks upon the first el. of Chilton and Childwick as O.E. *cilda* "of children." Childwall probably contains the same el. Wyld prefers to derive it from the O.E. **cild, celd* (in Bapchild), "a sudden burst of water from a hill." This is not convincing. O.E. *celde* "a spring" corresponds to O.N. *kelda*, and no doubt goes back to a base **kaldiōn*. But that could not have given a Lancashire *childe-*. Chilwell, Notts. (*Chillewell* and the like in early sources) probably has for its first el. a pers. n. (O.E. *Cilla, Cille*).

8. **Thingwall** (E. of Liverpool): *Tingwella* 1177 LPR, *Tingwelle* 1212 RB, *Thingwalle* 1212 LI, *Thingwell* 1226 LI, 1298 LI, *Thyngwall* 1262 LAR, 1322 LI, *Tingewall* 1297 LI. O.N. *pingvǫllr* "place where the thing met." The name bears interesting witness to a Scand. settlement, which must have had its thing-place in Thingwall. The meeting-place was obviously the round, gently sloping hill on which Thingwall Hall now stands, and which must have been an ideal place for a thing. The interchange of *-well* and *-wall* is most probably due to influence from names in *-well* (O.E. *wælla*), which show a good deal of similar variation. Very likely *-well* is simply due to scribes who supposed the name contained the word *well* and used the form considered to be correct. But *-well* may partly be due to the O.N. dat. form *-velli*, or pl. form *-vellir*.

9. **Wavertree** (in E. Liverpool): *Wauretreu* DB, *Wauertrea* 1177 LPR, *Wavertre* 1196, 1199 LPR, 1246 LAR, 1251 ChR, etc., *Wavertree* 1201 LPR, *Wauertre* 1226 LI, *Wartre* 1577 Saxton. The second el. of the name is, of course, O.E. *trēo* "tree," a word common in place-names. The first el. is difficult. Skeat (in Harrison) connects it with the verb *to waver* and thinks the name means "wavering tree, aspen." This is possible, but not convincing. O.E. *Wǣrferð* pers. n. (suggested by Wyld) does not account for the form; in the Lanc. dial. O.E. *ǣ* would appear as *ē*. I think the name must be compared with the numerous names in Waver found in different counties, *e.g.*, Waverley, Surr. (*Wauerl'* 1159 PR), Waverton, Warw. (*Wavertone* 13 cent.), Warton, Shrops., Wharton p. 43. Waver alone occurs as a place-name; cf. Woore, Ches. (*Waure* DB), Church Over, Warw. (*Wara* DB, *Waure* 13 cent.), Brownsover, Warw. (*Gaura* DB, *Waure*, etc., 13 cent.). We must assume an O.E. word **wæfer* or the like of a meaning which rendered it particularly liable to be used in place-names and as a place-name. Such a word is found in Low German, viz., *wâver* "schwankender wiesengrund," common in place-names (*see* Förstemann). What the exact meaning was in English cannot be settled without special investigation; perhaps we may compare dial. *waver* "a common pond" (EDD).

HUYTON PAR.

A district E. of Liverpool.

1. **Tarbock** (N.W. of Widnes, bounded on the W. by Ditton Brook): *Torboc* DB, 1256 LAR, *Torbok* 1257 ChR, 1285 LAR, 1283 Ind, 1311 IPM, 1322 LI, 1332 LS, 1354 LF, etc., *Torboke, Torbroke* 1311 LI; *Thorboc* 1243 LI, *de Thorboc, de Thorbok, de Turbok* 1246 LAR, *de Thorebok* 1252 LC 35, *de Thorboc* 1256 LAR. In CC 607 (1180-1200) is mentioned *antiquum Torboc* (assartum); cf. *Ol(d)torboke* 1451, 1461 CC.

The etymology of this name is probably much simpler than it looks. No Celtic source should be sought for it. Connection with *tor* "hill" (cf. NED) is out of the question; the highest point in the township does not reach much over 50ft. I believe the second el. is O.E. *brōc* "brook." Tarbock Hall stands on Ochre Brook, a tributary of Ditton Brook; Harrison 1577 calls this *the Tarbocke water.* The loss of the *r* is due to dissimilation. The first el. might be the Scand. pers. n. *Thor* or *Thori.* However, I am more inclined to believe that it is O.E. *porn* "thorn." An *n* would easily be lost in such a name as *Thornb(r)ok.* It is possible the original form is preserved in the pers. n. (Henrico) *de Thornebrooke* 1232-56 CC 556 (witness to a Garston deed). A Henry de Torbok is occasionally met with in documents in CC. The change of *Th-* to *T-* is, of course, due to Norman influence; such influence may have contributed also to the other changes in the name.†

2. **Huyton-with-Roby** (on the upper Alt).

Huyton: *Hitune* DB, *Hutona* 1189-96 Ch, *Huton* 1243 LI, *Hutton* 1268 LAR, *Huyton* 1311 IPM, 1322 LI, 1332 LS, 1353f. LF, etc., *Hyton* 1423 LF, *de Hyton* 1341 IN; now [haitn]. Huyton vill. is less than half a mile S. of the upper Alt. I suppose the name is simply O.E. *hȳþ-tūn* from *hȳþ* "landing-place." In the same way I would explain Hyton, Cumb. (: *Hietun* DB, *Hyton* 1270, Sedgefield). Hyton is on Annaside Beck. The Alt near Huyton is an insignificant stream. It should be remembered, however, that in the olden days boats were small, and that rivers and streams were often deeper than they are now. It may be objected against this etymology that the vowel ought to have been shortened. But so long as the word *hȳþ* remained in use the name Huyton would be associated with it, and this circumstance would tend to preserve the vowel long; or, as it may be put, *Hytton* would be replaced by *Hȳton.* Cf. Layton p. 155, Myton-super-Swale, Yks. (close to the confluence of the Swale and the Ouse): *Mytona* 1147-61 YCh 793, *Mittona* 1170-84 ib. 795; also Myton in Hull [maitn].

Roby (the S.W. part): *Rabil* DB, *Rabi* 1185 LPR, *Raby* 1238 LF, 1246 LAR, 1311 IPM, 1327 LS, *Roby* 1304 ChR, 1322 LI, 1332 LS, etc. A Scand. name. Lindkvist p. 188f. derives the first el. from Scand *rā* "landmark, boundary line," which is no doubt correct. Roby is on the Childwall border. The name is common in Scandinavia (cf. Hellquist, Ortnamnen på *-by*), and is found in Ches., Cumb., Durh. (Raby).

Wolfall Hall (in Huyton; on the Alt): *de la Wulfhal* 1242 LF, *de Wolfalle* 1285 LAR. O.E. *Wulfa* pers. n. (or possibly *wulf* "wolf") and O.E. *halh* "haugh, water-meadow."

3. **Knowsley** (W. of St. Helens; v.): *Chenulueslei* DB, *Cnusleu* 1189-96 Ch,

Knusleia c 1200 Ind, *Knuvesle* 1199 LF, *Cnusleie* 1199-1220 CC, *Knousley* 1243 LI, *Knouwesley, Cnueslegh, de Cnousle de Knollesle* 1246 LAR, *Knouselegh* 1322 LI, 1332 LS, 1376 LF, etc., *Knouseleye* 1311 IPM. Other variants occur. Harrison explains this aptly as *Cenulfes lēah*, the first el. being O.E. *Cēnwulf* or *Cynewulf*. Apparently analogous is Kneeton, Notts. (*Chenivetone* DB, *Knyveton* 1284 FA), containing O.E. *Cynegifu* (or *Cēngifu*).

Bury (in Knowsley Park): *Biri* a 1220 CC. O.E. *burh*, probably in the sense "fortified place."

Longbarrow: *Langebarwe* ? temp. John Ind. "The long grove" (O.E. *bearo*).

4. **Croxteth Park**: *Crocstad* 1257 LI, *Croxstath* 1297 LI, *Croxtath* 1323 LI, *Crokstat, Crokstath* 1372ff. Gaunt R, *Crostoffe* c 1540 Leland. Croxteth Hall is close to the Alt. Croxteth belonged to the forest of Derby; hence the addition Park. The first el. of the name is *Croc* pers. n. (from O.N. *Krókr* or O.Dan. *Krōk*). The second may be O.N. *stǫð* (O.Dan. *stath*) "landing place," or the plur. of O.N. *staðr* (O.Dan. *stath*) "place." The name *Króksstaðir* is found in Iceland. The situation of the place rather tells in favour of the first alternative.

WALTON PAR.

This large parish consists of two separate parts, a larger one N.E. of the Mersey estuary, S., E., and N. of Liverpool, and a smaller one on the sea, N. of Sefton. The latter, as the names of the townships (Ravensmeols, etc.) imply, belongs closely to North Meols, and is better dealt with in connection with that parish. The surface of the S. part is mostly level, except in the S.

1. **West Derby** (old vil. E. of and partly in Liverpool): *Derbei* DB, *Derbeia* 1153 Ind, *Derby* 1094 Ch, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., *Derbi* 1169, 1206 LPR, *Westderbi* 1177 LPR, *Derebi* 1202 LPR, *Westderebi* 1201ff. LPR, *West Derebe* 1226 LI, *West Dereby* 1229 ChR, *Westderby* 1250 ChR, etc., *West Derbe* 1278 LAR, *West Derby* 1330 LF.

This name is apparently identical with Derby in Derbyshire: *Deora by* 942 Chr. A; *Deoraby* 917 Chr. C, *Deorby* 959-75 Grueber (coin), 1049 Chr. D. The latter place was originally called *Northworthig*, the name Derby being given by Danes. The two names Derby must be explained in connection with each other. As regards Derby in Derbyshire, its first el. is usually derived from the word "deer" (Walker, Johnston, Björkman in Nordisk Tidskrift 1911). Bugge, Vikingerne II. 242, compares the first el. with that of *Deorstrete*, the name of a road in Northumbria, and that of Derwent river. Especially the latter suggestion is not convincing.

Other possibilities that have suggested themselves to me are the following two. The first el. may be O.N. *Dýri* pers. name. Or it may be O.N. *dýrr* adj. "splendid" (O.N. *Dýrabý* "the splendid town"). In favour of the latter suggestion we may point to *Whitby* "the white village" and O.N. *Miklagarðr* "the large town," the old Scand. name of Constantinople. I should be inclined to believe the second alternative to be correct if the O.N. form *Dýrabýr*, stated by Bugge, Vikingerne II. 242, to be the O.N. name of Derby, really exists. *Deoraby* would then be an anglicized form. But in spite of diligent search I have not been able to trace such a form. I therefore come to the conclusion that

after all the old derivation of the first el. from O.Scand. *diūr* " deer " is correct, and I am strengthened in this belief by the fact that Swed. names in *-by* very often have the name of an animal as first el. (Hellquist, Ortnamn på *-by* p. 16ff.). It is really quite plausible that the Northmen may have given Derby its name because there was a deer-park in the place. As regards West Derby there is the difficulty that the O.N. form, which we expect in this part of England, is generally *dýr*; yet *diūr* occurs, though rarely, in Norway. O.N. *Dýrabýr*, however, may have been anglicized to *Deoraby*. It is also possible that (West) Derby is really a Danish name or even that West Derby was simply named after the more famous Derby in Derbyshire.

Ackers Mill, Ackers Hall : *del Accres* 1323 LI, 1324 LCR, 1332 LS. O.E. *æcras* " acres."

Breck (Breck House, etc.) : *del Brek* 1323 LI, *del Breck* 1325 LCR. O.N. *brekka* " hill."

2. **Toxteth Park** (S. of Liverpool) : *Stochestede* DB, *Tokestath* 1212 LI, (haya de) *Toxtathe* 1221 ClR, *Toxstath* 1297, 1323 LI, *Tocstath* 1316 WhC 528, *Tokstaffe* c 1540 Leland. The township stands on the Mersey. Its name may mean " the landing-place (or the homestead) of *Tōki*," from *Tōki*, a chiefly E. Scand. pers. n., and O.N. *stǫð* " landing-place " or *staðir* from *staðr*, cf. Croxteth p. 114. Toxteth was included in the forest of Derby ; hence the name Toxteth Park.

Smithdown (old manor) : *Esmedvne* DB, *Smededon* 1185, 1204 LPR, *Smethedon* 1202 LPR, 1316 WhC 528, *Smethdon* 1324 LI. " Smooth or flat down," O.E. *smēðe* " smooth " and *dūn* " down." The ground in Toxteth township rises to c 190ft. (VHL III. 40).

Dingle : *de Dingyll* 1246 LAR. Cf. *dingle* " a deep dell or hollow " 1240, etc. (NED). The Dingle lies round a former creek.

3. **Everton** (N.E. of and a suburb of Liverpool) : *Evretonam* 1094 Ch, *Everton* 1201ff. LPR, 1251 ChR, etc., *Euerton* 1206ff. LPR, 1332 LS, *Ouerton* 1226 LI, *Earton* 1577 Saxton. Sephton derives the first el. from O.E. *ofer* " over," supplanted by O.N. *efri* " upper." As Everton lies on a hill in a commanding situation, derivation of the first el. from O.N. *efri* is tempting. Yet I hesitate to accept it because most names in *-ton* have an English first el., and as Everton is found also in Beds., Notts., Hants. Skeat derives *Ever-* from O.E. *eofor* " boar." This may be right, but it is not apparent why such a name was given. I am inclined to prefer derivation of *Ever-* from a pers. n., in view of the absence of forms in *Evers-*, from O.E. **Eofora*[1], corresponding to O.H.G. *Ebaro*.

4. **Walton** or **Walton-on-the-Hill** (N.E. of Liverpool, v.) : *Waletone* DB, *Waleton* 1094 Ch, 1177ff. LPR, 1212 LI, 1246 LAR, 1252 IPM, etc., *Walton* 1332 LS, etc., *Waliton* c 1140 Ch. O.E. *Wala-tūn* " the town of the Welshmen." The village is on a slight hill.

Spellow : *de Spellowe* 1306 LF, *de Spellawe* 1323 LI. I take the first el. to be O.E. *spell* " speech, discourse, announcement," *spell-hlāw* meaning a hill from which announcements were made, or on which moots were held. Cf. *spelstōw*,

[1] Forssner, p. 63, considers it uncertain whether *Eofor-* existed as an O.E. name-element. But even if, what seems very improbable, *Eoforhwæt* and *Eoforuulf* in LV should be of L.G. origin, *Eofor* and *Eofora* may well have been used. The name Everingham, in Yks. (*Euringham*, DB) most probably has a patronymic derived from *Eofor(a)* as first el.

rendered by B-T " place where announcements are made ? " The place is on fairly high ground.

Newsham : *Neuhusum* 1212-17 RB, *Neusun* 1196 LPR, *Neusom* 1212 RB, *Neusum* 1200 ChR, 1212 LI, 1292 LF, *Ewzam* 1590 Walton R. (At) " the new houses." O.E. *nēowe* and the dat. pl. of *hūs* " house."

Walton Breck (: cf. *Brecksyde* 1616 Walton R) and **Warbreck** have as second el. O.N. *brekka* " hill," etc.

5. **Kirkdale** (on the Mersey, in N. Liverpool) : *Chirchedele* DB, *Kirkedale* 1185 LPR, 1212 LI, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., *Kierkedala* 1201 LPR, *Kirkedal* 1241 LF ; *Kierkelade* 1203f. LPR. O.N. *kirkia* " church " and O.N. *dalr* (or O.E. *dæl*) " dale." The name is probably Scandinavian.

6. **Bootle** (in N. Liverpool) : *Boltelai* DB, *Botle* 1212 LI, 1246 LAR, 1257 IPM, *Botele* 1252 IPM, *Botel* 1284 LAR, *Bothull* 1332 LS, *Botull* 1322 LI ; *Bolde* 1226 LI. O.E. *bōtl* " dwelling, house," etc. (*see* p. 8). The same name is found in Cumberland.

Linacre (old manor) : *Linacre* 1212 LI, *Lynacre* 1327 LS, 1341 IN. " Flax field." O.E. *līn* " flax " and *æcer*.

7. **Fazakerley** (N. of Walton) : *Phasakyrlee* c 1250 HS XXXV. 143, *de ffasacrelegh* 1325 LCR, *Fazakerley* 1509 LF. Cf. *de ffasacre* 1325 LCR. Fazakerley was originally one of the Walton townfields (VHL III. 28). The first el. of the name seems to be O.E. *fæs* " border, fringe," though it is true the O.E. word is only used of the hem of a garment.

Stonebridgley (Cf. Stone Bridge in the E. of the township) : *de Stonbrugelegh* 1279 Moore MSS, *de Stonbriglegh* 1323 LI, *de Stonbge* 1324 Moore MSS.

8. **Kirkby** (N.E. of Liverpool, E. of the Alt) : *Cherchebi* DB, *Karkebi* 1176 LPR, *Kierkebi* 1207 LPR, *Kyrkeby* 1228 ClR, 1243 LI, 1246 LF, 1341 IN, *Kirkeby* 1311 LI, 1332 LS, etc. " The church-village," O.N. *kirkiu-býr*.

Aynesargh is a name often occurring in Moore MSS : *Aynesargh* 1394, *de Aynesargh* 1350, 1380. It is apparently identical with *Avanessergh* 1501 (VHL III. 54), stated to be in Kirkdale. The second el. is *ergh* " a shieling, a pasture " (cf. p. 10). The first appears to be a pers. n., possibly identical or connected with that in Ainsdale.

Ingoe Lane : *de Ingeswaith* 1332 LS. In VHL III. 54 the pers. n. *de Ingewaith* is mentioned. The first el. of the name is apparently O.N. *Ingi* (or O.E. *Inga*, cf. Ingol Am.). The second can hardly be O.N. *þveit*. It may be O.N. *veiðr* " hunting, place for hunting " ; cf. p. 20.

9. **Simonswood** (N. of and originally part of Kirkby) : *Simonddeswode* a 1190 CC, *Simundeswude* 1207 LPR, *Simundeswod* 1297 LI, *Symondeswode* 1323, 1330 LI, 1372 Gaunt R. O.E. *Sigemundes wudu*.

LIVERPOOL (old manor, originally in Walton par., a borough since 1207) : *Liuerpul* a 1194 Ch, 1208 LPR, *Liuerpol* 1211 LPR, 1246, 1258, 1284 LAR, 1297 LI, *Liverpol* 1246 LAR, 1251 ChR, etc., *Liverpul* a 1240 CC, *Liurepol* 1259 LAR, *Lyuerpol* 1259, 1284, 1285 LAR, *Lyverpol* 1292 PW, 1321 LF, [*Lyuer*]*pull* 1332 LS, *Lyverpull* 1359ff. LF ; *Leverepul* 1229 ChR, *Leverpol* 1292 PW ; *Lieuerpol* 1226 LI ; *de Litherpol* 1222-26 LI, *Lythirpol* 1308 Moore MSS, *Litherpole* (vulgò *Lirpole*) 1586 Camden ; *Lyrpole, Lyverpoole* c 1540 Leland, *Lirepoole*

1577 Harr. This list will give a fairly adequate idea of the relative frequency of the different forms in early records. Full material will be found in Harrison and Wyld; especially the forms in *Lever-* are fully enumerated by Wyld and those in *Lither-* by Harrison.

Liverpool was no doubt the original name of the Pool, a tidal creek, now filled up, into which two streams fell. Of the two types of the name, *Liverpol* and *Litherpol*, the former must be made the starting-point for the etymology. The form *Lither-* is comparatively rare and chiefly found in late records. Occasional *Lither-* in early records is probably due to influence from Litherland.

It has been suggested that *Liver-* may be *liver* "waterflag" or "bulrush," but against this it has been pointed out that the Pool was a saltwater pool, where no flags would grow (Harrison p. 28). Besides, it is extremely doubtful if an O.E. *lifer* "waterflag" existed; O.E. *ēalifer* means "liverwort." *Livers* "the yellow flag" in mod. dial. probably goes back to O.E. *lǣfer, lēfer.*—Wyld suggests as first el. O.E. *Lēofhere* pers. n. But the usual early form is *Liverpol*, etc., not *Leverpol*. It is true O.E. *ēo* sometimes seems to have become *i* in Lanc. place-names; cf. Rivington p. 48. But the development has no doubt been from *ēo* to *u* [y·] (a well-known West Midland change) and to *ī*. We should expect *u, o* by the side of *i, e*, if the base had O.E. *ēo*. Besides, it is curious that of the scores of examples of the name Liverpool not one shows the genitive *s* to be expected if the first el. was *Lēofhere*.

I am inclined to believe that *Liver-* is to be compared with O.E. *lifrig* (in *lifrig blod*), M.E. *livered* "coagulated, clotted," as in *þe liuerede se* Rob. Gl., *þe liuerd se* C.M. "the Red Sea," *liver-sea* a 1600 "an imaginary sea in which the water is "livered" or "thick" (NED), G. *Lebermeer*, the same. In Norway there is a stream-name *Levra*, going back to *Lifra*, and probably meaning "stream with thick water" (Rygh, N.E. 145). *Liverpul* may mean "the pool with the thick water." Or *Liver* may have been the name of one of the streams that fell into the pool; this name would then have been identical with Norw. *Levra*.

SEFTON PAR.

The parish is situated N. of Walton par. between the Alt and the estuary of the Mersey.

1. **Aintree** (v.; on the Alt): *Ayntre* a 1220 CC, 1257f. LAR, 1332 LS, etc., *Aintree* 1226 LI, *de Eyntre* 1246 LAR. Lindkvist's suggestion (p. 43) that this is Scand. *ein-tré* "tree standing alone" seems very plausible.

2. **Orrell and Ford** (the two portions are separated by Litherland).

Orrell (on the border of Walton): *Orhul* 1299 Moore MSS, *Orell* 1347, 1385 ib., *Orrell* 1547 LF. Orrell stands at the foot of Orrell Hill. The name is apparently identical with Orrell in Wigan. I suppose it means "ore hill," but there does not seem to be any information as regards ore-mining in Orrell. O.E. *ōra* "bank, margin" would give a fairly good meaning; Orrell is situated on a brook.

Ford (E. of a brook): *la Forde* 1323 LI, *the Forde* 1408 Moore MSS, *Forde* 1547 LF. O.E. *ford* "ford."

3. **Litherland** or **Down-Litherland** (on the Mersey; v.): *Liderlant* DB, 1114-16 Ch (orig.), *Litherlande* 1202 LF, *Litherland* 1212 LI, *Lytherlond* 1332 LS; *Dun-*

lytherlond 1298 LI, *Dounelithirlond* 1392 LF. O.N. *Hlíðarland* from *hlíð* (gen. *hlíðar*) " slope " and *land*. The same name is found in Norway (Lindkvist p. 12). Litherland vill. stands at the foot of a small hill, and the ground slopes away gently towards the estuary of the Mersey.

4. **Netherton** (originally a hamlet of Sefton) : *Netherton* 1576 Moore MSS. The place was perhaps called " the nether town " in contradistinction to Sefton Town, which is c 70ft. above sea-level.

5. **Sefton** (on the Alt) : *Sextone* DB, *Sefftun* a 1222 CC, *Ceffton* 1236 ClR, *Sefton* 1298 LI, 1332 LS, 1375 LF, etc., *Seffton* 1322 LI. The most probable etymology is O.N. **Sef-tūn*, a compound of *sef* " sedge " and *tūn* ; cf. Rushton Sa. *Sextone* in DB is a blunder. The church stands near the Alt. The country along the Alt is low and level, and the meadows were formerly covered with water in winter. Rushes and other waterplants are common in the Alt and the ditches and meadows near Sefton. O.N. *sef* is found in the name of a lake in Martin NLo and in mod. dialects as *seave*.

6. **Lunt** (N.W. of Sefton ; on the Alt) : *de Lund* 1251 CC, c 1275 CC, *del Lunt* 1344 Moore MSS, *Lundscofh* c 1265 CC. O.N. *lundr* " grove."

7. **Thornton** (N.E. of Gt. Crosby ; v.) : *Torentun* DB, *Thorinton* 1212 LI, a 1250 CC, *Thorneton* 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, 1340 LF, etc., *Thornton* 1246 LAR, 1322 LI, etc. O.E. *porn* " thorn " and *tūn*.

8. **Great** and **Little Crosby** (townships on the Mersey estuary ; old villages. Gt. Crosby is now a town) : *Crosebi* DB, *Crossebeyam* 1094 Ch, *Crossebi* 1177, 1200ff. LPR, *Crosseby* 1212, 1226 LI, etc. ; *magnam Crossby* c 1190 Ch, *Crosseby Magna* 1332 LS, *Great Crosseby* 1246 LAR, etc. ; *Little Crosseby* 1243 LI, 1322 LI, etc., *Crosseby parua* 1332 LS. " The cross village " ; O.N. *Krossabýr*. There are six crosses in Little Crosby (VHL III. 85).

9. **Ince Blundell** (N. of Crosby ; v.) : *Hinne* DB, *Ines* 1212 LI, 1375 LF, etc., *Hynis* 1243 LI, *Ynes* 13 cent. WhC 490, *Inis* 1301 LF, *Ins Blundell* 1332 LS, *Ines Blundell* 1357, 1397 LF. *See* Ince-in-Makerfield p. 103. Ince Blundell to a great extent consists of flat, fen country. Alt Marsh (*Altemersh* 13 cent. WhC 498) was here. Ince Blundell Hall and village are on slightly higher ground. No doubt this portion would in earlier times have been aptly described as an " island " in the fen country. The manor passed into the possession of the Blundell family c 1200.

Alt Grange (in the N.) : *grangia de Alte* 14 cent. WhC 489 ; cf. *grangiarius de Alte* 13 cent. WhC 504. A grange belonging to Whalley Abbey near the Alt.

Scholes (now lost) : *Scoles* 13 cent. WhC 490. O.N. *skāli* " hut."

ALTCAR PAR.

This small parish contains only Altcar township. It is situated N. of Sefton par. on the N. bank of the Alt. The surface is very low ; there is much old mossland.

Altcar, Great and Little (villages) : *Acrer* DB, *Altekar* 1251 LF, *Alker* 1577 Saxton. " The carr or marshland beside the Alt " ; *carr*<O.N. *kiarr*. The DB form *Acrer* is probably corrupt. Lindkvist's suggestion that the form represents an earlier name, Scand. *Akrar* " fields " is not convincing.

HALSALL PAR.

A large inland parish, N.E. of Liverpool.

1. **Melling** (in the S. part; E. of the Alt; v.): *Melinge* DB, *Mellinges* 1194 LPR, 1256 LF, *Melling'*, *Molling* 1202 LPR, *Melling* 1226 LI, 1246 LAR, 1298 LI, etc., *Mellyng* 1332 LS, 1360 LF, etc. Evidently an O.E. patronymic *Mellingas*. Exactly the same name is found in Lonsdale as the name of a par.; very likely the two Mellings were founded by members of the same family. *Mellingas* may be a derivative of O.E. *Moll* (Searle), apparently found also in place-names, as Molland, Dev. (*Mollanda* DB), Mullacote, Dev. (*Molecote* DB, *Mollecote* 1303 FA), Mollington, Ches. (*Molintone* DB). Or Melling may be an *i*-mutated side-form of Malling, Suss. (*æt Mallingum* 838 BCS 421, *Mellinges* DB, etc.) and Malling, Kent (*Meallingas, east meallinga gemære* 942-6 BCS 779), which are probably to be derived from a pers. n. with a stem *Mall-* or the like.

Cunscough: *Cunig(g)escofh* a 1190 CC, *Conigscofh* 1190 CC. "The king's wood," O.N. *konungr* (earlier no doubt also *kunungr*) and O.N. *skógr* "wood."

Hengarth (now lost): *Hengerth* 1190 CC, 1212 LI, *Henggert, Henggerthalaka* a 1190 CC. O.E. **heng-erþ* "sloping land"; cf. O.E. *henge-clif* "steep cliff" and *ierþ, erþ* "ploughing; ploughed land."

Thorp (now lost): *Thorp* a 1190 CC. O.N. *þorp* "village, hamlet."

Waddicar (h.): *de Wadacre* 1246 LAR. Possibly the first el. is O.E. *wād* "woad"; the vowel might have been shortened in this position. Cf. however Woodacre, Am., which seems to be from O.E. *wēod-æcer*, but appears as *Wadacre* 1246 LAR. The second el. is O.E. *æcer* "acre."

2. **Maghull** (N. of Melling; on the right bank of the Alt; v.): *Magele* DB, *Maghele* a 1190 CC, 1322 LI, *Mahale* a 1220 CC, *de Mahale* c 1200 HS XXXII. 185, 1283 LI, *de Mahhale, de Mahal* 1255 LI; *Maghal* 1219 LAR, 1246 ib., 1312 LI, *Maghale* 1243 LI, *de Maghale, de Magehal* 1246 LAR, *Maghall* 1278 LAR, etc., *Maggehale* 1328 LI, *Maghhale* 1332 LS, *de Maele* 1323 LF, *Male* 1501 CC, 1514 LF. Now [məgul, məgʌl], but the old pronunciation [me·l] is not forgotten.

The second el. of the name is obviously O.E. *halh* "haugh." This word here refers to the very gently sloping fields E. of the old mossland along the Alt. The first el. is not easy to explain. It appears to have had the form *Magh-* [maȝ] in the earliest M.E.; later [ȝ] became [x] perhaps owing to assimilation with the *h* of the second el., and disappeared. Many names in *-halh* have a pers. n. as first el., and it is reasonable to suppose that also that of Maghull is one. But there is no (O.E. or O.N.) pers. n. that fits the name. O.E. *mago* "son," only used in poetry, might be thought of (cf. Childwall), but there are to my knowledge no other place-names in which the word is used. But O.E. **Maga* corresponding to O.H.G. *Mago* may well have existed. Another possibility is that the first el. of Maghull, like that of Mayfield, Suss. (*Magefeud* 1260, *Maghfeud* 1274, *Maghefeld* 1316, 1343; Roberts), is the Celtic **magos* "plain" (Brit. **mag*, whence Welsh *ma* "place," Ir. *magh* "plain, field," etc.). This derivation seems unexceptionable from the point of view of form and meaning.

Brit. *mag, i.e.*, [maʒ], would not have lost its final consonant at the time when Lancashire was conquered by the Anglians; cf. Douglas *infra*. Maghull occupies a plateau rising slightly over the low-lying land E. and W. This plateau is mostly level and would be aptly described as a plain. If the etymology suggested is correct, we must assume that the Brit. name of it was, or contained, the word *mag* " plain."

3. **Lydiate** (N. of Maghull, v.): *Leiate* DB, *Lichet* ?12 cent. HS XXXII. 183, *Liddigate* 1202 LF, *Lidiate* 1212 LI, a 1220 CC, *Lydiate* c 1225 CC, *Lydyathe* 1243 LI, *Lydeyate* 1284 LAR, 1324 LF, etc., *Lydyate* 1332 LS. O.E. *hlidgeat* " swing-gate."

Eggergarth (cf. Eggergate Mill O.M. 1846-51): *Ekergert* a 1240 CC, *Egergarh* 1212 LI, *Hekergart* 1243 LI, *Ekirgarth* 1340, 1380 LF, *Egergarth* 1322 LI. Cf. *Ekergart* a 1190 CC (Preston, Kendal). Probably O.N. *ekra* " small ploughed field " and *garðr* " enclosure."

4. **Downholland** (S.W. of Ormskirk; v.): *Holand* DB, *Hoilanda* 1194 LPR, *Hoiland* 1226 LI, *Holand, de Dunholand* 1298 LI, *Dounholand* 1325 LF, 1332 LS, etc. O.E. *hōh* " projecting ridge of land " and *land*; cf. Upholland p. 105. The township lies on the slope of a ridge reaching 77ft. above sea-level.

Barton (originally a separate manor; v.): *Bartune* DB, *Barton* c 1225 CC, 1246 LAR, etc., *de Barton* 1332 LS; *Burton* 1266 LAR. O.E. *beretūn* " barton "; cf. p. 38.

Harker (cf. Harker's Bridge in Halsall, near the Downholland boundary): *Harekar* c 1225 CC. Second el. *carr*, O.N. *kiarr*; first el. perhaps O.E. *hara* " hare " or *hār* " grey " or the corresponding O.N. word. Cf. Norw. Harekjær NG VIII, supposed to have as first el. the word for " hare."

Haskayne (v.): *de Hasken* 1329 LI, *de Haskeen* 1366 LS, *Haskyn* c 1540 LI I. p. 50, *Hasken* 1530, *Haskeyne* 1598 DL, *Heskeyne* 1618 CW 83. Perhaps the name is identical with Heskin (p. 130).

5. **Halsall** (midway between Ormskirk and Southport; v.): *Heleshale, Herleshala* DB, *Haleshale* ?12 cent. HS XXXII, *Halsale* 1212, 1243 LI, a 1220 CC, 1284 LF, 1332 LS, etc., *de Haleshal* 1246 LAR, *Haleshale* 1280 LF, *Halsall* 1346 FA. The early forms point to a first el. with short *l*, and the DB forms to O.E. *æ* (or *ea*), *i.e.*, O.E. *Hæles-*. We may compare Halesworth, Suff. (: *Healesuurda, Halesuuorda* DB), for which Skeat suggests O.E. **Hæl* or **Hal* pers. n. as first el. Possibly O.E. *hæle* " hero " was used as a pers. n. The second el. is O.E. *halh* " haugh," here referring to the flat fields on the outskirts of the Old Halsall Moss.

Renacres: *Ruinacres* c 1200 HS XXXII. 185, *de Ruynacres* 1246 LAR, *de Rynacrus* 1282 LI, *de Runacres* 1284 LF, *Rowynacres* 1285 LAR, *de Rynacres* 1332 LS, *de Ruynacre* 1366 LS. " Rye-acres "; O.E. *rygen* " of rye " (as *r. meolo*). Cf. Raydon or Reydon, Suff. (: *Reinduna* DB, *Rigendun* 972 BCS 1289). Skeat derives the first el. of this from O.E. *rygen*.

Shurlacres, S. Mere (gave name to a family): *Sir Walacres M(er)e* 1235-49 HS XXXII. 186, *Shirwallacres* 1476 SC, *de Shirwalaccres* 1323 LI, 1335 LF. Obviously Shirwall means " the clear well," O.E. *scīr* and *wælla* " well." " The acres by Shirwall, or the clear well." Perhaps Shirwall is preserved in the name Shirdley Hill.

AUGHTON PAR.

S.W. of Ormskirk.

Aughton (township, v.): *Achetun* DB, *Actum* a 1190 CC, *Actun* a 1250 CC, *Acton* 1235 LF, *Achton* 1252 IPM, *Aghton* 1282, etc., LF, 1332 LS, etc., *Aughton* 1499 LF, etc. O.E. *āc-tūn, i.e., āc* " oak " and *tūn.*

Uplitherland (old manor): *Literland* DB, *Liderlanda* 1177 LPR, *Litherland* (vill.) 1212 LI, *Lytherlond* 1322 LF, *Lythyrlond* 1384 LF; *Vplitherland* a 1194 Ch, *Uplittherland* 1207 ChR, *Uplitherland* 1292 PW. *Up-* was added for distinction from Downlitherland. O.N. *Hlíðarland* " land on the slope." There is a hilly ridge in the W. part of the township; Litherland is situated on its N.W. slope.

Mickering Farm: *Mykeringe* 1581 DL. Looks like O.N. *mykiar-eng* " manured meadow "; O.N. *mykr* " manure " and *eng* " meadow."

Moor Hall: *Morehall* 1429 TI. Cf. *le Mor* a 1250 CC, *de la More* 1282 LF. Named from a moor, not from a family.

ORMSKIRK PAR.

A large inland par., W. of the river Douglas. To the N. was formerly Martin Mere.

1. **Ormskirk** (town): *Ormeschirche* a 1196 Ch, 1286 ChR, (Orm de) *Ormeskierk* 1203 LPR, *Ormiskyrke* 1286 Ind, *Ormeschurche* c 1300 SC, *Ormeschurch* 1317 LC 443. " Orm's church " (O.N. *Ormr* pers. n. and O.N. *kirkia* " church "). There is in early sources some vacillation between the native form church and the Scand. kirk. Ormskirk seems to have been a rectory manor (VHL III. 262).

2. **Bickerstaffe** (S.E. of Ormskirk): *Bikerstad* a 1190 CC, *Bikerstath* 1226 LI, 1246 LAR, 1268-1320 CC, *de Bikerstat* 1246 LAR, *Bykerstat* 1285 LAR, *Bykerstath* 1298 LI, 1331 LF, etc., *Bykirstath* 1322 LI, *Bykarstath* 1332 LS; *Bikerstaff* 1267 LAR; *Bekerstat* 1261 LAR, *Bijkirstach* 1280 HS XL. 157, *Bickerstathe* 1577 Saxton; occasional forms are: *Birkestad, Birkerstat, de Birkestade* 1246 LAR, *Birkyrstath* 1418 LF. It seems we must start from an early M.E. form *Bikerstath.* The situation of the place gives no indication as to the etymology of the name. The church stands on a slight ridge; there is no stream of importance, but there are two small brooks, one called Bickerstaffe Brook.

The immense preponderance of forms in *-i-* in early sources renders derivation of the first el. of the name from O.N. *bekkiar*, the gen. of *bekkr* " brook," impossible. Moreover, *Biker-* occurs in various other names, some of which cannot contain *bekkiar*: Bickershaw, Wigan (p. 102); Bickerton, Yks. (on a slope): *Bichretone* DB, *Bykerton* 1226, etc. (Moorman); Bickerton, Nhb. (on a brook): *Bykerton* 1245 (Mawer); Bickerton, Ches. (on the slope of a hill of 695ft.): *Bicretone* DB; Bickerton, Heref.: *Bicretune* DB; Bycardyke, Notts.: *Bikeresdic* 1189, *Bikerisdik* 1278 (Mutschmann); Bixton, Norf.: *Bicherstuna* DB. But Bicker, Linc. (*Bichere* DB), Byker, Nhb. (*Byker* 1249 PR) very likely contain O.N. *kiarr* " marsh." Bicker is near Bicker Fen. Byker adjoins Walker, which is near Wallsend and clearly has the word *wall* as first el.; both are on the low shore of the Tyne (cf. on these names Mawer). I think Bicker

and Byker go back to O.Scand. *býr-kiarr* " village-marsh." Or *by-* may mean " by "; cf. Bywater " by the water " and the like. These two names are probably to be disregarded in trying to account for *Bicker-* in Bickerstaffe, etc.

The common occurrence of the element tells us that *Bikre-*, *Biker-* must represent some common noun or pers. name, probably of Engl. origin. It can hardly be O.N. *bikarr* " bowl," as no topographical use of this word is known, and a meaning " hollow " hardly suits all the names. Nor can *Biker-* well be the O.E. word corresponding to O.Sax. *bīkar* " bee-hive " from which O.E. *bēocere* " apiarius " is derived.

I believe *Bikre*, *Biker* is a pers. name, perhaps related to O.E. *Bic(c)a*. This name might belong to O.N. *bikkja* " to overturn " (Norw. dial. *bikka* " to rock, to fall," etc.), L.G. *bikken*, O.H.G. *bicchan* " to prod, to thrust." To this group, I suppose, belong M.E. *biker* " skirmish," *bikeren* " to skirmish," which show the *r* of *Bicre-*. O.E. **Bic(e)ra* might be derived from an adj.; cf. *e.g.* O.E. *slidor*, *slipor*, *swifor*, *stamor*, M.E. *fliker*, etc. But it may also be O.E. **Bic(e)ra* is an extension of *Bica*. There are some apparently analogous cases. Thus O.E. has *Tepra* by the side of *Teppa*. Hothersall in Bl. seems to have as first el. a side-form with *-r-* suffix of O.E. *Huda*. Certain place-names in *-ing* may be explained in a similar way: Beckering, Linc. (cf. O.E. *Bēac*, *Becca*), Pickering, Yks. (cf. O.E. *Piccinga wurth*), Peppering, earlier *Piperinges* (cf. O.E. *Pippa*). A number of rather doubtful German names with *r*-suffix are given by Förstemann 1199. Very likely the names adduced are not all to be judged of in the same way; some may *e.g.* be O.E. names in *-here*.†

The second el. may be O.N. *stǫð* " landing-place " or *staðir* " homestead."

Barrow Nook : *de(l) Barwe* 1332, 1366 LS. O.E. *bearo* " grove."

Mossock (or Moss Oak) Hall: *de Mosok* 1366 LS, 1418 LF. Probably " mossy oak."

3. **Skelmersdale** (S.E. of Ormskirk; v.): *Schelmeresdele* DB, *Skelmersdale*, *Skelmaresden*, *Skelmeresden* 1202 LF, *Skelmardal* 1246 LAR, *Skelmarisdale* 1278 LAR, 1346 LF, *Skelmaresdale* 1300 LF, *Skelmersdale* 1332 LS. The first el. of the name is obviously a pers. n. identical with that of Skelsmergh, Wml.: *Skelmeres(h)ergh* 1278, etc. (Sedgefield), and of Skelmanthorpe, Yks.: *Scelmertorp* DB. Björkman derives it from O.N. **Skialdmarr* = O.Dan. *Skielmerus*, *Skelmerus*. Second el. O.N. *dalr* " valley," perhaps referring to the valley of the Tawd (called *Skelmere* by Harrison, 1577).

4. **Lathom** (E. of Ormskirk, on the Douglas): *Latvne* DB, *Lathum* a 1196 Ch, 1201f. LPR, 1202 LF, 1246 LAR, etc., *Lathom* 1224 LF, 1268 LAR, etc., *Latham* 1276 LAR, c 1540 Leland, *Lathū* 1332 LS. O.N. *hlaðum* " (at) the barns," from O.N. *hlaða* " barn."

Alton (name now lost): *Altona* c 1190 Ch, *Altunegate* c 1225 CC, *de Olton* 1366 LS. " The old town." New Park seems to have taken its place.

Blythe Hall : *de Blythe* 1366 LS, 1398 SC, *de Blyth* 1401 ib. Blythe Hall stands near Ellerbeck. Blythe is a well-known river-name, no doubt a derivative of the adj. O.E. *blíðe* " mild," etc. One in Northampton is mentioned in O.E. charters: *bliðe, on bliðan* 944 BCS 792 (orig.), etc. Blyth is a river in Nhb. I suppose Eller Beck was formerly called Blithe and that it gave name to the place.

Hoscar Moss : *de Horsecarr* 1340 CC, *de Horscar* 1366 LS. The name is self-explaining : " horse-carr."

Newburgh (v. near the Douglas) : *Neweburgh* (vil.) 1431 Moore MSS, *Newburgh* 1529 LF, *Newborow* (vil.) c 1540 Leland. The place was once a borough (VHL iii. 256). " The new borough."

Scarth Hill (h.) : *Scarth* c 1190 Ch. The hamlet is situated on an eminence (254ft. above sea-level) S.E. of Ormskirk. Scarth in the above quotation denotes a natural feature. The name is O.N. *skarð* " notch, cleft, mountain pass." Cf. *le Skarth* WhC 334, an " intersectio " in Crow Hill, Bl.

Tawdbridge, formerly Taldeford (on the Tawd) : *de Taneldeford, de Taneletford* 1246 LAR, *de Taldeford* 1282 LI, 1285 LAR, 1332 LS, 1341 IN. The original name apparently means " the old ford." The 1246 forms, though partly corrupt, seem to go back to O.E. *æt þon aldan forda.* Taldeford is perhaps from a reduced form of this : *atte aldeford*, which was wrongly divided as *at Taldeford.* The river-name Tawd is an obvious back-formation, and Tawdbridge is a new name formed with the river-name. There is a Tawd Bridge on the Tawd also in Upholland.

Westhead (h.) : *Westhefd* c 1190 Ch, *Le Westheued, del Westheued* 1366 LS. Westhead stands at the foot of a ridge, on the top of which is Scarth Hill. On O.E. *hēafod* " ridge," *see* p. 12.

Wirples Moss (or Warper's Moss) : *Wirplesmos* c 1190 Ch. Cf. *Wirpeslid* in Tatham, Lo. (1205-25 CC 930), *Werplesburn'*, Suss. HR, and Worplesdon, Surr. (*Werplesdon* 1312 AP 313), Warpsgrove, Oxf. (*Werplesgrave* DB). The first el. is apparently a derivative of O.E. *weorpan* " to throw," either an agent-noun **wirpel, *weorpel*, meaning *e.g.* " a moldwarp," perhaps used as a pers. n. (Alexander), or rather a derivative with *-isla* meaning " something thrown " ; cf. Norw. *vœrsl* " a cairn." O.E. **werpels* may be the source of dial. *wapple* " a bridle way " (also *worple, worples*), the original meaning being perhaps " road formed by stones thrown down " (*e.g.*, over a marsh), " stepping-stones." This might be the meaning here.

Wolmoor (now lost) : *Wolvemor* 1202 LF, *de Wluemor* c 1240 CC, *de Wulvemor* (*Wulwemore, Wulmore*) 1246 LAR. O.E. *wulfamōr*, or *Wulfan mōr*, " the moor of the wolves," or " the moor of *Wulfa.*"

5. **Burscough** (N.W. of Ormskirk ; v., formerly the site of a priory) : *burgechou* c 1190 Ch, *Burscogh* c 1190 Ch, 1327 LS, etc., *Buresscoch* 1212 LI, *Burchisscoh* c 1225 CC, *Burschou* c 1270 LPD II. 198, 205, *Burscho* 1286 ChR ; *Birscogh, Birscow* 1246 LAR, *Burskou, de Birskou* 1276 ib., *Birskeouk* 1278 LAR. The name means " the wood belonging to *Burh,*" or " the wood by the (old) *burh.*" The second el. is O.N. *skógr* " wood." The name tells us that there was formerly a *burh* in Burscough. Other forms of the name are : *Burgastud* c 1190 Ch, *Burgchestude* a 1216 LPD II. 197, *Bourchestude, Burgestude* a 1264 ib. 199, 202. These represent another type, viz., O.E. *burh-styde* " the site of the burh."

Greetby (cf. Greetby Hill) : *Grittebi* c 1190 Ch, *de Greteby* 1246 LAR, *Gretby* a 1264 LPD II. 205, *de Gretteby* 1398 SC. Perhaps the first el. is the O.N. pers. n. *Grettir* ; if so, the earliest form is miswritten. But the modern form with *ee* is curious, and perhaps O.N. *griót* " stone(s) " is rather to be assumed as the first el. : O.N. *Griótbý* or *Griótabý.*

Marton or **Martin** (old manor): *Merretun* DB, *Mertona* c 1190 Ch, a 1264 LPD II. 199, *Marton* 1235 LF. O.E. *meretūn* "the tūn by the mere." Marton was situated at the now drained lake of Martin Mere (: *Merton Mere* 1396 SC, *Marton Mere* 1546 LF, *Merton meere* 1577 Harr.).

Tarlscough (h.): *Tharlescogh* c 1190 Ch, *Terlesco wood* 1577 Saxton. "The wood (O.N. *skógr*) of *Paraldr*." *Paraldr* is a side-form of *Poraldr*, an O.N. name (cf. Björkman). The same form is found in Tarlton, Leyl.; cf. *Tharoldstube* (in Scarisbrick) 1398 SC, *Thoraldestub* 1303 SC (orig.).

6. **Scarisbrick** (S.E. of Southport, v.): *Scharisbrec* c 1200 SC, *Scaresbrek* c 1240 HS XXXV. 142, 1326 LF, etc., *de Skaresbrek* 1238 LF, *Scarisbrek* 13 cent. HS XXXII. 188, *de Scarisbrec* (*Scharesbek*) 1246 LAR, *Scaresbrec* c 1270 SC, *Skaresbrek* 1322 LI, 1332 LS; now [ske·zbrik]. The township is on the whole low and flat, but the part where Scarisbrick Hall is situated rises to about 50ft. above sea-level, the ground sloping away to the W. The village is on the slope. The second el. of the name is obviously O.N. *brekka* "slope." The first el., as shown by the regular early *a*, cannot be O.N. *sker*. It is no doubt a pers. n. of Scand. origin; cf. O. Dan. *Skar* in *Scarstorp*, *Skarsholm* (Nielsen).

Harleton or **Hurlston** (old manor): *Hirletun* DB, *vrltonam* c 1190 Ch, *Hurltona* 1190 CC, *Hurlton* 1200-46 CC, c 1286 SC (orig.), *Hurleton* 1246 LAR, 1298 LI, 1326 LF, 1332 LS, etc., *Hurilton* c 1280 SC (orig.). Occasional are *Hurdilton*, *Hurdleton* 1468 SC, *Hirdylton* 1451 CC. It is difficult to give a definite etymology, as the early forms may go back to various O.E. bases. I am inclined to believe that the first el. is an O.E. pers. n. **Heorla*, a derivative of *Heor-* in *Heorwulf*, etc. O.E. *eo* appears in Lanc. names sometimes as M.E. *u*, *i*; cf. Rivington, Sa. (p. 48). The different forms of the name are well accounted for by such a base.

Aspinwall or **Asmall**: *de Aspenewell* 1246 LAR, *Aspinwalle* c 1280 SC, *de Aspenwall* 1332 LS. Now [asməl]. O.E. *æspen* adj. "aspen" and *wælla* "well, brook."

Bescar (h.): *Birchecar* 1331, 1359 SC, *Birchcarre* 1546 LF. O.E. *birce* "birch" and *carr* from O.N. *kiarr*.

Drummersdale: *Drombulsdale* 1546 LF. Björkman, E.St. 44, 253, suggests as first el. a Scand. nickname corresponding to Swed. *drummel* "lout" and compares *e.g.* O.N. *drumbr* "a log," *drumbi* a nickname, and Icel. *Drymbilsruð*. This seems to be right.

Gorsuch: *Gosfordesich* c 1200 SC (orig.), *Gosefordesiche* c 1280 SC (orig.), *de Gosefordesiche* 1283 LI, *de Gosefordsik* 1332 LS, *Gorsiche* 1519 DL. Numerous other examples are found in SC. The second el. is O.E. *sīc* "water-course." Gosford means "goose-ford"; cf. *de Gosford* 1367 Moore MSS.

Snape (h.): *Snape* 1200-46 CC, c 1270 SC (orig.), 1341. IN, 1546 LF. Cf. *the Withinesnape* (in Harleton) c 1280 SC (orig.). M.E. *snape* "pasture" (*see* p. 17).

Whams Farm (N. of Scarisbrick): ?*Quassum* c 1240, *Quassam* c 1300, *Whassum* 1338, 1386, *Whassomheyes* 1492 SC. This must have been close to Martin Mere; Mere Hall (cf. *del Mere* 1361 SC) is close by. Whassum recalls O.Swed. *hwas* (Swed. *vass*) "reed." At "the reeds" seems a suitable name.

Wyke House: *Wik* c 1180 SC, *Wyk* 1276 LAR, *the Wyke* 1440, *Longe Wik* 1577 SC, *the Wyke*, *Long Wyke*, *the High Wyke* 1503 LP I. 21, 23. O.N. *vík* "bay." The place was no doubt named from a bay in Martin Mere.

FORMBY CHAPELRY (of Walton)

This detached portion of Walton, situated S. of Southport, must have been formerly connected with the adjoining par. of North Meols. Formby and North Meols are situated along the sea, and much of the ground consists of sandhills.

Formby (v.): *Fornebei* DB, *Fornebia* 1177 LPR, *Fornebi* 1203ff. LPR, *Forneby* 1252 IPM, 1298 LI, etc., *fforneby* 1332 LS, *Formby* 1509 LF. This may be "the *býr* of *Forni*," as suggested by Wyld and assumed by Björkman (*Forni* is a known O.N. name), or "the old *býr*" from O.N. *forn* "old" (Harrison). In favour of the latter alternative it may be pointed out that *Fornaby* "the old *by*" is a common Swed. name (Hellquist, Ortnamnen på *-by* p. 51). An old village may have been so named in contradistinction to new settlements made by Scand. immigrants.

Ravensmeols (old manor, now partly washed away by the sea): *Mele* DB, *Molas* 1094 Ch, *Ravenesmeles* 1190-4 Ch, 1246 LAR, etc., *-mueles* 1232 LAR, *-moles* 1246 LAR, *-moeles* 1284 ChR, *Rauenesmelis* c 1200 CC, *-meles* 1269 LAR, *Rauenesmel'* 1332 LS, *Ravenmeles* 1468 LF; now [re·vn mi·lz]. First el. O.N. *Hrafn* pers. n.; second el. O.N. *melr* "sandbank, sandhill." The forms *-moeles*, *-moles*, *-mueles* are Norman spellings, probably pointing to *ē*, which is due to compensation-length, an *h* having disappeared after *l* (cf. Noreen, Aisl. Gr. § 119, 2).

Ainsdale (old manor, v.): *Einulvesdel* DB, *Ainuluesdale* c 1190 Ch, *Aynuluisdale* c 1200 CC, *Aymulvedale* 1295 ChR, *de Haynuldisdal* (*Aynuluesden*) 1246 LAR, *Aynolsdale* 1451 CC. The first el. of the name may be O.E. *Ægenwulf* (Searle) or a hypothetical O.N. *Einulfr*. The former is the opinion of Björkman, the latter that of Wyld. I am inclined to decide in favour of the latter alternative, because the names of this district are preponderatingly Scandinavian. O.N. *Einulfr* is not found, but the analogous O.N. *Einbiǫrn* is, and *Enbiǫrn* is a common O.Swed. name.

NORTH MEOLS PAR.

The district of Southport, on the sea.

1. **Birkdale** (S. of Southport): *Birkedale* c 1200 CC, 1305 Lacy C, etc., *Berkdale* 1311 IPM; *Birkedene* c 1200 CC. O.N. *birki* "birch-copse" and *dalr* "dale." Birkdale was formerly a part of Argarmeles.

Argarmeles: *Erengermeles* DB, *Argarmelis* 1243 LI, *Agermoles* 1246 LAR, *Argarmel* 1249 IPM, *Argaremeles* 1254 IPM, *Argarmeles* 1255 IPM, *Arkmell* 1330 LI, *Argarmelys in Byckedale* 16 cent. DL. The name has disappeared; most of Argarmeles has been washed away by the sea. In 1503 John Shirlok, aged 80 years, deposed that he never knew of any place called Argarmelys, but that he had heard that there once were such lands, which had been drowned in the sea. The place of them was unknown to him (LP I. 24).

2. **North Meols**: *Otegrimele, Otringemele* DB; *Moles* a 1149 Ch, *Moeles* 1153-60 Ch (orig.), *de Molis* 1229 LAR, *Molis* 1242 LI, *Mels* 1311 IPM; *Normalas* c 1190 Ch, *Nor Muelis* 1229 LAR, *Nortmelis* 1243 LI, *Nortmoles* 1246 LAR, *North Meles* 1312 LI, *Northmeles* 1229 LAR, 1322 LI, 1332 LS, etc. The original

name was *Meles* or a compound with a pers. n. as first el. This pers. n. is corrupt in the only extant forms. O.N. *Oddgrímr* may have existed, though it is not evidenced. But probably it is O.N. *Auðgrimr*, often found in England as *Ouðgrim, Odgrim*, etc. (Björkman, Personennamen). Later the old name was supplanted by North Meols.

Crossens (v. ; near a slight head-land) : *Crossenes* c 1250 Farrer, Hist. N. Meols, *de Crossenes* 1323 LCR, *Crosnes* 1327 LS, 1341 IN, *Crossons* 1550 Farrer *op. cit.* 32. " The ness with the cross or crosses."

Blowick (near Southport) is presumably O.N. *blá-vík* " the dark bay." *Wyke* in North Meols is mentioned in early documents : *le Wyk* 1354, *le Wike* 1460 Farrer, Hist. N. Meols, *le Wyk in Northmeles* (a certain water, parcel of Merton Mere) 1503 ib. 116. Cf. Wyke in Scarisbrick.

LEYLAND HUNDRED

Lailand hvnd' DB, (de) *Lailand Wapentachio* 1188 LPR, *Serjanteria de Leiland* 1200 LPR, *Wapentake of Leiland* 1229 ChR, *Lailondesire* 1226 LI, *Leylandesire* 1243 LI, *Leylaundschyre*, etc., 1246 LAR, *Leilondshire* 1327 LS, *Wapentach' de Leylondshir'* 1332 LS.

Leyland hundred, the smallest in Lancashire, occupies the district S. of the mouth of the Ribble. The surface is level and low in the W., but rises in the E., where an altitude of c 1,200ft. is reached at Great Hill (: *Grethull* LPR 375).

Names of Rivers

Douglas (joins the Ribble near its estuary) : *Duglis* a 1220, *Dugeles* a 1232, *Duggles* a 1233 CC, 14 cent. Higden, *Dugles* a 1235 CC, *Duggils, Dugles*, pron. *Duggels* c 1540 Leland, *the Duglesse* 1577 Harr., *Dowles* 1577 Saxton. Hogan gives from an Ir. source the form *Dubh glaisi* (g. sg.). The name is British and means " the black stream " ; it is a compound of **dubo-* " black " (Welsh *du*, etc.), and a word for " stream " corresponding to Welsh *glais*, Ir. *glais* " stream." The name is common in Wales and Ireland : Douglas, Irel. ; Dulas, Wales (Angles., Glam., Montg., etc.). Early Welsh forms are *dubleis* LL 198, *dibleis* ib. 191 (Monm.), *dubleis, dugleis* ib. 78 (Carn.).

Asland (the name of the lower course of the Douglas) : *Asklone* a 1217 CC, *Ascalon* 1223 LF, *Askelon, Eskelon* a 1250 CC, *Asteland* 1550 DL, *Astland* c 1555 DL, *Oslande* 1590 Burghley. The name is a compound of O.N. *askr* " ash " (and *eski* " ash-trees ") and *lon(e)*, identical with Sc. dial. *lane* " the hollow course of a large rivulet in meadow-land ; a brook whose movement is scarcely perceptible ; the smooth, slowly moving part of a river." This *lane* is supposed in NED to be perhaps a different word from *lane* " road " ; but cf. *e.g.* Swed. *pad* " road, path ; also river valley " NoB I. 119ff. The same word is perhaps found in (aquam de) *Hangelan, Hangelon* c 1200 CC (Ainsdale). The river Asland is a " lane " in the sense given above.

Perburn (earlier name of Buckow Brook, a trib. of the Douglas) : *Perburne*

c 1200 CC, *Perburn(e)* c 1250 LPD II. 200. *Per-* is probably O.E. *peru* " pear," in M.E. also " pear-tree."

Yarrow (a trib. of the Douglas): *Yarwe* c 1190 CC, *Earwe* 1203 LF, *Yarewe* 1246 LAR, *Yarugh* 1276 IM, *Yaro* c 1540 Leland, the *Yarowe* 1577 Harr. The Yarrow is a fairly important river, whose name may with probability be looked upon as British. An O.E. *Gearwe* or the like we may derive from Celt. **garwo-* " rough " (Welsh *garw*, Ir. *garbh*, etc.; cf. Garw, Glam.). The upper part of the river seems to be rapid. With an O.E. *Earwe* we may compare the Gaul. river name *Arva* (Stokes 19) and Arrow, the name of a place and river in Warw. (: *Arne* for *Arue* 710 BCS 127, *Arve* DB). Cf. Yarrow, Sc.

Lostock (a trib. of the Yarrow): *Lostoc* c 1200 CC, *Lostok* 13 cent. WhC 860ff. Cf. Lostock in Salford, p. 39. Lostock can hardly be an old river-name. I suppose a place so called was once situated on the river, which came to be called Lostock Water or the like and finally Lostock. Lostock Hall in Walton-le-Dale may be the place, but the name is apparently not evidenced until the 14th cent. (VHL VI. 295).

Wymott Brook (a trib. of the Lostock): (aqua de) *Wimoth* c 1215 CC, (Molendinum de) *Wimode* c 1225 CC, (aqua de) *Wimode* c 1250 CC, *Wymote* (r.) 1547 LP III. 16. This name possibly contains O.E. *mūpa* " mouth of a river " and must then originally have denoted the confluence of the brook with the Lostock. If we may assume such a small brook to have a Brit. name, I suggest that *Wi-* is identical with the obviously Celtic river-name Wye in Bucks, Kent, Heref.

Sid Brook (joins the Yarrow from the S., near Croston): *Suthebroc* c 1190, c 1200 CC. " The southern brook." The sound development is curious.

Chor (brook in Chorley). A back-formation from Chorley. Harrison 1577 calls it *Ceorle*.

Warth Brook or **Warthe Dean** (between Heapey and Anglezark): *Worddeyn* LPR 375. O.E. *worp* " enclosure," etc., and *denu* " valley."

STANDISH PAR.

A district N.W. of Wigan and the Douglas. It is on the slopes of Harrock Hill, the elevation being 382ft. at Standish.

1. **Standish-with-Langtree** (in a bend of the Douglas; near Wigan).

Standish (v.): *Stanesdis* 1178 LPR, *Stanidis* c 1190 Ch, *Stanedis* 1207 LPR, 1212 BF, *Stanedich* 1213 LPR, *de Stanediss* 1245 LAR, *Stanediss* (*de Stanedis*, *Stanidiss*, *Stonidis*) 1246 LAR, *Stanedisch* 1253 LAR, *Stanedisse* 1276 LAR, *Staunedesse*, *Stanedis* 1276 IM; *Standische* 1288 IPM, *Standissh* 1304 LF, 1327, 1332 LS, *Standish* 1330 LF, *Standich* c 1540 Leland. O.E. *stān* " stone " and *edisc* " park or enclosed pasture for cattle " (Wyld). Cf. Standish, Glo. (*Stanedis* 872 BCS 535, late copy), Farndish, Beds. (*fearn edisc* 824 BCS 378; incorrectly explained by Skeat), Cavendish, Brundish, Suff., which show the same loss of the first vowel of *edisc* as Standish.

Langtree (old manor): *Longetre* c 1190 Ch, c 1200 CC, 1330 LF, *Langetre* 1206 LF, c 1250 LPD II. 201, 1288 IPM, 1292 PW; *Langtre* 1258 LAR, 1311 IPM, *Longetr'* 1332 LS. " The long (high) tree " (O.E. *lang* and *trēo*). Cf. Langtree (hundred), Glo.

Birley Wood : *de Birlegh* 1332 LS. O.E. *bȳre* " byre " and *lēah*.

2. **Shevington** (W. of Standish ; h.) : *Shefinton* c 1225 CC, *Sewinton* 1243 LI, *Schevinton* 1288 IPM, *Shevynton* 1322 LI, 1324 LCR, 1328 LF, etc., *Sheuinton* 1332 LS ; *Shevyngton* 1312 LI, 1372 Gaunt R, 1420 LF, *Scyvyngton* 1324 LI, *Sheuyngton* 1327 LS.

The same first el. is found in *Schevynlegh* 1329, and *Shevynhulldiche* 1362 in Charters and Deeds relative to the Standish family (ed. J. P. Earwaker). Both names denote places in or on the border of Shevington. They tell us that the first el. of Shevington cannot be a word with the suffix *-ing* and also render it extremely improbable that *Shevin-* is the gen. of the (somewhat doubtful) O.E. pers. n. *Scēafa*. Preservation of the *n* in all three names would be highly remarkable. The name *Shevinhull*, which probably designates the hill on the slope of which Shevington village stands (Shevington Moor), perhaps suggests that Shevin is an old hill-name, but a definite etymology of such a name cannot be given without more illustrative material. Somewhat similar names are Shavington, Shr. (*Scevintone* DB) and Shavington, Ches. These places cannot have been named from hills.†

Crook (h.) : *del Crok* 1324 LCR. The hamlet stands at a bend of the Douglas. The name is M.E. *crōk*, probably from O.N. *krōkr* " bend, hook."

Gathurst (on the Douglas) : *Gatehurst* a 1547 DL. First el. perhaps O.E. *geat* " gate."

3. **Worthington** (S. of Chorley, on the Douglas) : *Wrthinton* c 1225 CC, *de Worthinton* 1243 LI, *de Wyrthinton* (*Wurthington*, *Wurtheton*) 1246 LAR, *de Wurthyncton* 1276 LAR, *Wrthinton'*, *de Wrthinton* 1276 IM, *Worthington* 1292 PW, 1318 LF, 1327 LS, etc., *Worthinton* 1320 LF, 1332 LS. There is a Worthington also in Leic. : *Wrthinton* 1276 HR. Worthington may very well contain O.E. *worðign* (=*worðig*) " enclosure," etc., or O.E. *wyrðing* " cultivated field " ? (B-T.). On the other hand, the names Worston and Worsthorne in Bl. very likely contain an O.E. pers. n., of which *Worthing-* may represent a patronymic. Cf. p. 78.

4. **Adlington** (on the Douglas, S. of Chorley ; v.) : *Edeluinton* a 1190 CC, *de Hedelintona* c 1190 Ch, *Adelventon* (*de Aldeventon*) 1202 LF, *Adelminton* 1204 LPR, *Adelinton* (*de Athelington*) 1246 LAR, *Adlington* 1288 IPM, *Adlinton* 1332 LS. O.E. **Eadwylfinga* or **Eadwulfinga tūn* ; *Eadwylfingas* is a patronymic from *Eadwulf*. Cf. O.E. *Eadulfingtune*, Thorpe, p. 549 ; Adlington, Ches. (*Adelvinton* 1248 IPM), Edlingham, Nhb. (*Eadulfingaham* Sim. Durh. 68).

5. **Anderton** (S.E. of Chorley) : *Anderton* 1212 LI, 1246 LAR, 1327 LS, etc., *de Andirton* 1282 LI, *Andreton* 1332 LS. Anderton stands on the Douglas, called here *Anderton water* by Leland (c 1540). The name is no doubt identical with Anderton in Ches. (: *Anderton* 1303-4 RS 59). I suppose the name has as first el. O.E. *Eanrēd* pers. n. Between *n* and *r* a *d* would develop at an early date, and the long diphthong would be shortened. Andersfield, Som. (*Andredesfeld* 1187 PR) seems to contain the same first el.

Roscoe Low (hill 525ft.) : (rivulum de) *Rascahae* a 1190 CC, ? *de Rascok*, *de Rachecok* 1246 LAR. Roscoe seems to go back to an O.N. *rā-skōgr* meaning either " roe wood " or possibly " boundary wood." *Rascahae* is apparently an anglicized form.

6. **Heath Charnock** (on both sides of the Yarrow, N. of Adlington and Anderton): *Chernoc* a 1190 CC, *Hethechernoce* 1270 LAR, *Hetchernok* 1288 IPM, *Hethechernocke* 1322 LI, *Hethchernok* 1327 LS, 1353 LF, *Heth Chernok* 1332 LS; *Heghchernot* 1341 IN; *Estcherinok* 1278 LAR. The township is also called Charnock Gogard (*Chernock Gogard* 1284 LAR) from a family of the name. The surface reaches 650ft. above sea-level; presumably the ground was partly heath.

The name is identical (minus the distinctive addition) with Charnock Richard. Charnock Richard and Heath Charnock, both on the Yarrow, are separated by Duxbury township. Either we must assume that Charnock was once a larger district, which included also Duxbury, or that Charnock is an old name of the river Yarrow, which was applied to two places situated on the river. The river may have had different names in different parts of its course. Thus Ock in Berks. seems also to have had the name (O.E.) *Cern* (cf. Skeat, Place-names of Berks., s.v. Charney). I have no doubt the name is Celtic. If Charnock is an old river-name, we may compare *Cerniog*, the name of an affluent to the river Carno (Montgomerysh., Wales). If it is a derivative of a river-name, this may have been identical with the O.E. *Cern* just mentioned; and the suffix is the well-known Celtic ending *-āko* (W. *-og*, etc.).

Limbrick (h., on an elevation). Perhaps O.N. *lind-brekka* "lime-tree slope."

Street: *del Strete* 1284 LAR, 1323 LCR, 1332 LS, *de Strata* 1270 LAR. The place was probably named from a Roman road (O.E. *strǣt*, *strēt*), or some other ancient road.

7. **Duxbury** (S. of Chorley, traversed by the Yarrow): *Deukesbiri* 1202 LF, *Dukesbiri* 1227 LF, *Dokesbiri* 1246 LAR, *Dokesburi* 1288 IPM, *Dokesbury* 1321 LF, 1327 LS, etc., *Dokesbur'* 1332 LS, *Duxbury* 1506 LF. I suppose the first el. is a pers. n. identical with that of Duxford, Cambr. (*Dochesuuorde* DB, *Dukesworth* 1286 FA); Skeat suggests an O.E. **Duc.*

Burgh (on the N. bank of the Yarrow): *de le Burg'* 1276 IM, *de Burgh* 1288 LI, *del Burgh* 1332 LS, *Burghe* 1577 Harr. I suppose there was once a burh in the place, which would have been very suitable for the purpose. Possibly this burh also gave name to Duxbury; Duxbury Hall, however, is on the other bank of the river.

8. **Coppull** (S. of the Yarrow, S.W. of Chorley): *Cophill* 1218 LAR, *de Cophull* 1243, 1254 LI, 1246 LAR, *Coppel* 1276 LAR, *Cophull* 1322 LF, etc., *Coppull* 1386 LF, etc.; *Coppehull* 1332 LS. *Cop* means "top" (especially of a hill), "heap, mound, tumulus" (NED); in dialects also "hill, peak." The name presumably means "peaked hill." The hill which gave the place its name is probably Coppull Hill (300ft.) S. of Coppull Hall.

Blainscough: *de Bleynescowe* 1281 VHL VI. 227, *Blaynscow* 1538 LP II. 95. The forms are too late to allow of a definite etymology. O.N. *Blǣingr* pers. n. may be the first el. The second is O.N. *skógr* "wood."

Chisnall Hall: *Chisinhalli* a 1220 CC, *de Chysenhale* 1285 LAR, *de Chisenhall* 1324 AP, *de Chisenhale* 1332, 1342 LF. I think Wyld correctly identifies the first el. with an adj. *cisen* from *cis* "gravel" (cf. Chesham, p. 61). The second is O.E. *halh* "haugh." Chisnall Hall stands near a brook on level ground.

9. **Welch Whittle** (S.W. of Chorley): *Withull* 1221 LF, *Quitul* c 1210 CC, *Walsewythull* 1243 LI, *Walschewythull* 1288 IPM, *Whalshequithull* 1324 LI, *Whithull*

Waleys 1332 LS. The distinguishing addition is the family name *Waleys* (*Walsh*), literally " Welsh." Whittle is " white hill." There are several heights in the township, one of which must have been called " the white hill."

10. **Charnock Richard** (S.W. of Chorley, in a bend of the Yarrow): *Chernoch* 1194 LPR, *de Chernoc* 1243 LI, (Richard) *de Chernok* 1246 LAR, *Chernok Ricard* 1288 IPM, *Ricardeschernok* 1292 PW, *Chernok Richard* 1324 LF, *Chernok Rich't* 1332 LS. *See* Heath Charnock. The epithet *Richard* seems to be derived from Richard de Charnock, just mentioned.

ECCLESTON PAR.

A district W. of Chorley and Standish, bounded on the S. by the Douglas.

1. **Parbold** (on the Douglas; v.): *Iperbolt* 1195 LF, *Perebold* 1202 LF, *Perbold* 1212 LI, a 1233 CC, *Perebolt* 1202-30 LPD II. 202, *Parbold* 1243 LI, etc., *de Perbald* 1246 LAR, *Perbald* 1332 LS, etc. The variation in the early forms is remarkable, yet I suppose the name is simply a compound of O.E. *peru* " pear " (or rather " pear-tree ") and *bold* " homestead," etc.; cf. Appleton, Plumpton, Plumstead, and the like. *Iperbolt* must be corrupt. The form *-bald* may partly be due to change of *o* to *a* in a weakly stressed syllable, partly to inverted spelling, the change of *a* to *o* being common in Lancashire before *l*. The early *a* in the first syllable is possibly due to Norman influence.

2. **Wrightington** (W. of Standish): *Wrstincton* 1195 LF, *Wrichtington* 1202 LF, *Wrictinton* 1212 LI, *Urittington* 1246 LAR, *Wrytinton* 1256 LF, *Wrightyngton* 1314 LF, etc., *Wrightinton* 1327, 1332 LS. This is probably O.E. *Wyrhtena tūn* " the town of the wrights " (Wyld); cf. *para wyrhtena land* 944 BCS 795 (Wilts.) and Smeaton, Yks., apparently " the smiths' town."

Appley Bridge, Moor (on the Douglas): (boscus de) *Appellae, Appelleie, Appeleye* 13 cent. CC. " Apple lea."

Dwerryhouse (E. of Harrock Hill): *de Dwerihouse* 1332 LS. Cf. Dwariden, Yks. The first el. is O.E. *dweorh*, M.E. *dwery*, etc., " dwarf," here possibly a pers. n.

Fairhurst: *Fayrhurste* 1539 CC. Self-explaining.

Harrock Hall, Harrock Hill: *Harakiskar* c 1260 CC, *Harrok-hyll* 1501 CC, *Harrok-hill* 1539 CC. O.E. *hār* " hoary " and *āc* " oak." Harrock Hill, on which is Harrock Hall (estate), reaches over 400 ft. I suppose the hill was named from a place at which there was a " hoar oak."

Hunger Hill (h.). A common place-name, no doubt meaning literally " hunger hill," a hill where nothing grows. Cf. *Hungercroft* 1200-35 CC (in Worthington).

Tunley: *Tunleg* (vill) 1246 LAR, *de Tunlegh* 1332 LS. O.E. *tūn* and *lēah*. Cf. Towneley in Bl. (p. 84).

3. **Heskin** (N. of Wrightington, W. of Chorley): *Heskyn* (surname) 1257 LAR, *de Eskin* 1260 LAR, *Heskyn* 1301, 1388 LF, 1332 LS, *de Hefkyn* 1341 IN, *Heskin* 1497 LF. The township lies on the N. slope of the Wrightington hills; Heskin Hall and Heskin Green (h.) stand near Sid Brook. A satisfactory etymology of this curious name is offered by a word appearing in various Celtic languages: Welsh *hesgen* " sedge, rush," O.Corn. *heschen* " canna, arundo," O.Ir. *sescenn* " marsh." The sense " marsh " is probably that of early Welsh

hesgen in place-names, as *hescenn iudie* LL 143 (*iudic* is a pers. n.), *Hesgyndv* (*dv=du* "black") Rec. Carn. 200, *Penheskyn* ib. 103, *Cwmhesgyn* ib. 200. Heskin (Denbigh) is *Heskyn* 1334 Surv. Denbigh. The township does not now seem to be marshy, but very likely there were formerly marshes along Sid Brook.

Barmskin Hall (S. of Heskin Hall). The name has not been found in early sources. It seems to contain the name Heskin.

4. **Eccleston** (on both sides of the Yarrow, W. of Chorley; v.): *Aycleton* 1094 Ch, *Ecclestun* c 1180 SC, *Etcheleston* c 1190 Ch, *Ekeleston* 1203 LF, *Echeleston* c 1200 LC, *Eccliston, Ecclestun* a 1212 CC, *Ecliston* 1252 LI, *Ecleston* 1288 IPM, *Eccleston* 1301 LF, 1327 LS, *Eccliston* 1332 LS, *Egelston* 1577 Harr. Cf. Eccles, Sa. p. 37. *Eccles-* is probably from a Brit. form of Lat. *ecclesia*. A church in Eccleston is mentioned as early as 1094.

Sarscow: *Saferscohe* CC 494, *Sarescogh* 1401 VHL VI. 164. Björkman Namenkunde, suggests as first member of *Safrebi*, Linc. O.N. *Sǽfari* pers. n. This is evidently the source of *Safara, Sefar(e)* on coins of William the Conqueror (Brooke, Catalogue of English Coins, 1916), and may be the first el. of Sarscow, whose second el. is O.N. *skógr* "wood."

Tingreave or **Ingrave**: *Tynedgreve* 1393 VHL VI. 163, *Tyngreyff* 1433 TI, *Tyngreue* 1505 LF. O.E. *tȳned* from *tȳnan* "to fence, enclose" and *grēf* "grove." The form Ingrave is due to the fact that the definite article in Lanc. is often *t* (< *that*), which caused the initial *T-* to be mistaken for the article.

CHORLEY PAR.

A district N. of Wigan, in a bend of the Yarrow. The surface is hilly. There is only one township.

Chorley (town): *Cherleg* 1246 LAR, *Cherle* 1252 LF, *de Cherlyhe* 1254 LI, *Cherlag* 1276 LAR, *Cherlegh* 1278 LAR; *Chorley* 1257 LI, 1278 LAR, 1288 IPM, etc., *Chorlegh* 1332 LS, etc. Chorley is probably O.E. *ceorla lēah*; cf. Chorlton p. 32. The same name is found in Ches. and Herts.

Bagganley (on Bagganley Brook): cf. *bagan brooke* 1564 Chorley R, *Bagen brooke* 1577 Harr. Etymology obscure.

Eaves: *de(l) Euese* 1288 LI. O.E. *efes* "border of a wood."

Healey: *Hell[ey]* 1202, *Helei* 1215 LPR, *Heley-cliffe* LPR 376, *Helegh* (park) 1314, 1324 LI. "The high lea." Higher Healey is on the slope of Healey Nab, a conspicuous hill (682ft.).

Kingsley (h.): *de Kingesle* 1246 LAR, *Kyngele* 1535 DL. Presumably "the king's lea."

Knowley: *Knolhale* 1288 LI, 1314 OR. O.E. *cnoll* "knoll" and *halh* "haugh." Little Knowley is near the Blackbrook and Knowley Top, which stands at the foot of a knoll.

LEYLAND PAR.

A large district N. of Chorley. In the east an elevation of c 1,250ft. is attained on Withnell Moor. The ground slopes away gradually, until in the W. a level of c 50ft. is reached.

The eastern, hilly part was formerly called **Gunnolf's Moors** (embracing the

townships of Hoghton, Withnell, Wheelton, and Whittle-le-Woods): *Gunnoluesmores* 1212 LI, *Gonolfemore* 13 cent. WhC 848ff. 1309 ib. 851, *Gonolfemores* 1329 ib. 269, *Gunnolfmores* 1311 IPM. *Gunnolf* is an O.N. pers. n. (O.N. *Gunnulfr*).

1. **Withnell** (N.E. of Chorley): *Withinhull* c 1160 Ch, *Whithen-*, *Whythen(e)-*, *Withenhull* 1246 LAR, *Wytenhulle* 1276 LAR, *Wythenul* 1313 LF, *Wythinhull* 1332 LS, *Wynnell* 1580 DL. "Willow hill," dial. *withen* (O.E. *wiþig*) and *hyll*. The church stands on the slope of Pike Lowe (720ft.). This is very likely the hill that gave the place its name.

Brinscall (h.): *Brendescoles* c 1200 WhC 835, *de Brendescoles* 13 cent. WhC 118, *de Brendeschales* (*Bradeschales*) 1246 LAR. "The burnt huts," from M.E. *brend* "burnt" and *scale* "hut" (O.N. *skāli*).

Ollerton: *de Alreton* 1240, 1246 LAR, *Alreton* 1269, 1276 LAR, *Allerton* 1278 LAR, *Olreton* 13 cent. WhC 848. O.E. *alor* "alder" and *tūn*.

Roddlesworth (on the N.E. slope of Great Hill, h.): *Rodtholfeswrtha* c 1160 Ch, *de Rotholueswurth* (*Roteleswurt*) 1246 LAR, *Rothelesworth* 1327, 1332 LS. "The *worþ* of *Hrōðwulf*." *Hrōðwulf* is a well-known O.E. pers. n. The same pers. n. appears to enter into a name in the neighbouring Hoghton: *Rothelisden* 13 cent. WhC 859, *Routhelesden* 13 cent. ib. 836. The change of [ð] to [d] is due to the following *l*.

Stanworth (h.; on a hill side, near Roddlesworth river): *Stanword*, *-le* c 1200 WhC 831, 835, *Stanworthe*, *Stanworthele*, *Stanworle* 1276 LAR, *de Staneworth* 1263 LAR. "Stone enclosure." O.E. *stān-worþ*; *-le* is O.E. *lēah*.

2. **Hoghton** (S.W. of Blackburn, W. of the Darwen): *Hoctonam* c 1160 Ch, *de Houton* 1227f. LAR, *Hocton* 1241 LF, *Hutun* (*de Hocton*, *Hothon*) 1246 LAR, *Houaton* 1276 LAR, *Hoghton* 1278 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., *Howghton* 1577 Harr.; now [(h)ɔ·tn]. It is not always easy to distinguish the forms of Hoghton from those of Hutton. The first el. of the name is no doubt O.E. *hōh* "spur of hill, ridge." The early forms may seem to point to original *Hōc-*, but *c* may very well be a spelling for *h*. The most striking physical feature of the township is a steep hill or short ridge, on which is Hoghton Tower (over 500ft. above sea-level). The hill answers perfectly the description of a *hoe* or *heugh* in NED.

Brimmicroft (h.): *de Bromicroft* 1246 LAR, *de Bromycroft* 13 cent. WhC 839, *Bromcroft* 1497 LF. Self-explaining. For the change of *o* to *i* cf. [briəm] for *broom* in N. Lanc. (Wright), *de Brimyhurst* (Broomhurst) 1277 LAR.

3. **Wheelton** (N.E. of Chorley, on the Lostock; v.): *Weltonam* c 1160 Ch, *Whelton* c 1200 WhC 835, 1327, 1332 LS, etc., *Wylton*, *Welton* 1276 LAR, *Quelton* 1276 LAR, 1288 IPM, etc., *Weleton* 1278 LAR, *Quilton* 1313 LF. I suppose the first el. is O.E. *hwēol* "wheel"; the same word is found in the name *Whelcroft* 13 cent. WhC 839ff. (in Wheelton). As Wheelton vill. is on the Lostock, it may have been named from a water-wheel, or *wheel* may have had such a meaning as "whirlpool." But *wheel* was used formerly in the sense of "a circle," as in the following instance from RSB: "a quibusdam circulis qui vocantur le Wheles juxta Harashowe" (p. 487). Circles made of stones may be meant. A place called *Hjol* (lit. "wheel") in Norway is thought (NG II. 5) to have been named from something rounded about the situation of the place, *e.g.*, a round hill. Wheldale in Yks. (*Queldale*, *Weldale* DB, etc.) seems to contain O.E. *hwēol*.

Burton Brook: *Burton brok*, *Burtonbrok* 13 cent. WhC 839f. The name seems

to point to a lost place Burton, which, however, need not have been just in Wheelton township.

4. **Heapey** (N. of Chorley; h.): *de Hepeie* 1219 LAR, *de Hepay* (*Hepethe*) 1246 LAR, *de Hophay* 1246, 1249 LAR, *de Hephay* 1248 LAR, *de Hopay* 1251 LAR, *de Heppay* 1285 LAR, *Hepay* 1332 LS, etc., *Hepey* 1497 LF. The forms seem to point to O.E. *hēope* "hip" and *hege* "hey" as the elements of the name. But a first el. *hēap* "hill" would also be suitable, as Heapey is on a fairly conspicuous hill.

Shackerley (on Warth Brook): *de Shakerlegh* 1332 LS. Cf. the same name, p. 101.

5. **Whittle-le-Woods** (N. of Chorley, traversed by the Lostock; v.): *Wıtul* c 1160 Ch, *Whithill in the Wood* 1311 IPM, *Whithull in bosco* 1327, 1332 LS, *Whithull in the Wodes* 1381 LF, *Whitle in le Woods* 1565 Chorley R; now [witli wudz]. "The white hill." The village is on the slope of a hill called Whittle Hills in O.M. 1846-51.

Copthurst: *Coppildhirst* LPR 375. "Peaked hill"; cf. p. 51. The place stands at a hill. *Coppild-* is no doubt miswritten for *Coppid-* or the like.

Crook: *del Crok* 1332 LS, *del Crooke* 1400 LF. The place stands on the Lostock, which makes many turns. But Old Crooke is nearer Bryning Brook, which makes a turn at this very place. Cf. Crook, p. 128.

6. **Euxton** (N.W. of Chorley, N. of the Yarrow; v.): *Eueceston* 1187 LPR, *Euekeston* 1188 ib., *Euckeston* 1212 LI, 1242 LAR, *Eukeston* 1243 LI, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., *Eukestan* 1246 LAR, *Hevkeston*, *Heukestone* 1277 LAR. The modern pronunciation is said to be Exton; cf. *Extonbrugh* 1577 Saxton. The first el. of the name is no doubt a pers. n., perhaps O.E. *Æfic*, *Efic* (Redin).

Armetridding (on the Yarrow): *de Armetheriding* 1246 LAR, *de*(*l*) *Ermetridinge* 1332 LS. M.E. *ermite*, *armite* "hermit" and *ridding* "a clearing" (p. 16). Cf. "Cloch ubi heremita sedit" (Caton) CC 840.

7. **Leyland** (S. of Preston, on both sides of the Lostock; town): *Lailand* DB, 1212 LI, *Leilandia*, *Lailanda* c 1160 Ch (orig.), *Leiland* 1212 LI, *Leyland* 1243 LI, 1391 LF, etc., *Leylond* 1246 LAR, 1321 LF, 1332 LS, etc., *Laylond* 1284 LAR, 1327 LS, etc. I take the name to be simply M.E. *ley-land* (*leland*) "fallow land, land 'laid down' to grass"; first el. *lea*, *ley*, *lay* "fallow, unploughed," O.E. *lǣg* (cf. O.N. *lāgr* "low," O.Fris. *lech*) found in *læghrycg* (NED s.v. *lea-land*). If this is right, the name may be compared with Fallowfield, p. 30. The first el. is hardly O.E. *lēah*; this ought to have given early M.E. **Lēhland* or **Lēland*.

Blacklache House: *Blakelache* c 1250 LPD II. 201, *del Blakelache* 1332 LS. "Black letch" or "pool"; cf. p. 15.

Earnshaw Bridge (h.; on the flat bank of the Lostock): *Erneshalgh* 14 cent. PC. "The haugh of *Earn* or *Earne*" (cf. Redin).

Midge Hall: *Miggehalgh* 1390 LF. The name means "haugh infested by midges"; cf. the same name in Am. The place stands on the outskirts of Leyland Moss.

Snubsnape: *Snubsnape* 1372, *Snopsnape* 1549, *Snobbesnape* 1596 VHL VI. 14f. On *snape* "pasture" *see* p. 17. The first el. may be compared with E. *snub* "a snag or stub" (1590 Spenser), *snub* vb. "to crop; to eat close" (EDD), Icel. *snubbóttr* "stumpy."

Worden (S. of Leyland town, sometimes called a vill): *Werdenebroc*, (riuulo de) *Werden* a 1250 CC; *Werthen*, *de Werden* 1246 LAR, *Wereden* 1524 DL. Worden

Hall is on Worden Brook. Supposing *Werthen* to be a later form of *Werden*, we may take the name to be a compound containing O.E. *denu* " valley." The first el. may be O.E. *wer* " weir " or possibly an old river-name; cf. Wear, Durh. (a Celtic name).

8. **Clayton-le-Woods** (E. of Leyland): *Claiton* c 1200 CC, 1212 LI, 1227 LAR, 1327, 1332 LS, *Cleyton* c 1200 CC, etc., *Clayton* 1246 LAR. O.E. *clǣg-tūn*; cf. p. 70.

9. **Cuerden** (S.E. of Preston, in a bend of the Lostock): *Kerden, Alde Kerden* c 1200 CC, *Kerden* 1243 LI, 1246, 1285 LAR, 1327, 1332 LS, etc., *Kirden* 1212 LI, *Keredyn* 1278 LAR, *Kerdyn* 1285 LAR, *Kerdon, Kerden* 1292 PW, *Kyrden* 1451 CC; now [kjuˑədn]. Occasional spellings such as *Keverden* 1554 LF show influence from Cuerdale, Cuerdley. The name cannot be a compound of *carr* (O.N. *kiarr*) and O.E. *denu*, for if so we should expect Mod. Carden. Cf. *e.g.*, Carr House (Bretherton): *Carrehows* 1451 CC, *del Car* 1332 LS. The absence of the change *e*>*a* indicates that the vowel of the first el. was long. The name is perhaps British; cf. *Cerdyn*, the name of a river in Cardigan (Wales), Kerthen (Cornwall): *Kerthyn* 1306 IPM. This is no doubt Welsh *cerddin* (*dd* = *ð*), Corn. *kerden* " mountain ash." As regards [d] instead of [ð], Haydock p. 99 may be compared. But the name may be a compound containing O.E. *denu*. If so, the first el. is possibly the O.E. pers. n. *Cær* found in *Cæresige* 972 BCS 1289, now Kersey, Suff. Or it may be an old river-name of Brit. origin identical with Keer in Lonsdale. Lostock is no doubt an English name, and an earlier Brit. name must have existed.

Faldworthings (name lost, but common in early sources): *de Faldworthyng* 1278 LAR, *de Faldworthinges* 1322 LI, *de ffaldeworthinges* 1332 LS. First el. O.E. *falod* " fold." The second may be O.E. *wyrðing* " cultivated field " or *worðign* " enclosure "; cf. p. 21.

BRINDLE PAR.

A hilly district E. of Leyland, S.E. of Preston. It contains only **Brindle** township: *Brumhull* 1203, 1204 LPR, *de Burhull* 1204 LPR, *Burnhull* 1206 LPR, 1246 LAR, etc.; *Burnhulle* 1212 RB, 1292 PW, *Burnul* 1212 LI, *de Burnhul* 1226 LI, *de Burnul* 1246 LAR, 1251 LI, *de Burnhil* 1246 LF, *de Brunhull* 1254 LF, *Burnehill* 1332 LS, *Birnehill* 1448 DL, *Brynhill* 1480 Ind, *Bryndill* 1509 DL, 1511 LF, *Bryndhyll* 1548 LP III. 32, *Brenhull* 1556 LF, *Brinhill* 1558 Brindle R.

The place was named from a hill, very likely the conspicuous Hough Hill S. of the church. The modern and late M.E. forms seem to point to a first el. *Bryn-* or *Byrn-*, though the absence of early spellings with *i*, *y* is remarkable. *Brimhill* 1227 LF has probably been misread for *Brunhill*. If *Burn-* in early sources stands for a pronunciation [byrn] it might represent a Brit. word corresponding to W. *bryn* " hill " (cf. Brynn, p. 100). But I am more inclined to believe that the base had a *u* and is simply O.E. *burna* " brook." Late *Bryn-*, *Brin-* may be compared with *Brynley* for Burnley (Brunley) 1574 DL. An etymology " Burnhill " (O.E. *burna* " brook " and *hyll*) would suit the locality, for Lostock Brook rises N. of Hough Hill and flows round it.

Denham Hall (near the Lostock): *de Deneholm* 1332 LS, *Denham* 1591 Brindle R. Apparently O.E. *denu* " valley " and O.N. *holmr* " island," etc.

PENWORTHAM PAR.

A mostly low and level district S. of Preston and the Ribble.

1. **Farington** (N. of Leyland on the upper Lostock; v.): *Farinton* a 1149 Ch, 1212 LI, 1242 LF, *Farintunā* 1153-60 Ch (orig.), *Farington* 1246 LF, 1341 IN, etc., *de Farentoṇ* 1246 LAR, *ffarington* 1327, 1332 LS. Though all the early forms show a vowel between *r* and *n*, I believe this is O.E. *fearn-tūn* (*fearn* "fern"). Cf. Farringdon, Berks. (O.E. *Fearndun*, but *Farendone* Rob. Gl., *Ferendone* DB, *Farindon* HR; cf. Skeat). But an O.E. *Faringa tūn* (*Faringas* being derived from a pers. n. *Fara* or the like; cf. Farleton, Lo) is also possible.

2. **Penwortham** (v.; head of a barony): *Peneverdant* DB, *Penuertham* a 1149 Ch, 1212 LI, 1212 RB, *Penuerdham* 1153-60 Ch (orig.), *penewerhā*, *penuerhā* a 1160 Ch (orig.), *Penfordiham* c 1190 Ch, *Pendrecham* 1200 LPR, *Penwertham* 1205 ib., 1205 Ch, 1322 LI, *Penwrtham* 1204f. LPR, *Pentfortham* 1204 LPR, *Penwortham* 1210 AP, 1215 CC, 1332 LS, etc., *Penwirtham* 1242 OR, *Penw(o)rham* 1242 LI, *Penwurtham* 1246 LAR, *Penwrtham* 1255 IPM, *Penwortthan* 1279 ClR, *Pennewortham* 1294 ChR, *Penwardine* c 1540 Leland; now [penwəðəm].

The final el. of the name seems to be O.E. *hām* or *hamm*. The middle el. is most probably O.E. *worþ* "enclosure, homestead." The first might be O.E. *penn* "a fold," but this does not seem very probable. A combination of the elements *penn*, *worþ*, and *hām* (or *hamm*) is not what we should expect. The Brit. *penn* "a hill," etc. (cf. Pendleton, Pendle, etc.) is formally unexceptionable, and I am inclined to believe it is really the first el. of the name. It is known that there was a Brit. settlement at Penwortham. The place stands on a plateau reaching 100ft. above sea-level. It may seem doubtful if such a slight elevation could have been called a *penn* (*i.e.*, "hill"), but the surface falls away sharply and the surrounding country is very low. The hill or ridge is really much more conspicuous than one would expect. Besides, the Celtic word might here mean "end; promontory." If the first el. is Brit. *penn*, the rest of the name may be O.E. **worphām* or **worphamm*, "enclosed homestead" (cf. Wortham in Suff.). But it is quite possible only the el. *-ham* is English, the rest being an adaptation of a Brit. name. For the matter of that, the whole name may be British. Dr. Bradley, EHR 26, p. 822, thinks some early forms recall Welsh *pen-y-werddon* "head of the green."

Blasher (or **Blashaw**) **Farm**: *Blakesawe* a 1096 PC, *Blacshaghe* 1305 Lacy C, *Blakeshagh* 1324 LI. "Black shaw."

Middleforth Green: *Middelforde* 1296 Lacy C, *Middilford* 1324 LI, *Mydlefurth* 1546 LP III. 12. "The middle ford." The place is on a brook.

3. **Howick** (S.W. of Penwortham, on the Ribble; h.): *Hocwike* a 1096 PC, *Hokewike* a 1122 Ch, *Hocwica* 1149 Ch, *Hocwik* 1202 LF, *de Hocvic* 1257 LI, *Hocwick* c 1230 CC; *Houwyk* 1246 LAR, *Hoghwyk* 1276 LAR, 1317 LF, 1327 LS, etc., *de Hohwyk* 1314 LI, *Howyk* 1285 LAR, *Hoghwike* 1332 LS. It is difficult to determine if this was originally *Hōcwīc* or *Hōhwīc*. The early forms seem to point to the former, and the change from *Hōcwīc* to *Howick* would have an exact parallel in Winwick (p. 98). Yet *c* may very well be a Norman spelling for the voiceless guttural spirant (*h*). If *Hōcwīc* is the correct form, the first el. would seem to be O.E. *Hōc* pers. n.; if *Hōhwīc* be given the pr[illegible]ce, it is O.E.

hōh as in Hutton. Howick vil. stands on a piece of land (50ft.) jutting out into the Ribble estuary. Second el. O.E. *wīc* " homestead," etc.

Nutshaw Hall : *de Noteschaw* 1285 LAR, *de Noteshaghe* 1332 LS.

4. **Hutton** (on the Ribble estuary, S.W. of Penwortham ; v.) : *Hotun* a 1180 Ch, *Hoton* c 1200 CC, 1276 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., *Hotton* 1461 CC. First member O.E. *hōh*, probably in the plural form (g. pl. *hō*). The ground is low near the river, less than 25ft. above sea-level. The village is on somewhat higher land (above 50ft.) and from this spurs of fairly high ground jut out into the low country. These spurs of land I suppose were the *hōh's* that gave name to Hutton. The Canons of Cockersand had a grange in Hutton (now Old Grange ; cf. *Grangia de Hoton* 1273 CC), situated at a place called *Hohum* 1215 ib. 393f. ; cf. *Hohum Kar* ib., *Howin* (for *Houm*) ib. 423ff. *Hohum* is the dat. pl. of O.E. *hōh* ; so the grange was situated at the *hōh's*. Old Grange stands at the extremity of a slight spur of land reaching 38ft. above sea-level.

A now lost chapel is mentioned in Cockersand Ch : *capella de Ulvedene* a 1246 CC 420 (also *Ulvesdale* ib.), *Ulvesdale* a 1246 ib. 411. " The valley of *Ulf*." *Ulfr* is a common O.N. name.

5. **Longton** (S.W. of Penwortham, bounded on the W. by the Douglas ; v.) : *Longetuna, Langetuna, Langetona* 1153-60 Ch (orig.), *Langeton* 1178 LPR, 1205 LPR, 1212 LI, *Longeton* 1243 LI, 1288 Ind, 1332 LS, etc., *Longton* 1391 LF, etc. " The long village." The township is long and narrow (4 miles in length by 1 across), and the village " straggles along for over 2½ miles " along a road (VHL VI. 69).

CROSTON PAR. (ancient)

A district on the Douglas. Formerly the parish included the parishes of Hoole, Rufford, Tarleton, and Hesketh-with-Becconsall. These are all dealt with under Croston. The surface of the par. is mostly low and level.

1. **Bispham** (in the S., on the Douglas) : *Bispam* 1219 LAR, *Bispaimhalch* a 1268 CC, *Bispeham* 1288 IPM, 1327 LS, *Bispham* 1332 LS, 1382 LF, etc. O.E. **Biscop-hām* " the bishop's manor." Cf. M.E. *bisp* " bishop." The occasional *-(h)aim* is due to Scand. influence.

2. **Mawdesley** (on the Douglas ; v.) : *de Madesle* 1219 LAR, *Moudesley* 1269 LAR, 1288 IPM, *Moudeslegh* 1327, 1332 LS, *Maudeslegh* 1382 LF, etc., *Maudesley* 1398, 1500 LF, etc. Wyld is no doubt right in identifying the first el. of the name with the name *Maud* (<O.F. *Mahaut*, etc.) ; the form *Maldislei* of 1295 given by Wyld is especially valuable. The name is common in early M.E. documents in forms such as *Mahald, Maald, Mald* (Forssner).

3. **Croston** (on the Douglas and Yarrow ; v.) : *Croston* 1094, c 1190 Ch, 1212 LI, 1332 LS, etc., *Crostona* 1153-60 Ch (orig.). Named from a cross ; in VHL VI. 91 it is stated that part of the market cross remains. The name is probably Scandinavian.

Finney (on the Douglas) : *The Fynny* 1559 DL, *Fynney* 1594 DL. The second el. seems to be O.E. *ēg* " island ; water-meadow." The first is doubtful. Engl. dial. *fin* " rest-harrow " might be thought of.

4. **Ulnes Walton** (S.E. of Croston, on both sides of the Lostock) : *Waleton* 1203 LF, *Wal[illegible]*341 IN ; *Ulneswalton* 1285 LAR, 1321 LF, etc., *Vlneswalton*

1327 LS, *Vlnes Walton* 1332 LS, *Oveswalton* 1362 OR, *Oneswalton* 1361 Gaunt R, *Ulueswalton* 1543 LF, *Vlswalton* 1663, *Ouswalton* 1666 Croston R. The distinguishing epithet seems to have been originally *Ulves* gen. sg. of *Ulf* pers. n. (O.N. *Ulfr*); *Ulf de Walton* lived c 1160. Later *u* in *Ulues* was misread as *n*, and as early as 1331 *Ulnes-* appears to have been considered the correct form (VHL VI. 108). Yet the old form long survived in pronunciation. On Walton "the tūn of the Welshmen," *see* p. 224.

Barbers Moor (h.): *Barblismor* c 1200 CC, *Barbars-more* 1639 Croston R. Etymology obscure.

5. **Bretherton** (N.W. of Croston, on the Douglas; v.): *Bretherton* a 1190 CC, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc.; *Brethirton* 1320 LF, *Brotherton* 1577 Saxton, 1645 Croston R. The first el. is a form with *i*-mutation of O.E. *brōðer* or O.N. *bróðir* "brother." The most natural explanation is "the *tūn* of the brothers," the township having been in the joint ownership of two or more brothers. An analogous name is O.N. *Brœðragarðr* NG II. 408. O.E. **brēðra-tūn* or perhaps more probably O.N. **brœðratūn* may be the base. Forms with *i*-mutation of O.E. *brōðer* are rare, and M.E. *brether*, etc., may be at least partly of Scand. origin. But it is also possible that *Brether-* represents the O.N. gen. sg. *brœðr*. Falk shows NG V. 262 that certain Norw. names, such as Brödre-Aas (Buskerud), Brörby (Kristians Amt) contain this form. In the case of Brödre-Aas the name was given because the place was a part of an estate handed over by its owner to a younger brother.

Bank Hall (on the bank of the Douglas): *de banca* 1251 CC, *Bankehall* 1577 Harr.

Thorp (old v. or h.; now lost): *Torp* 1177f. LPR, *Thorp* a 1190 CC, 1212 LI, 1288 IPM, 1323 LI. O.N. *þorp* (*see* p. 19).

6. **Hoole** (E. of the Douglas, S.W. of Preston. There are two townships: Much and Little Hoole. Great Hoole is a village. Hoole is now a parish): *Hull, de la Hulle* 1204 LF, *Hole* 1212 LI, 1246 LAR, *Holes* 1223 LF, *Hulle* 1241 LF, *de Hola, de Hull* 1246 LAR, *Hoole* 1508 LF, *How* 1577 Harr., *Howle* 1577 Saxton; *Magna Hole* c 1235 CC, 1296 Ind, 1327 LS, *Much Hole* 1260 LF, *Great Hoole* 1320 LF, *Hole Magna* 1332 LS; *Litlehola* c 1200 CC, *parva Hola* a 1220 CC, *Parva Hole* a 1251 CC, *Parua Hole* 1327, 1332 LS, *Little Hoole* 1423 LF. The forms *Hulle, Hull* show that we have to start from an old form with *u*, and the later *oo* tells us that the *l* must have been short. The most probable etymology is O.E. *hulu* "husk," in M.E. also "a hut or hovel." O.Scand. *hula* "a hollow" would do phonetically, but does not seem to suit the situation of the places.

Walmer Bridge (in Little Hoole): *Waldemurebruge* a 1251 CC. The hamlet stands on a brook. *Walmer* appears as *Waldemure, Waldesmure* a 1251 CC, *Waldemurfeld, Walde[s]murfurlong* ib. *Waldemure* may contain O.E. *Walda* pers. n. or *wald* "wold," *i.e.* "forest," and *mire*, O.N. *mýrr*.

7. **Rufford** (W. of the Douglas, E. of Southport, v.; now a separate parish): *Ruchford* 1212 LI, *Roughford* 1318 LF, *Rughford* 1327, 1332 LS; *Rufford* c 1200 CC, 1293, 1323 LF, etc. "The rough ford." The village stands near the Douglas.

Holmes Wood (v.): *Holmes wood* 1571 DL. The place occupies a slight elevation over the low general level; it was formerly close to Martin Mere, whose name is

preserved in Mere Side S. of Holmes Wood. The name means " the islands " (from O.N. *holmr*).

8. **Tarleton** (N. of Rufford, v. ; now a separate parish) : *Tarleton* c 1200 CC 469, 1298 LF, 1327, 1332 LS, *Tarilton* c 1212 CC, *Tarltoṅ* c 1225 CC, *de Tarleton* 1246 LAR, *Tharleton* 1539 CC. O.N. *Þaraldr* (=*Þorvaldr*) pers. n. and *tūn*. Cf. Tarlscough p. 124, Tharlesthorpe, Yks. : *Tarlestorp* 1188 YCh 1364 (orig.). The surface of the district is very low, and the ground is partly moss-land. Martin Mere adjoined the township on the W. Tarleton is on slightly higher land.

Holmes (h. ; on a slight elevation) : *Holmes juxta Maram de Tarlton, totas holmas juxta Maram de Tarlton* c 1210 CC, *Holmez* 1554 LF. Cf. Holmes Wood *supra*.

Mere Brow (S.E. of Holmes ; h.) took its name from Martin Mere.

Sollom (h. ; S. of Tarleton near the Douglas) : *Solayn-, Salaynpull, Solaynpul* c 1200 CC, *de Solame* 1372 LF, *Solem hey* 1451, *Sullam* 1539 CC, *Solom* 1554 LF. *Solaynpull* is a " pool " or brook that falls into the Douglas (cf. CC 464). The early forms show that Sollom goes back to earlier *Solayn*, the *m* having developed from *n* before *-pull*. The name cannot therefore be identical with *Sollom* (mosse) CWNS XIV. 148 (Cumb.) ; cf. *Solom* 1282 IPM (prob. the dat. pl. of *sol* " mire "). Derivation from *solein* adj. " lonely " (a Fr. word) is hardly probable. It seems more likely that the name is an old compound of O.E. *sol* " mire, muddy place " and M.E. *hain* " enclosure, park " (< O.Scand., O.Swed. *hæghn*, etc.), or rather an O.N. **Sōl-hlein* " sunny slope." The hamlet stands on the S. slope of a slight ridge, near the low bank of the Douglas.

Wignall (near Holmes) : *de Wygnale* 1323 LI, *Wygnall* (surname) 1451, 1461 CC. First el. probably O.E. *Wicga* pers. n. ; the second is O.E. *halh*.

Wilshers (VHL VI. 116) : *Wlfschahe* c 1250 CC. The first el. is perhaps O.E. *wylf* " she-wolf." If it is *wulf* or *Wulf* pers. n. the development of the vowel may be compared with that of Sid Brook, p. 127. Second el. O.E. *scaga* " shaw."

9. **Hesketh-with-Becconsall** (N. of Tarleton between the Ribble and the Douglas ; now a separate parish).

Hesketh [Bank] (v.) : *de Heschath* 1288 LI, *de Heskayth* 1298, 1304 LF, *de Heskeyth* 1293 LF, *Heskaith* 1327 LS, *Heskeith* 1332 LS, *Hesketh* 1323 LI, *Hesket* 1577 Harr. *See* further Lindkvist p. 64, who gives earlier examples of Hesketh in Yks. (: *Hesteskeith, -scaith* 12 cent.). The correct etymology (O.N. *hestaskeið* " race-course ") is given by Wyld (and Lindkvist). Presumably the race-course was on the level shore of the Ribble (Hesketh Sands).

Becconsall : *Bekaneshou* 1208 LF, 1292 PW, 1341 IN, *Bekaneshow* 1212 BF, *Bekanesho* 1246 LAR, *Bekanshowe* 1327 LS, *Becanshou* 1332 LS. The name is a compound of O.N. *Bekan* (from O.Ir. *Beccán* pers. n.) and O.N. *haugr* " hill." Cf. Beacons Gill in Furness. Becconsall Hall stands on a ridge, which reaches 54ft. above sea-level and falls away sharply to the low land on the shore of the Ribble.

AMOUNDERNESS HUNDRED

A[g]hemundesnes ? 930 YCh (genuine ?), *Agemvndrenesse* DB, *Agmundernesia, Amondernesia* 1094 Ch, *Agmundernes* c 1130 Sim. Durh., *Aumodernesse* 1166 RB, *Hamundernes* 1189-93, *Agmundernesse* 1194 Ch, *Agmundernes* (Wapentake) 1206, 1207, 1208 LPR, *Aumundirnes* 1212 LI, *Amundernes* 1215 LPR, 1246 LAR, *Augmonderness* 1226 LI, *Aumondernesse* 1284 LAR, *Amoundrenesse* 1332 LS, *Acmundrenes, Andernes, Aundernesse* c 1540 Leland. Further material in Lindkvist, p. 1.

O.N. *Agmundar-nes* " the ness of *Agmundr* (*Qgmundr*)." In the sources Amounderness is always used of the hundred or deanery of Amounderness. This is apparently the case also in the example of c 930, if that may be looked upon as genuine. What ness the name originally referred to it is impossible to say. It might be an old name of Rossall Point, near which there must have been important Scand. colonies. But Amounderness as a whole forms a ness, and it may well be the name was from the first applied to the whole district.

Amounderness was originally the district roughly between the Ribble and the Cocker, the E. boundary being formed by the fells on the Yorkshire border. I here reckon to Amounderness the parts that originally belonged to it, though they are now in Blackburn or Lonsdale hundreds.

The W. part of the hundred is flat and is called **the Fylde** : *The File pro Feild* 1586 Camden ; cf. *del Filde* 1246 LAR, *del Fylde* 1293 LI, *del ffilde* 1325 LCR, 1332 LS. *See* Fieldplumpton, p. 151. This is O.E. *gefilde* " plain." The E. part is on the slope of fells, and reaches over 1,600ft. on the Yorkshire border.

Names of Rivers

Hodder (a trib. of the Ribble) : *Hodder* ? 930 YCh (genuine ?), (aq. de) *Hoder* c 1240 Kirkstall C, *Hoder* 1483 Whit. I. 329, *Oder* c 1540 Leland, *the Odder* 1577 Harr. The name is no doubt British. Etymology obscure. The second el. is very likely Celt. **dubron* " water " ; cf. Calder, p. 66.

Loud (a trib. of the Hodder) : *Lude* 1246, 1262 LF, *Loude* c 1350 LPR, 1409 AD V. FromO.E. *hlūd* "loud." Cf. O.E. *hludeburnan* 956 BCS 982, and O.E. *Hlyde* (river-name), *e.g.*, 956 BCS 945, 972 BCS 1282 (orig.).

Swill Brook (between Preston and Fishwick). The name belongs to O.E. *swilian* " to wash " and probably means " the brook where clothes were washed."

Savick or **Savock Brook** (falls into the Ribble W. of Preston) : *Savoch* a 1190 CC, c 1230 CC, *Savock* c 1200 CC, *Safok* a 1268 CC, *Savok* 1252 ChR, *Sauoke* 1338 LPR, *Savok* c 1540 Leland. Probably a British name. The stems in Gaul. *Sabis, Sabatus* or in *Samara, Samina* (Holder) may be thought of.

Wyre (falls into Morecambe Bay) : *Wir* a 1184, etc., CC, 1194-99 Ch (orig.), c 1230 FC II. (orig.), *Wyr* c 1210 CC, *Wyir* c 1230 FC II. The name is doubtless British. I suppose it is identical with Wear, Durh. (: *Uiuri* g. sg. Bede, in the O.E. translation *Wiire, Wire*). This has been convincingly identified by Chadwick, in Essays and Studies presented to W. Ridgeway, with the G. river-name *Weser*. A stem **wisur-* is to be assumed. The cognate Welsh *gwyar* means

" gore, blood." It is perhaps worthy of notice that the Wyre has red-brown water.

Skippool (formed by Woodplumpton and Blundell Brooks, which join near Poulton) : (ulteran) *Skippoles* 1330 LC 471, *the Skipton* 1577 Harr. ; cf. *le Polle* LC 403. Clearly " ship-pool," from O.N. *skip* " ship " and *pool* in the sense " stream." Skippool was formerly an important harbour *(VHL VII. 226). The* stream gave name to Skippool : *Skippull 1593 Poulton R.†*

Brock (joins the Wyre W. of Catterall) : *Brock, Broc* c *1200 CC, Brok, Broc* 1228 ClR, *Broc, Brocke, Broke* c 1250 CC, etc., *Broke* 1338 LPR, *Brok* c 1540 Leland, *the Brooke rill* 1577 Harr. I suppose this is simply O.E. *brōc* " brook."

Calder (joins the Wyre at Catterall) : *Caldre, Calder* 1228 ClR, *Caldre* a 1230 CC, *Kaldir* 1324 LI, (pasture of) *Caldre* 1314, 1324 LI ; now [kɔldə]. Cf. Calder, p. 66.

Pilling : *Pylin* 1246 CC, 13 cent. CC. Cf. Pilling township, p. 165. The etymology of the name is doubtful, but we may compare *pill*, a name on both sides of the Severn and in Cornwall for a tidal creek on the coast, or a pool in a creek at the confluence of a tributary pool (NED). The Pilling may be accurately described as a *pill*. The word appears in O.E. as *pyll*, and in early Welsh as *pill* (LL 188, etc.). A Yks. instance of the word is adduced by Lindkvist, p. 71, Larpool : *Lairpel* c 1146, etc. If the name is Celtic, as seems probable, it may contain the Welsh suffix *-yn*, originally no doubt diminutive, but in Welsh usually singulative (Pedersen II. 57f.).

Wrampool : *Wrangepul* 1230 CC. O.N. *(v)rangr* " crooked " and O.E. *pōl, pull*, " pool."

Names of Hills

Longridge Fell (in the S.E.) : *Langrig* 1246 LF, *Longerige* 1409 AD V, *Longridge hill* 1577 Saxton. The fell gave name to Longridge chapel (and town) : *Chapel of Langgrige* 1521 LP I. 90, *Longerydche chap.* 1554 DL. Longridge is a long ridge.

Parlick (1,416ft. ; in Bleasdale) : (caput de) *Pirloc* 1228 ClR, *Perlak* 1228 WhC 371, *Pireloke* 1338 LPR, *Pyrelok pyke* c 1350 ib. The name cannot mean " pear orchard " as Wyld suggests. But the etymology may be correct with a slight amendment. O.E. *loc* means " fold for sheep or goats." A sheep fold at which grew a peartree (O.E. *pyrige*) may very well have been at the foot of or on the slope of the hill ; this may have been called Parlick (*Pirloc*) and have given the hill its name. For a probable earlier name *see* under Core, p. 143.

MITTON PAR. (part)

Aighton, Bailey, and Chaigley (N. of the Ribble, bounded on the N. and E. by the Hodder). In the township is Longridge Fell (1,149ft.).

Aighton (the S.E. part) : *Actun* DB, *Achintona, Aiton* 1102 Ch, *Aghton, Haghton* c 1140 Ch, *Acton* 1246, 1259 LAR, etc., *Achton* 1277 LAR, *Aghton* 1292 LF, 1332 LS, 1335 LF, etc. O.E. *āctūn* " oak town." Cf. Aughton in De and Lo.

Hurst Green (h.): *Hurst* c 1200 WhC 22, *del Hurst* 1278 ClR, *del Hirst* 1335 LF. O.E. *hyrst*. The place stands at a small hill.

Stonyhurst: *del Stanyhurst* 1358 LF, *Stonyhirst* 1577 Harr., *Stonyhurst* 1577 Saxton. O.E. *hyrst* in this and the preceding name apparently means "hill." Stonyhurst is in a commanding situation.

Winkley (at the confluence of the Hodder and the Ribble): *de Wynketley* 1243 LI, *Wynkedeley* 1292 PW, *de Winkedeleg* (*Wynkedele, Wynkydele, Wynkithelay, Wynkythele, Wikedele*) 1246 LAR, *de Winkedelegh* 1257 LI, *de Winkedeley* 1258 LI, *de Winkedeleye* 1293 LI. This name recalls Dinckley (p. 70) and Worsley (p. 40). Like these it has as last el. O.E. *lēah* and a middle el. *-ket-*, *-ked-* and the like. It is possible that Winkley contains an old Brit. name composed of Celt. **vindo-* "white" (Welsh *gwyn*, etc.) and **kaito-* "wood" (Welsh *coed*, etc.); cf. Lichfield, whose first el. (Celt. *Lētocētum*) means "grey wood," and E. Whitwood. There is also a Brit. pers. n. which might possibly be thought of, O.W. *Guencat* LL, Mid. Welsh *Gwyngat*, M.Bret. *Guengat* (Loth 195).

Davyscoles (now lost): *de Daniscole* (*Daniscales*) 1246 LAR, *de Danyscales* 1296, *David Scoles* 1305 Lacy C, *Danyscoles* 1311 IPM, *Davidscoles* 1324 LI. The first el. is perhaps the pers. n. *David*. The second is *scale* "hut" from O.N. *skāli*.

Bailey (the S.W. part): *de Baillee* 1204 LF, *Beyley* 1246 LAR, *de Bailegh* 1257 LI, *Bayley* 1284 LF, *Bayleghe* 1292 PW, *Baylegh* 1298 WhC 1059, *Bailleye* 1338 LF. The second el. is O.E. *lēah* "lea." The first may be identical with that of Bayworth, Berks. (*bægan wyrðe* 956 BCS 924), Beyton, Suff. (*Begatona* DB, *Beyton* IPM), Baywell, Worc. (*bæganwellan* 718 BCS 139). These latter no doubt contain a pers. n. O.E. **Bēga* or **Bāge* from the W. Germ. stem **bāg-* found in O.H.G. *bāga* f. "fight, conflict." Baildon, Yks. may have as first theme an *l*-derivative of this stem (O.E. **Bægel*), and such a name is possible also in Bailey. But the first el. of Bailey may also be O.E. *bēg* "berry."

Chaigley (the N. part): *Chadelegh, Chaddesl, Cheydesleg, de Cheydesle* 1246 LAR; *Chadgeley* 1391 TI, 1537 DL, *Chaddesley* 1410 CR, *Chawgeley* 1437 DL, *Chageley* 1514 DL, 1529 DL, 1539 LF, *Chadesley, Chadysley* 1553 LF, *Chadesley* 1564 DL, *Chardgeley* 1611 Chipping R; now [tʃe·dʒli].

Two alternative explanations of the name seem possible. The first el. may be O.E. *Ceadd*(*a*) (cf. Chaddesley, Worc.: *Ceaddesleage* 816 BCS 357). This became *Chadgeley* in the same way as Quedgeley, Glo. developed from *Quedesley* (c 1142, etc., Baddeley). A [dž] has in this case been substituted for [dz]. Or the first el. may be identical with that of Chailey, Suss. (*Chegley* 1268, *Chagelegh* 1284, etc., Roberts), *i.e.*, apparently, an O.E. *Cæġġ*(*a*). If so, the forms with *d* show substitution of [dz] for [dž]. Cf. Badsberry, p. 148, Pledwick, Yks. (*Plegwyke* 1275, etc., *Pledewyk* 1534 Goodall). I am inclined to prefer the second alternative, as spellings like *Cheydesle* do not go well with a base *Ceaddeslēah*. Some of the early forms may represent Norman attempts at spelling the difficult name, while some may be due to association with Chadswell, the name of a place in Chaigley. Chadswell perhaps contains O.E. *Ceadd*(*a*).

WHALLEY PAR. (part)

Bowland-with-Leagram (a hilly district on the Yks. border, bounded on the E. by the Hodder).

Bowland (the N. part): *Boelandam* 1102 Ch, *Bouland* c 1140 Ch, 1258 IPM, c 1540 Leland, *Bochlande* a 1194, *Bochland* 1211-32 Kirkstall C, *Bowelande* a 1240 ib., *Bogh-*, *Boughland* Percy C 478f., *Bowland* 1311 IPM, *Boghland chace* 1330 PatR, *Bowelond* 1375 Gaunt R; now [bɔlən(d)]. The forest of Bowland is the name of a large district, the greater part of which is in Yorkshire. Several of the examples given refer to the Yks. part. Some 8 or 9 miles E. of the Lanc. border, on the Ribble, is Bolton-by-Bowland: *Boulton in Bouland* 1254 Percy C 83, *Boulton in Bougland* 1315 IPM. The early forms tell us that the first el. is a word with original *g* (*Bog-*). It may be O.E. *boga* or O.N. *bogi* "bow; arch," etc., or one of the relatives of these, *e.g.*, O.N. *bugr* "bend," O.Swed. *bugh* "bend," *abugh* "bend of a river." There were no doubt by-forms of these with *o*; Norw. *bog* "bow" is actually found. In M.E. *bowe* is found in this sense: *pe bowe of the ryuer of Humber* Trev.; but O.N. *bugr* may be the source (NED). I suggest that Bowland means "the land by the bend," the bend being that made by the Ribble c 1 mile S. of Bolton-by-Bowland. Close to this is Bow Laithe; cf. *Bogh* 1306, "the great *bowe* next Rible" 1659 (lands in Bolton) PD 183, 283. *Bogh* (*bowe*) is clearly a word meaning "bend of a river."

Dinckling Green: *Denglegrene* 1462 Whit. I. 345, *Dynkeler Graue* 1527 CCR, *the Incklengreene* 1616 Chipping R. The earliest example perhaps points to the word *dingle* as first el.; the place is in a valley.

Greystoneley: *Graystonlegh* 1462 Whit. I. 345, *Grayston Lee* 1527 CCR. "The lea or pasture by the grey stone."

Lickhurst: *Lekehirste* 1462 Whit. I. 345, *Lykehurst* 1527 CCR. O.E. *lēac* "leek" and *hyrst* "copse" or "hill." The place is on a hill slope.

Loud Mytham (at the confluence of the Loud and the Hodder): *Lowdmythō* 1614, *Lowd Mytham* 1677 Chipping R. The name means "the mouth of the Loud." Mytham is the dat. of O.E. *gemȳþu* "junction of streams." The same name is found in Mytholme Lodge (at the confluence of the Glazebrook and the Mersey). Cf. *Trouden Mithum* 1356 CR 332 (in Trawden), *le Muthom* (Altham) 1413-22 WhC 305, *the Mythome* 1551, *le Mytham* 1558 CCR (Wolfenden).

Leagram (the S. part): *Lathegrim* 1282 VHL VI. 379, *Lathegrym* 1425 CR, *Laythgryme Park* 1349, *Laithgryme Park* 1362 Hist. of Leagram (CSNS 72), *Laythegryme* 1377 CCR, *Laythgryme* 1462 Whit. I. 346. In Scandinavians, p. 45, I explain the name as a combination of O.N. *hlaða* "barn" and *Grímr*, pers. n., the order between the elements being due to Celtic influence. However, I am now more doubtful about the name. As pointed out in the place referred to, there was a similar name in Bolton-le-Sands: *Laithgryme* (cultura) 1230-46 FC II. As I now find, the same name occurs in Li. Asby (Wml.): *Laythgrym* 1314 CWNS XX. 73. These names cannot well all be compounds with the pers. n. *Grímr* as second el., and I now believe at least *Laithgryme* (Bolton) and *Laythgrym* (Li. Asby) represent O.N. *leið* "road" and Scand. *grīm*, *-a*, *-e* "a blaze," "a mark made on a tree to indicate a boundary." Laythgrym would mean

" a blaze made to indicate a road." Whether Leagram should be explained in the same way or has as first el. O.N. *hlaða* must remain doubtful in absence of sufficiently early forms.

CHIPPING PAR.

A small parish on both sides of the Loud, N. of Longridge. The country is hilly, Longridge Fell being to the S., Parlick and Fairsnape Fell to the N. The district was formerly called **Chippingdale** : *Chipinden* DB, *Cepndela* 1102 Ch, *Chippendal* 1256, 1258 LAR, *Chependall* 1256 LAR, *Chipindale* 1258 IPM, *Chippingdale* 1296 LI.

1. **Chipping** (N. of the Loud) : *Chypping* 1241 AP, *Chipping* 1242 LI, *Chepin* 1244 IPM, 1246 LAR, *Chippin* 1246 LAR, *Chipin* 1258 IPM, 1332 LS, etc., *Chypyn* 1274 LI, *Chepyn* 1322 LI, *Schipen*, *Schypen* 1311 IPM. Chipping is identical in origin with Chipping in Herts., Glo., Ess., etc., and goes back to O.E. *cēping* " market." The frequent *-in* instead of *-ing* in early forms is due to the influence of *Chippin(g)dale*, where *n* developed owing to assimilation. The usual *i* instead of *e* (O.E. *ē*) is due to the palatal *č* ; cf. Bülbring, Ae. Elementarbuch § 292, Luick, Hist. Gr. § 194, 2, note 1.

Core : *Couere* 1228 ClR, *de Covre* 1314 LI, *de Couer* 1323 LF, 1371 LF, *de Coure* 1332 LS. Cf. *Couerhill* 1284 LAR. Higher and Lower Core are situated on the lower slope of Parlick. This name I take to be related to O.E. *cofa* " room," O.N. *kofi* " room," O.H.G. *chubisi* " hut," M.H.G. *kober* " basket," O.N. *kofr* " chest," *kofri* " hood, cap." It may be a native or a Scand. name. The meaning may have been " hut." But I think it very likely that Core is really an old name of Parlick Point. The name *Couerhill* of 1284 rather tells in favour of this hypothesis. If so, the name is very likely derived from O.N. *kofri* " a hood, cap." The fine hill of Parlick has a very characteristic shape. Seen from the W. it looks rather like a slightly oblique pyramid ; from the S. it presents a more rounded outline. It seems quite probable that it may have been thought to resemble a primitive cap or hood.[1] Or there may have been an old word meaning " hill " or the like belonging to the group of words under discussion ; cf. O.N. *kūfr* " rounded summit," Du. *kuif* " top of a tree," etc. (Torp-Fick p. 47). It is doubtful if *Cover* in Coverham, Coverley, etc. (Yks.) is related to Core.

Elmridge (at a ridge of 500ft.) : *Helme Ridge* 1557 DL, *Elmeridge* 1602 Chipping R. The name does not contain the word *elm*, but an earlier place-name Helme : Logagia de *Helme* 13 cent. Smith, Hist. of Chipping, p. 8, *de Helm'* 1332 LS, *de Helm* 1377 LF, *Helme* 1553 LF, identical with *helm* " a roofed shelter for cattle " (1501, etc., NED). Cf. Helmshore p. 91. Later *H-* was dropped, as it is often in Lanc., and the first el. was associated with *elm*.

Wolfhall (according to VHL VII. 26, formerly Wolfhouse) : *Wolffehall* 1600 RS XII., *Woolfhall* 17 cent. Whit. I. 330. Wolf Fell is not far North. The name may have been originally Wolf Fell House.

[1] This guess is confirmed by the fact that *Kofri* (< *kofri* " a cap ") is the name of " a characteristic, beehive-shaped peak " in Iceland (Bugge, Vesterlandenes Indflydelse, p. 364). Bugge's suggestion that *Kofri* is a Romance word (belonging to Fr. *couvrir*) is disproved by the circumstance that *Kofri* is found early as a pers. n. in Norway and Sweden, also in early place-names (Lind, Lundgren-Brate).

2. **Thornley-with-Wheatley** (S. of the Loud).
Thornley: *Thorenteleg* 1202 LF, *de Thornideley* (*Thornythele, Tornelay*) 1246 LAR; *Thorndeley* 1258 IPM, *Thorndele* 1277 LAR, 1323 LCR, *Thornedleye* 1278 LAR, *Thorndeleghe* 1302 LI, *Thorndelegh* 1332 LS, *Thornley* 1327 LS, etc. Probably "the thorny lea." The first el. is a derivative of O.E. *porn*, probably **pornede* adj. (cf. *hoferede*: *hofer*, etc.) or, if the form *Thornythele* be trustworthy, possibly *pornihte* "thorny" or a noun with a *þ*- suffix meaning "thorn-brake" and analogous to Frant, Suss. (*æt fyrnpan* 956 BCS 961, orig.), which I take to be a derivative of *fern*; cf. O.H.G. *Thurnithi* (Förstemann).
Wheatley (old manor): *Watelei* DB, *Whetelegh* 1227 LF, 1332 LS, *Wetelay, de Wheteleg* 1246 LAR, *Queteley* 1258 IPM, *Weteley* 1258, 1278 LAR. "Wheat lea"; cf. the same name p. 81.
Bradley: *de Bradeleg* 1202 LF, *Bradeley, Bradelaybroke* 1246 LF, *de Bradelegh* 1332 LS, *Braidley* 1602 Chipping R. "The broad lea."
Studley: *de Stodleg* 1260 LAR, *Studdeley* 1510 LF. O.E. *stōd* "stud" and O.E. *lēah*.

RIBCHESTER PAR.

A district N. of the Ribble N.E. of Preston. The ground slopes from Longridge Fell down to the Ribble.
1. **Dutton** (the E. part): *Dotona* 1102 Ch, *Dutton* 1258 IPM, 1292 PW, 1338 LF, etc., *Ducton* 13 cent. Ind, ? *Dighton* 1311 IPM, *Dytton* 1341 IN. I take the occasional spellings *Dytton, Ducton*, etc., to be corruptions and derive the first el. from O.E. *Dudda* or *Dudd* pers. n. This is corroborated by the name Duddel. Duddel Brook is another name for Dutton Brook; Duddel Hill is a hill reaching c 410ft. Early forms of the name Duddel are: *de Dodehill* 1324 LCR, *de Dodehull* 1332 LS, 1357 LF, *Duddill* 1590 DL.
Stidd (old chapelry): *de Stede* 1276 LAR, *Camera Sancti Salvatoris vocata Le Stede* 1338 Whit. II. 464, (parish, manor of) *Stede* 1543 ib. The source of the name is O.E. *styde, stede* "place," later also "farm, estate in land," etc. Possibly the meaning is here "place of worship." The chapel dates from the 12th cent. In Church Lawford (Warw.) Stude is a place where there was a chapel (Duignan). Cf. however (vaccary del) *Stede* (in Skipton) 1299 Whitaker, Hist. of Craven[3], p. 457.
Hay Hurst: *de Hayhurst* 1246 LAR, 1355 LF, *de Haihurst* 1262 LAR. O.E. *hege* "hedge, enclosure," or *hēg* "hay" and *hyrst*, probably in the sense "a hill."
Huntingdon (Hall): *Huntingdenebroc* 13 cent. Whit. II. 467, *de Huntingdon* (*Huntindene*) 1277 LAR, *de Huntyngdon* 1341 IN. It is difficult to determine if the first el. is simply *hunting* sb. or O.E. *huntena* g. pl. of *hunta* "a hunter." The second is O.E. *denu* "valley."
Ragden Wood (near Starling Clough): *Rakedene klouh* 13 cent. Whit. II. 467, *Ragden Clough* 1550 DL. The first el. may be *rake* "a way, path"; esp. "a narrow path up a cleft or ravine" (<O.N. *rák*); but O.E. *racu* "bed of a stream, water-course" (in *ēa-, strēamracu*) or *hrace* "throat" are also possible.
2. **Ribchester** (v.): *Ribelcastre* DB, *Ribbecestre* 1202 LF, 1246 LAR etc., *Ribbelcestre* 1215 LPR, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, *Ribbilcestre* 1258 IPM, *Ribbechestre* 1246 LAR, *Ribbilchastre* 1335, 1355 LF, *Ribilchaster* 1358 LF, *Riblechastre* 1362 CR 343,

Ribbechastre 1373 LF. Ribchester stands on the Ribble. It was the seat of a Roman station (*Bremetonaci* in Ant. It.). O.E. *ceaster* means " a city or walled town," originally one that had a Roman station. The loss of *l* may be compared with that in *such* (O.E. *swilc*), etc.

Knowl Green (h.) : *de Cnolle* (*Knolle*) 1246 LAR, *de Knol* 1262 LF, 1274 LI ; now [noul gri·n]. O.E. *cnoll* " knoll, hillock."

3. **Dilworth** (N. of Ribchester) : *Bileuurde* DB, *Dileworth* 1227 LF, *Dillewrthe* a 1240 CC, *Dillesworth* 1246 LAR, *Dilleswrth* 1256 LAR, *Dilwort* 1279 ClR, *Dylleword* 1292 PW, *Dilleworth* 1303 LF. I am inclined to believe that this is simply O.E. *dile* " dill " and *worþ*. The forms with *-s-* (*Dilleswrth*, etc.) to some extent tell against this etymology, but the *s* may be intrusive.

4. **Alston-with-Hothersall** (W. of Ribchester).

Alston (the W. part) : *Alston* 1226, 1257 LI, 1332 LS, etc., *de Alleston* (*Halueston*, *Halfiston*, *Halleston*) 1246 LAR ; now [ɔlstn]. In view of the 1246 forms the first el. of the name seems to be some name in O.E. *Ælf-*, perhaps *Ælfsige* as in Alston, Worc. : *Ælfsiges tun* c 1050 CD 805, *Alsostone*, *Alstone* 1275 (Duignan).

Hothersall (the E. part) : *Hudereshal'* 1199 ChR, *Hudereshal* 1201 LPR, 1226 LI, *Huddeshal* 1206 LPR, *Hudersale* 1212 LI, *de Hodersale* 1251 LI, *de Hudeshale* 1252 LI, *Hudereshale* 1257 IPM, *Hodresal* 1258 LAR, *Hudresal* 1259 LAR, *de Hudirsale* 1279 ClR, *Hodersale* 1297 LI, 1332 LS ; now [ɔðəsə ; ɔðəsl]. The first el. of the name is no doubt a pers. n., identical with that in Huddersfield: *Oderesfeld* DB, *Hodersfeld* 1280, *Hudresfeld* a 1297, *Huderesfeld* 1131 etc. (Goodall, Moorman). But it is not easy to explain such a name. The O.E. *Huthhere* (∿ *Hythhere*) found once does not account well for the regular *d* of the early forms. The change [ð] to [d] before *r* in *rudder* (O.E. *rōðor*), *spider* is evidenced a good deal later than in the names Hothersall and Huddersfield. It may be a derivative of O.E. *Hud(d)a* with an *r-* suffix ; cf. Bickerstaffe, p. 121f. The second el. is O.E. *halh* " haugh." Hothersall Hall stands in a piece of level ground in a bend of the Ribble.

PRESTON PAR.

A large district N. of the Ribble. The surface is low in the S. and W., but rises in the N. and E.

1. **Elston** (N.E. of Preston, on the Ribble) : *Etheliston* 1212 LI, 1259 LAR, 1332 LS, *de Etheleston* (*Etheliston*, *Ethelaston*, *Ethereston*) 1246 LAR, *Elleston* 1446 LF. The first el. is an O.E. name in *Eðel-* (a Northumbrian side-form of *Æðel-* ; cf. Chadwick, Studies in Old English, p. 176). Elswick seems to contain O.E. *Eðelsige*, and this seems more plausible than *Æðelwulf* (suggested by Wyld) also in the case of Elston. The second el. is O.E. *wīc* " dwelling," etc.

2. **Grimsargh-with-Brockholes** (N.E. of Preston, W. of Elston).

Grimsargh (the N. half) : *Grimesarge* DB, *Grimesherham* 1189 Ch, *de Grimesargh* 1246 LAR, *Grimesargh* 1262 LI, 1341 IN, etc., *Grymesargh* 1324 LI, *Greymesargh* 1301 LF ; now [grimzə]. " The *ergh* (or pasture) of Grim." On *ergh see* p. 10. *Grímr* is a well-known O.N. pers. name. The land of the township is chiefly in pasture.

Brockholes (the S. part ; in a bend of the Ribble) : *Brochole* 1212 LI, *de Brocholes*

1244 LI, *Brochol, Brokhol* 1246 LAR, *Brocholes* 1290 IPM, *Brokholes* 1319 LF, 1332 LS, etc. O.E. *brocc* " badger " and *hol* " hole, burrow." Cf. Brockhall, p. 71.

3. **Ribbleton** (v. ; near the Ribble) : *Ribleton* 1201, 1206 LPR, 1354 LF, *Ribbelton* 1226 LI, 1327 LS, *de Ribelton, de Ribbeton* 1246 LAR, *Ribbilton* 1297 LI, *Rybbelton* 1332 LS. " The *tūn* on the Ribble."

Scales : *Ribelton Scales* 1252 ChR. O.N. *skáli* " hut."

4. **Fishwick** (E. of and now part of Preston) : *Fiscuic* DB, *de Fiskwic* 1202 LF, *Fiswich* 1203f. LPR, *Fyswic* 1216-22 LI, *Fissewyk, Fiskewik* 1247-51 LI, *Fiswyke* 1252 IPM, *Fischewik* 1269 LAR, *Fixwyk, Fyssewyk* 1297f. LI, *Fisshewyk* 1326 LF, *ffisshwik* 1332 LS. I believe (with Sephton) that this is simply O.E. **fisc-wic*, which I take to mean " place (village) where fish is sold " ; cf. especially *saltwic* " place where salt is sold " (B-T). Or it might be " village where fish is caught." Fishwick is on the Ribble, and the ancient highway from Preston to the S. passes through the township. Fishwick is also the name of an old parish in Berwickshire near the Tweed.

5. **Preston** (town) : *Prestvne* DB, *Prestonam* 1094 Ch, *Prestona* 1153-60 Ch (orig.), 1169 LPR, *Prestone* 1166 RB, *Preston* 1176ff. LPR, 1196 LF, 1212 LI, 1332 LS, etc., *Presteton* 1180ff. LPR. O.E. *prēosta tūn* " the priest's manor." Preston must have been an old rectory manor.

Avenham Park : *Avenham* 1591 DL. The name is identical with Avenham or Enam in Singleton, with *Avenames* (Newton) 1212-42 CC, *Auenam de Farlton* (Westmorl.) 1208-49 ib. M.E. *avenam* is clearly a Scand. word ; cf. O.Swed. *afnam* " land severed from an estate." In a note to Guisb. C II. 442 *ovenam* is explained as " land taken up from, or out of, a larger tract unappropriated and unenclosed," *i.e.*, " a purpresture, encroachment, or intak." That may be the exact meaning also of *avenam*.

Deepdale : *Dupedale* 1228 ClR, *de Depedale* 1354 LF. " The deep valley."

6. **Lea, Ashton, Ingol,** and **Cottam** (on the Ribble, W. of Preston).

Ashton (the S.E. part, now partly urban) : *Estun* DB, *Astuna* 1153-60 Ch (orig.), *Estona* 1169 LPR, *Eston* 1201 LPR, 1212 LI, *Assheton* 1326 LF, *Asshton* 1327, 1332 LS. O.E. *æsc-tūn* " ash town."

Tulketh: *Tulket* c 1130 Sim. Durh., 1199 ChR, (villa de) *Tulchut* a 1250 CC, *Tulkid* 1252 ChR, *Magnum Tulket* a 1255 CC, *Tulkut, Tulchut,* (Kar de) *Tulkut* a 1268 CC, *Tulketh* 1292 PW, *de Tulkith* 1293 LI, *Tulcood, Tokyth* 1545 DL. This is, in my opinion, a Brit. name, to be compared with M.Bret. *Toulgoet* (Loth 234), Bret. *Toulhoet,* a fairly common name ; also with Twll-côd (Llandaff, Wales) : *tollcoit, Tvll Coit* LL 188, (fontis) *tollcoit* ib. 189. The first el. is Bret. *toul* " trou," Corn. *toll,* Welsh *twll* " hole, pit," the second Bret. *koat,* O.Corn. *cuit,* Welsh *coed* " wood." Toulguet means " le bois troué." Toulhoet, and probably Welsh Twll-côd, mean " le trou du bois." This is probably also the meaning of Tulketh. The quotation *Kar de Tulkut* is especially to be noticed. A place called Hole House is (or was) near Tulketh.

Lea (the S.W. part) : *Lea* DB, *Lehe* a 1190 CC, *Le* 1212 LI, *Legh* 1246 LAR, *Lee* 1284 ChR, 1297 LI, 1332 LS, etc. O.E. *lēah* " lea." The Savick Brook divides Lea into two parts, formerly called French Lea and English Lea. French Lea was given a 1189 to Warine de Lancaster, a Norman.

French Lea : *Le Franceis* a 1194 Ch, *Le Franceis* 1207 ChR, *Lee Francia* CC 209, *Lee Fraunceis* (*Fraunchеys*) 1259 LAR, *Le Gallicana* a 1268 CC, *Lee Gallica* 1377 LF, 1422 CR, *La Lee Fraunceys* 1334 LF ; *Frenkesslee* 1278 LAR.

English Lea (now Lea Town) : *Engleshel*[*ea*] 1201 LPR, *Le Engleis* 1207 ChR, *Englesshelee* 1385 LF, *Lee Anglicana* 1422 CR.

Greaves : *del Greues* 1246 LAR, *del Grevys* 1334 LF. O.E. *grǣf* " grove."

Sidgreaves : *Sidegreves, Side Greves* c 1230 CC, *de Sydegreues* 1246 LAR. First el. O.E. *sīd* " wide, large."

Cottam (the N.W. part) : *Cotun* a 1230 CC, *de Cotun* 1227 LF, *Cotum* c 1230 CC, 1246, 1284 LAR, *Kotum, Cotton* 1246 LAR, *Cotam* 1292 PW, *Cotham* 1577 Harr. O.E. *cotum* dat. pl. of *cot* " cottage," (often) " sheep-cote."

Ingol (the N.E. part) : *Ingole* 1200 ChR, 1314 LI, *Īgole, Ingool* (*Yngole, Yngoil*) 1199-1206 Ch (orig.), *Ingol* 1246, 1284 LAR, *de Ingoles* 1246 LAR, *Ingel* 1257 ib., *Inghoo* 1558 LF. The second el. is O.E. *holh* (or O.N. *hol*) " hole ; hollow, valley." The first is presumably a pers. name. O.E. *Inga* (Searle) may be English or Scandinavian (Björkman). The occurrence of the name in Inkpen, Berks. indicates that it is at least partly native.

7. **Broughton** (N. of Preston) : *Broctun* DB, *Broctona* a 1160 Ch, *Brocton* 1201 LPR, 1212, 1226 LI, *Broucton* 1262 LF, *Brouton* 1269 LAR, *Broghton* 1303 LF, 1332 LS, *Broughton* 1490 LF. O.E. *brōc-tūn* " the tūn on the brook." Blundel Brook flows through the township.

Fernyhalgh : *Fernehalgh* 1500 DL, *Fernyhalgh* (Chap.) 1516 DL. " Ferny haugh."

Ingolhead (adjoining Ingol) : *de Thyncoleheued* 1246 LAR, *de Ingolheued* 1310 LI, *de Ingolhed* 1332 LS, *de Ingolfheved* 1341 IN, *Ingolheved* 1380 LF. The first el. is no doubt the place-name Ingol. *Ingolf-* shows transition of *-h* into *-f*. The second el. is O.E. *hēafod*, whose sense is here not very clear ; perhaps " upper end." There does not seem to be any hill at Ingolhead.

Sharoe (h.) : *Sharoo, Shayrawe, Sharow* 1502 DL, *Sharoe* 1513 ib., *Sharowe* 1558 LF. Perhaps *the Charaudhoke* (Sharoe oak ?) 1338 LPR 425 contains the name. Sharoe is on slightly rising ground between Sharoe Brook and a brook that forms the boundary between Broughton and Fulwood. We may compare Sharow, Yks. : *Scharhow* 1285-1316, *Scharhowe, -hou* 1303, etc. (Moorman). The elements may be O.E. *scaru* " boundary " (in *landscaru, landscarhlinc*) and O.N. *haugr* " hill," or O.E. *hōh* " ridge." *Charaudhoke* is one of the bounders of Fulwood. But the early forms are not sufficiently clear.

Urton or **Durton** (near Broughton Hall) : *Overton* 1502 DL I. 12, *Durton* al. *Urton* al. *Overtowne* 1567 DL (VHL VII. 119), *Urton* 1544 LF, *Vrton* 1591 RW 247. The name may be O.E. *ōfertūn* " shore town " or rather *ofertūn* " upper town," as the place does not stand close to a stream. *D-* is perhaps the Fr. prep. *de*, added when the name was used as a family name.

8. **Haighton** (N.E. of Preston, S. of Blundel Brook) : *Halctun* DB, *Aulton* 1201 LPR, *Halicton* 1212 LI, *Halechton* 1226 LI, *Halton* a 1268 CC, *Halghton* 1327, 1332 LS. O.E. *halh* " haugh " and *tūn*. Haighton Hall and Haighton House stand on level ground near Savick Brook.

New Chingle Hall : *Chynglethall* 1501 LF, *Shynglehall* 1516 DL. " The hall covered with shingles." *Chingle* is a side-form of *shingle*, " thin piece of wood used as a house-tile " (c 1200 NED) ; cf. Singleton, p. 154.

9. **Barton** (N. of Preston and Broughton): *Bartun* DB, a 1220 CC, *Barton* 1212 LI, 1327, 1332 LS, etc., *Berton* 1226 LI. O.E. *bǽrtūn, beretūn* " barton "; cf. Barton in Eccles, p. 38.
Newsham (h.; formerly in Goosnargh): *Neuhuse* DB, *Newesum, Neusum* 1246 LAR, *Nusum* 1249 IPM, *Neusom* 1252 IPM, 1332 LS, *de Neusum* c 1260 CC, *Newesum* 1312 LI, *Neusum* 1327 LS. " (At) the new houses."
Hollowforth (in Newsham; h.): *de Holughford* 1332 LS, *Holoforth* 1558 LF. " The hollow ford," or " the ford in the hollow." The place is on Barton Brook.

LANCASTER PAR. (detached portions)

1. **Fulwood** (N. of Preston, now partly suburban): *ful(e)wude* 1228 ClR, *Fuluuode* 1252 ChR, *Fulwode* 1297 LI, *Folewode* 1323 LI. O.E. *fūl* " rotten " or " dirty " and *wudu* " wood." Fulwood belonged to the forest of Lancaster.
Cadley: *Cadileisahe* 1228 ClR, *Cadilegh* 1314, 1324 LI, 1338 LPR. Apparently O.E. *Cadan lēah*. But the regular *i* in the second syllable is curious.
Hyde Park (name lost): *hyda* 1256-8 LI, *park of Hyde, Hide* 1323f. LI, *parco de Hyde* 1323 LC 449, *de Hide* 1332 LS, *Hydeschaghbroke* 1338 LPR. O.E. *hīd* " hide." I suppose Hyde is the name of a lost village or farm; Hyde is a common place-name.
Killinsough: *Kelangeshalgh, Kelandeshagh* 1324 LI, *Kylaneshalgh* 1363 M. The first el. may be the O.N. pers. n. *Kylan* from Ir. *Cuilén*. The second el. is O.E. *halh* " haugh." K. stands between the Savock and a tributary brook.
2. **Myerscough** (N.W. of Preston and Barton): *de Mirscho(h)* 1246 LAR, *de Miresco* 1265 LI, *Mirescowe* 1297 LI, *Mirescogh* 1323 LI, 1323 LC, *Merscow* c 1540 Leland. O.N. *mýrr* " bog " (>E. *mire*) and *skógr* " wood." The ground of the township is low and level and traversed by several streams (the Brock and others).
Aschebi DB is thought to be a lost vill. in Myerscough. *Aschebi* no doubt stands for *Askebi*, the first el. being O.N. *askr* " ash "; cf. O.Swed. *Askby* and *Askaby*.
Badsberry: *Baggerburgh* 1363M, *Badgerburgh* 1430 LC 577, *Baggesburgh* 1496 DL. Evidently " badger-burrow "; cf. p. 8. A late name; *badger* is a Fr. loanword. The development of [dž] to [dz] is remarkable; cf. Chaigley, p. 141.
Midghalgh or Midge Hall: *Migehalghlegh* 1314 LI, *Migelhalgh* 1324 LI, *Migel-, Migehalgh* 1326 LC 454f. Cf. *Mugehalc* (Ashton, Preston) a 1268 CC and Midge Hall, p. 133. O.E. *mycg* " midge " and *halh* " haugh." The place stands a few hundred yards from Barton Brook; the intervening ground is low and level.
Stansacre: *Stannesacre* 1553 DL. Earlier material is needed. The first el. may be O.N. *Steinn* pers. n.

KIRKHAM PAR.

This large parish consists of two parts, separated from each other by the parishes of St. Michael's and Preston. The chief portion is W. of the said parishes, and stretches from the Ribble in the S. to the Wyre in the N., with Hambleton N. of the Wyre. This portion is in the Fylde. The smaller portion (Goosnargh Chapelry, comprising Goosnargh and Whittingham townships) is on the border of Chipping and on the lower slope of Longridge Hill.

1. **Whittingham** (N.E. of Preston, N. of Blundel Brook): *Witingheham* DB, *Whitingham* 1200f. LPR, 1246 LAR, *Witingheham, Witingeheim, Whitingeheim* 1202 LF, *Witingeham, Whitingeham, de Wytinghaym* 1246 LAR, *Whitingham* 1332 LS, *Whetyngham* 1310 LI. O.E. *Hwītinga hām, Hwītingas* being a patronymic from O.E. *Hwīta*. The forms in *-haym* are due to Scand. influence.

Ashley: *de Esseleye* a 1250 CC, *de Ashelegh* 1323 LI. O.E. *æsc* "ash" and *lēah*.

Chingle Hall (estate): *The Chyngle Hall* 1530 RW 268, *Shinglehall* 1546 DL, *Synglehall* 1571 DL. *See* New Chingle Hall, p. 147.

Comberhalgh: *de Cumberhalgh* 1310 LI, *Cumberall* 1497 LF. The place was apparently on Blundel Brook. The name is preserved in Cumeragh Lane, which crosses Blundel Brook. The second el. of the name is O.E. *halh* "haugh." The first may be O.E. *Cumbra* pers. n. or *Cumbra* "Briton." The only objection against this etymology is the fact that the same name is found also in Cronton (*Combral* 1337 WhC 817) and in Houghton, De. (*Cumbrall* VHL IV. 167), which would seem to indicate that the first el. is rather a common noun. There are a M.H.G. *kumber* "rubbish," Norw. dial. *kumar* "bud," Swed. dial. *kummer, kumber* the same. There may have been an O.E. word of similar form and meaning.

Duxendean: *Duxenden* 1587 DL. Etymology obscure.

2. **Goosnargh** (N.E. of Preston): *Gusansarghe* DB, *Gunanesarg* 1206 LPR, *Gosenharegh, Gosenargh, Gosenarch, Gusenhach* 1246 LAR, *Gosenhar'* 1257 IPM, *Gosnarhe, Gosenarwe, Gosenarewe* 1269 LAR, *Gosenarch* 1277 LAR, *Gosenargh* 1284 LAR, 1306 LF, 1332 LS, etc., *Gosnargh* 1297 LI; now [gu·znə]. Second el. *ergh, argh* "shieling" (p. 10). The first is apparently a pers. n. *Gosan* or *Gusan* from Ir. *Gosan, Gusan* (*see* Hogan, p. 81, 693).

Barker: *Barker* 1513, 1514 DL. The second el. of the name may well be *ergh* "a shieling"; the first being O.N. *bǫrkr* "bark" or *Bǫrkr* pers. n. Higher and Lower Barker are in a remote situation on a hill-side.

Beesley: *de Beselaye* c 1200 CC, *Beysleye* c 1210 CC, *de Biseligh* (*Besleg*) 1246 LAR, *de Byseleye* (*Byssley*) 1277 LAR, *de Beseley* 1332 LS. Probably O.E. *Bisi* pers. n. (Searle) and *lēah*. Cf. Bisley (Glo.).

Blake Hall: *Blakhall* c 1450 HS LXIV. 279, *Blackhall* 1600 RS XII. Perhaps simply "black hall."

Bulsnape: *Bulsnape* 1518 DL. M.E. *bule* "bull" and *snape* "pasture"; cf. Boysnope in Eccles. *Fulesnape* a 1220, c 1260 CC is possibly miswritten for *Bulesnape*. But cf. Fairsnape in Bleasdale.

Inglewhite (v.): *Inglewhite* 1662 RW 83. The first el. is probably a pers. n., *e.g.*, O.N. *Ingulfr*. On the second *see* p. 19.

Kidsnape: *Kydesknape* 1520 DL, *Kydsnape* 1539 CC. M.E. *kid* "young of goat" (a Scand. word) and *snape* "pasture," *see* p. 17.

Longley: *Longelee, Longelech* c 1210 CC, *de Longelyhe* 1252 LI. "Long lea."

Loudscales (on the Loud): *de Ludescal(e)* 1219, *de Ludreskal* 1221, *de Ludescales* 1222, *de Ludescall* 1223 LAR, *Lowd Scales* 1585 RW 210; cf. *de la Lude* 1262 LAR. "The scales or huts on the Loud." *Scale* is O.N. *skáli* "hut."

Middleton (on Westfield Brook, a tributary of Barton Brook): *Middelton* 1323 LF, *de Midelton* 1332 LS. "The middle *tūn*."

Threlfall (old manor; the N.E. part of Goosnargh): *Trelefelt* DB, *de Threliffall*

1246 LAR, *Threlefal* 1258 IPM, *Treuelfal* 1271 LAR, *Trellefalle* 1324 LI, *Threlefel* 1244 LI. O.N. *þræla* g. pl. of *þræll* "serf" (cf. Threlkeld, Cumb.) and O.N. *fall* "clearing" (cf. p. 10). The second el. seems to have been influenced by *feld* and *fell*. The latter association is all the more plausible as Beacon Fell (874ft.) is in Threlfall. The form *Treuelfal* 1271 shows influence from *Treales* (p. 152).

3. **Clifton-with-Salwick** (on the Ribble, W. of Preston).

Clifton (v.): *Clistun* DB, *Clifton* 1226 LI, 1257 LF, 1332 LS, etc., *Clyfton* 1341 IN. First el. O.E. *clif* "hill, slope." Clifton vil. lies on a fairly steep slope above the marshy land along the Ribble.

Salwick: *Saleuuic* DB, *Salewic* 1201 LPR, 1226 LI, *Saleswic* 1200 Rot Obl, *Salewyk* 1327 LS, *Sawick* 1577 Saxton. Salwick is near a small tributary of Savick Brook. The elements of the name are probably O.E. *salh* (pl. *salas*) "sallow" and *wīc* "dwelling," etc.

Lund (v.): ? *Lund* 1228 ClR, *le Lund* a 1268 CC, *Lundmosse* 1595 DL. O.N. *lundr* "grove."

4. **Newton-with-Scales** (on the Ribble, W. of Clifton).

Newton (v.): *Neutune* DB, *Neuton* a 1242 CC, 1243 LI, 1332 LS, etc. "The new *tūn*."

Scales (close to Newton): *Skalys* 1501 CC, *Skales, Scalis* 1537 ib. O.N. *skāli* "hut."

Dowbridge (h.): (magnam stratam de) *Dalebrig(e)*, *Delbrigeheuet, Dalebrigewara* a 1268 CC. D. is in the valley of Freckleton Brook. The elements of the name are O.E. *dæl* (or O.N. *dalr*) "valley" and O.E. *brycg*. The road alluded to is the Danes' Pad, thought to be of Roman origin. The el. *-wara* (in one example) seems to be *wra* from O.N. *(v)rā* "corner."

5. **Freckleton** (on the Ribble; W. of Newton; v.): *Frecheltun* DB, *Frechelttuna* 1153-60 Ch (orig.), *Frekiltona, ffrekelton* c 1190 CC, *Frekelton* 1202, 1227 LF, etc., *ffrekilton* 1332 LS, *Frekilton* 1428 LF; *Freketon* 1201 LPR; *Frekenton* 1201f. LPR, 1270 LAR; *Frequinton* 1202f. LPR, *Frequenton* 1204 LPR; *Frekintone* 1212 RB; *Frequelton* 1212 LI; *de Frikelton* 1246 LAR. S. of the vil. is a point of land called the Naze: "the famous Neb of the Nese," 1771 Whitaker, Hist. of Manchester I. 129. In Whitaker's time the Ribble formed a large bend here. The depth was 15ft.

This is a very difficult name, to no small extent owing to the variety in the early forms. The forms in *l* (*Frekelton*, etc.) are obviously to be preferred to those in *n* (*Frekenton*, etc.), as they are more common and evidenced earlier. No doubt *n* is due to Norman dissimilation. Then there is the question if the spellings with *qu* for *k* (*Frequelton, Frequinton*) are worthy of attention. I suppose they indicate that a *w* has been lost after *k*. Sephton assumes as first el. O.E. *Frecwulf*, but such a name is not evidenced; the instance in Searle is Frankish. If the form contained a *w*, I think the first el. is an O.E. **Frecwēl* containing O.E. *frec* "greedy" or "dangerous" (cf. Förster, E. St. 39, 328 ff.) and O.E. *wēl* "pool," referring to the deep place in the river mentioned. This seems to me the most probable explanation. If the original form had no *w*, it is perhaps an *l*-derivative of the stem in O.E. *frec, fræc*. This may be an O.E. **Frecla* pers. n. (cf. *Freca*) or a derivative of the O.E. adj. *frēcel* (M.E. *frekel*) "wicked; dangerous" (cf. Förster *l.c.*), a name of the pool.

6. **Warton** (on the Ribble, E. of Lytham; v.): *Wartun* DB, *Wartuna* 1153-60 Ch (orig.), *Warton* 1227 LF, 1332 LS, etc. Probably O.E. **weard-tūn* (cf. *weard-seld* " guard-house," etc., G. *Wartburg*). This etymology seems fairly certain for Warton in Lonsdale, and plausible for Warton in Am. Warton Bank would be suitable as a lookout place; the ground W. of Warton along the Ribble is very low and was in old days mostly uninhabitable. O.E. *warop* (*wearþ*) " shore " is also possible as first el., but a name " shore town " is not very distinctive, as several old villages are on the shore.

Cowburn or **Cowburgh** (old estate): *Couburugh* 1189-94 Ch (in ChR 1336), *Cuburne, insula de Cuburc* (*Kuburne*) a 1246 CC. The original name was probably *Cū-burne* " cow brook," *-burgh* being due to a deliberate change.

7. **Bryning with Kellamergh** (N.E. of Lytham).

Bryning (h.): *Birstaf brinn*[*ing*] 1201 LPR, *Birstatbrunning* 1236 LI, *Burstad Brining* 1243 LI, *Burwadbruning* 1249 IPM; *Brunigg'* 1252 IPM, *Brining, Brunigge* 1254 IPM, *Brining* 1341 IN, etc., *Brinÿge* 1332 LS, *Brynin'* Waugh. The name has a curious history. In the earliest sources it is a double-barrelled name. From about 1250 the first part is dropped. I explain the first part as an O.N. *Bjárstaðr* (whence Norw. Bjaastad, Bjastad) meaning " farmstead "; *Bjár-* is the gen. of *býr* (cf. E. *byrlaw*<*býjarlǫg*); *staðr* means " place." The same name is Birstwith, W. Yks.: *Birstad* 13 cent. The second el. may be the O.E. pers. n. *Bryning* or O.Swed., O.Dan. *Bryning*. Or it may be an earlier name of the place, *e.g.*, an O.E. patronymic *Bryningas*. I suppose Byrstath Bryning means Bryning Farm. The order between the elements is due to Celtic influence. A Celtic el. is found in the next name.

Kellamergh (h.): *Kelfgrimeshereg* 1201 LPR, *Kelgrimesarge* a 1246 CC, *Kelgrimisarhe* 1236 LI, *Kelghgrymeshare* 1285 LAR, *Kelgrimisharg* 1249 IPM, *Kelgrimeshar'* 1254 IPM, *Kelgrymessaregh* 1276 ClR, *Kelgrimeshargh* 1297 LI, *Kelgmesargh* 1332 LS, *Kilgrymesargh* 1347 LF, *Kellamoor* Waugh. The " *ergh*, or shieling, of *Kelgrim." On *ergh, argh see* p. 10. *Kelgrim* is a Scand. pers. n., derived by Björkman, Namenkunde, from O.N. **Ketilgrimr*. Yet the earliest form does not quite bear out this suggestion.

8. **Westby with Plumptons** (N. of Lytham).

Westby (h.): *Westbi* DB, *Westby* 1226 LI, 1257 LF, etc.; *Westeby* 1327, *Westebi* 1332 LS. " The western *by*," a Scand. name *Vestbýr*.

Ballam (h.): *Balholm* 1189-94 Ch (in ChR 1336), *de Balholme* 1324 LCR, *de Balghholm* 1332 LS. Ballam stands on a slight elevation (c 35ft.) with Lytham Moss on the W., Brown Moss on the E. *Holm* (O.N. *holmr*) no doubt means an " island " in a moss. The first el. is perhaps M.E. *balgh* adj. "round," cf. p. 7.

Plumpton (formerly **Fieldplumpton** for distinction from Woodplumpton): *Pluntun* DB, *Plumton* 1226 LI, 1257 LF, etc., *Plumpton* 1327, 1332 LS; *Fildeplumpton* 1323 LI, 1359 LF. O.E. *plūme* " plum, plumtree " and *tūn*. There are now two hamlets: Great and Little Plumpton: *Little, Le Graunte Fildeplumpton* 1323 LI.

9. **Ribby with Wrea** (N.E. of Lytham, W. of Kirkham).

Ribby (v.): *Rigbi* DB, 1169 LPR, *Ribi* 1094 Ch, *Rygeby* 1189-93 Ch, *Rigby* 1227 ClR, *Riggebi* 1226 LI, *Riggeby* 1226 LI, 1332 LS, etc., *Ruggeby* 1249 LI. " The *bÿr* on the ridge "; O.N. *hryggr* " ridge " and *býr*. Ribby stands on or at a small ridge.

Wrea (W. of Ribby; Wrea Green, h.): *Wra* 1201 LPR, 1226 LI, c 1200 CC, *Wraa* 1324 LI, 1380 LF, *le Wra* 1323 LI, *le Wraa* 1327 LS; *Wro* 1322 LI. O.N. *(v)rā* " corner," etc.; cf. p. 20. In this case the most plausible meaning of *vrā* is " remote part."

Compton, or Counton (in Ribby): *Conton* 1538 DL, *Counton* 1559 DL. Perhaps O.E. *cumb-tūn* " valley town."

10. **Kirkham** (N.E. of Lytham, small town): *Chicheham* DB, *Chercheham* 1094 Ch, *Chircheham* c 1130 ib.; *Kyrkham, Kircheham, Kyrcham* 1094 ib.; *Kirkeheim* 1196 LF, *de Kyrkeym* 1243 LI, *Kyrkheym* 1246 LF, *Kyrkhaym* 1246 LAR, *Kyrkeym* 1262 LAR; *Kyrkeham* 1279 LF, *Kirkeham* 1332 LS, *Kirkham* 1387 LF, etc. The forms point to O.N. *kirkia* as the first el.; *ch* is no doubt to be read *k* in the early forms. The second el. is O.N. *heimr* or O.E. *hām* " home," etc. I am inclined to believe that the name is an O.E. **Circehām*, which was Scandinavianized wholly (to *Kirkeheim*) or partly (to *Kirkeham*). The name may, of course, be Scandinavian, but Scand. names in *-heimr* are at least very rare in England.

11. **Treales, Roseacre, and Wharles** (N.E. of Kirkham).

Treales (the S. part; h.): *Treueles* DB, 1206 LPR, 1332 LS, etc., *Trivel', Trevel'* 1249 IPM, *Treneles* 1286 IPM, *Treules* 1324 LI, 1327 LS, *Treeles* 1431 FA, *Trales* 1577 Saxton, *Trayles* 1597 DL; now [tre·lz]. The name is sometimes written Trayles (Bulmer). I identify the name with M.Bret. *Trefles* 1249 (Loth 234), Treflys, Carn. (: *Trefles* Rec. Carn. 39). The latter is evidently Welsh *treflys* " court of the settlement " (Anwyl), a compound of *tref* " hamlet, town " and *llys* (O.Bret. *lis*) " court, hall, palace," or Welsh *Tref-llys* " the township of the court or palace." In Owen's Pembrokeshire II. 411 Trellys-coed and T.-cnwc (*Trefllys* Bl. B. of St. David's) are explained in the latter way. Treales is situated in the interior of the district on slightly elevated ground; there are no prominent physical features about the place.

Wharles (the middle part; h.): *Quarlous* 1249 IPM, *Werlows, Warlawes* 1286 IPM, *Wharlowes* 1617 RW 64; now [wɔ·ləz]. Wharles is situated on an elevation of some 70ft. To the E. the ground slopes away to about 50ft. The second el. of the name may be O.E. *hlāw* " hill," or if the first el. ended in *l*, O.N. *haugr*. The first el. is extremely doubtful. It seems most probable that it began with *hw-* (*wh-*). Possible sources are O.E. *hwer*, O.N. *hverr* " kettle, basin," O.E. *hwearf*, O.N. *hvarf* " turning," etc., or O.E. *hwerfel* " circle," etc. Quarles, Norf. (: *Quarles* 1302, 1428 FA) is *Huerueles* DB, which points to O.E. *hwerfel* as its source. As the plural is difficult to explain if the second el. of Wharles meant " hill," it seems most plausible that it is here to be taken in the sense of " mound "; the name would then have been given on account of some (funeral ?) mounds in the neighbourhood. If so, a combination of O.E. *hwerfel* " circle " and O.E. *hlāw* or O.N. *haugr* meaning " mounds standing in a circle " may be assumed. The same mounds may have given name to Roseacre, which was no doubt originally a field belonging to Wharles.

Roseacre (c 1 m. N.W. of Wharles, h.): *Rasak', Raysak'* 1249 IPM, *Raysacre* 1283 LF, *Reyacre, Raysaker* 1286 IPM, *Roseaker* 1577 Saxton; now [ro·ze·kə]. O.N. *hreysi* " cairn " and O.N. *aker* or O.E. *æcer* (Wyld, Lindkvist).

12. **Medlar with Wesham** (N. of Kirkham).

Medlar : *Midelarge* 1215 CC, *Midilharie* 1216 ChR, *Middelharg* a 1220 Ch, *Middelarghe* 1226, *-erwe* 1227 LI, *Midelare* c 1230 CC, *Midelergh* 1235 LF, *Midelargh* 1324 LI, *Mithelargh* 1292 PW, 1332 LS. The " middle *ergh* or shieling " ; cf. on *ergh, argh* p. 10. The first el. is O.E. *middel*, or—as suggested by the 1292 and 1332 forms—originally the corresponding O.N. *miðil*, found as a preposition.
Bradkirk : *de Bredekyrk* 1235 LF, *de Bredekirke* a 1242 CC, 1246 LAR, *Bretekirke, Bredekik* 1249 IPM, *de Bredekyrk* 1276 AP, *Bredekirk* 1330 LF, 1386 Ind. II. ; *Bradkirk* 1189 Ch (Kuerden's MS), *de Bradekirke* a 1242 CC, *Bradekirke, Bredekirke* 1286 IPM, *de Bradekyrke* LC 417. I believe the name means " plank church " (first el. O.E. *bred* " board, plank ") ; cf. Felkirk, Yks., whose first el. is convincingly derived by Goodall from O.N. *fiǫl* " board." The second el. is Scand. in form, but very likely *kirk* has replaced an O.E. *circe*. There seems to be no mention in early records and no trace of the church that gave name to the place.
Wesham (v.) : *West(h)usum* 1189 Ch, *Westhusam* 1194 Ch, *de Westhusum* 1246 LAR, *Westeshum* 1263 IPM, *Westsum* 1327, 1332 LS, *Wessum* 1431 FA ; *Westhus* 1204 LPR. At " the western houses " ; *-husum* is the dat. pl. of O.E. or O.N. *hūs* " house." Wesham vil. is N.W. of Kirkham vil.
Mowbrick Hall (in Wesham) : *Moulebrec, Mulebrec* 1249 IPM, *Molebrek* 1286 IPM. O.N. *Múli* pers. n. (Björkman, E.St. 44, 254) and O.N. *brekka* " slope." Mowbrick stands on a slope.
13. **Weeton with Preese** (N.W. of Kirkham, E. of Blackpool).
Weeton (v.) : *Widetun* DB, *Wytheton* 1243 LI, *Witheton* 1249 IPM, 1327 LS, *Wythington* 1286 IPM, *Wyhton* 1297 LI, *Wetheton* 1324 LI, 1332 LS, 1346 FA, etc., *Weton* 1341 IN, etc. ; *Whiteton* 1206 LPR. O.E. *wiðig* " willow " and *tūn*. There are still some fine specimens of the willow-tree in the village.
Mythop (in Weeton) : *Midehope* DB, *Mithop* 1212 LI, 1249 IPM, *Mithop, Methop* 1286 IPM. Cf. Meathop, Wml. (: *Midhop* a 1190, *Mithehop* c 1200 CC, *Midhopp* 1254 LI) and Middop, Yks. (: *Mithope* DB). Mythop stands on a slight elevation (c 50ft. above sea-level) surrounded by low-lying country ; to the W. the level is only 19ft. The second el. is O.E. *hop* " a piece of enclosed land, *e.g.*, in the midst of fens " (NED). The first el. would seem to have been originally O.E. *mid* " middle," but Scand. *miðr* seems to have replaced it, as it has in Meathop, Wml.
Preese : *Pres* DB, *Prees* c 1200 CC, 1243 LI, 1259 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., *Prese* c 1200 CC, *de Prehes* 1276 LAR, *de Preses* 1246 LAR. I derive the name from the Brit. word found in Welsh *prys* " covert, brushwood," *pres* " brushwood, fuel," Corn. *pres* " meadow " (common in place-names). The same name is Prees, Salop : *Pres* DB, 1284 FA, *Prees* 1316 FA, etc. The long vowel is due to the Brit. lengthening in monosyllables (Pedersen § 203ff.). Sephton derives Preese from the Celtic word.
Swarbrick Hall (in Preese) : *Swarte-, Suartebrec* 1249 IPM, *Swartebrecke* 1286 IPM, *de Swart(e)brek* 1332 LS ; now [swa·brik]. The first el. is more probably a pers. n., O.E. *Swart, Swarta* (from O.N. *Svartr, Svarti*, Björkman), than the adj. O.E. *sweart*, O.N. *svartr*. Cf. Mowbrick. The second el. is O.N. *brekka* " slope." Swarbrick Hall stands at a small hill reaching about 100ft. above sea-level, the surrounding country being lower.

14. **Greenhalgh with Thistleton** (E. of Blackpool).

Greenhalgh (the S. part; h.): *Greneholf* DB, *Grenhole* 1212 LI, 1216 ChR, 1292 PW, *Grenole* 1215 CC, 1249 IPM, 1270 LAR, etc., *Grenol* 1249 LI, 1394 LF, *Grenolf* 1327 LS, *Grenoll* 1332 LS, *Grenehalgh* 1501 CC; now [gri·nə]. The name means "the green hollow," the second el. being O.E. *holh* sb. "hollow"; cf. Scotch *howe* "hollow place or depression." Greenhalgh h. is on the edge of a shallow depression in the ground.

Corner Row or **Cornoe** (in Greenhalgh; h.): *Cornege* 1189 Ch, *de Cornai* 1216 ChR, *de Cornay* 1215 CC, *Corney* c 1230 CC, *de Corney* 1246 LAR, *Cornay* 1292 PW; *Corneraw* 1501 CC, *Corneyrow* 1553 LF; now [ko·nə ro·]. The original name was Corney, to which was added *raw, row* "a number of houses standing in a line." Corney apparently means "corn island," *i.e.*, the island where corn was grown. But it is also possible *Corn-* represents O.E. *corn*, a sideform of *cran* "crane" (cf. Cornbrook, p. 27). Corney stands in a bend of Thistleton Brook, which here makes a right angle; this may have caused the place to be described as an "island." But O.E. *ēg* was also used in the sense "land on a river" or the like.

Esprick (h.): *Eskebrec* c 1210 CC, *Escebrec* 1249 IPM, *de Askebrek* 1332 LS. O.N. *Eskibrekka* "ash slope." Esprick stands on a slope. Ashtrees are still common in the hamlet.

Thistleton (the N. part; h.): *Thistilton* 1212 LI, *Thistelton* 1219 LF, 1286 IPM, 1332 LS, *Thistleton* 1249 IPM. "The *tūn* where thistles grow."

15. **Little Eccleston with Larbrick** (N.E. of Blackpool; on the Wyre).

Little Eccleston (h.): *Eglestun* DB, *Eccliston* 1212 LI, *Parua Eccliston* 1261 LAR, 1332 LS, *Little Eccleston* 1331, 1369 LF. "Church town," Brit. **eclēs* "church," *see* p. 37. Li. Eccleston adjoins Great Eccleston in St. Michael's, of which it was no doubt originally a part.

Larbrick (W. of Little Eccleston): *Lairbrec* 1212 LI, *Leyrbrec* a 1213 CC, *de Lairebrech* 1246 LAR, *Layrbrek* 1332 LS. *See* further Lindkvist. "Clay slope" (O.N. *leir* "clay" and *brekka* "slope"). Larbrick stands a little way S. of the Wyre at an altitude of 65ft. The ground slopes away to the Wyre. The soil is clayey (VHL VII. 181).

16. **Singleton**, Gt. and Li. (N.E. of Blackpool; S. of the Wyre): *Singletun* DB, *Synglentona* 1094 Ch, *Syngelton* c 1190 Ch, *Singelton* 1177 LPR, 1212 LI, 1246 LAR, etc.; *Singilton* a 1213 CC, 1245 IPM; *de Sengelton* 1206 LC 385, *Sengleton* 1330 LC 471, etc.; *Schingeltona* 1169f. LPR, *Schingelton* 1172, 1182 LPR, *de Shingelton, de Shyngelton* 1246 LAR, *Shingelton* 1362 OR; *Singelton* (magna cum parua) 1327, 1332 LS, *Little Syngelton* 1303 LF. **Singleton Grange**: *Singelton Grange* 1297 LI.

The remarkable variation in the early forms corresponds exactly to that in the early forms of *shingle* sb.[1] "a thin piece of wood used as a house-tile": *shyngle, schyngle, shyngel* 1300, etc. (*scincle* c 1200), *singel, single* 1330, etc., *schengle, shengyll* 16 cent. (NED), to some extent also with those of *shingle* sb.[2] "small roundish stones": *chingle, shingle* 16 cent. (NED). Chingford, Ess. (: *Cingefort* DB, *Chinggeford* 1303 FA, *Shingelford* 1346 FA) seems to contain this latter word. Singleton more probably contains the former *shingle*. The same name seems to be Singleton, Suss., correctly explained by Johnston,

who also adduces Singleborough in Bucks. (*Sincleberia* DB, *Cincleberge* 1262 IPM; cf. *scincle* c 1200 NED). If this is correct, *shingle* "house-tile" must be an O.E. adaptation of Lat. *scindula*. The variation between *single* and *shingle* must be due to different substitutions for Lat. *sc-*; *-gl-* for Lat. *-dul-* is remarkable. Singleton would thus seem to mean "the *tūn* with shingled roof(s)"; cf. Chingle Hall, pp. 147, 149.

Mains (manor-house in Li. Singleton): *Maynes* 1594 Poulton R. Cf. *mains* sb.[2] (< *domain*) "the farm attached to a mansion, a home farm" (1533ff. NED).

Newbigging (now Singleton Grange): *Neubigging* 1215 LPR, 1226 LI, 1216 CC, *Newebiggiñ* 1215 ClR. *Bigging* "building" (1300, etc.) is a derivative of *big* vb. "to build; to dwell" from O.N. *byggia*.

17. **Hambleton** (S.E. of Fleetwood, on the W. bank of the Wyre; v.): *Hameltune* DB, *Hamelton* 1177, 1201, 1206 LPR, 1212 LI, 1246 LF, 1332 LS, etc. The first el. is no doubt a pers. n. O.E. **Hamela* or the like (Wyld); cf. *Hama* and *Hemele*. The name Hambleton is found in Yks. (*Hameltun* DB), Leic., Linc., etc.

Sower Carr: *Sawerker* 1622 RW 56. O.N. *saurr* "mud," etc., and *kiarr* "marsh."

LYTHAM PAR.

The S.W. part of the hundred; on the Ribble.

Lytham (township, town): *Lidun* DB, *Lythum* 1189-94 Ch (in ChR 1336), 1300 LF, 1332 LS, etc., *Lithum* 1201 LPR, 1212 LI, *Lethum* 1341 IN, 1506 LF, *Lethom* 1494 Ind II, *Lethum* 1577 Saxton; now [liðəm, leðəm]. This must be O.E. *hliðum* "at the slopes" from O.E. *hlið*. The name seems to refer to the slight slope above the Ribble. There is hardly any point in the township higher than c 25ft. Most of the district was formerly mossland.

Eastham (N.E. of Lytham town): *Estholme*, *Estholmker* c 1190 Ch (in ChR 1336). "The eastern holm." The place stands on very low ground; to the E. close by is a slight elevation, which was no doubt formerly a holm or island in the moss.

Kilgrimol (Cimiterium de K.) c 1190 Ch (in ChR 1336), *Kylgremosse* 1531 LP I. 210. The cemetery by the 16th cent. had been worn into the sea (VHL VII. 216). The place is now in St. Annes. The elements of the name are apparently *Kelgrim* as in Kellamergh and *hol* "hollow."

BISPHAM PAR.

A narrow strip of land along the sea.

1. **Layton with Warbreck,** now called Blackpool.

Layton, Gt. and Li. (villages): *Latun* DB, *Latona* c 1140, *Latttuna* 1147, *Latona* 1155 Ch, *Laton* 1236, 1297 LI, 1285 ChR, 1332 LS, etc., *magna Laton* 1275 LC 380, *de Parua Latun* 1284 LAR, *Great, Little Laton* 1340 LF, *parua Laton* 13 cent. WhC 423; *Lathun, Lathon* 13 cent. CC. The first el. I take to be O.E. *lād* "watercourse, channel." As regards the long vowel before *t* from *dt* cf. Huyton p. 113. There are small water-courses in Layton. Another possibility is that the first el. is O.N. *lá* "water along the shore," Norw. dial. *laa* "peat-water," cf. M.H.G. *lâ* "pool, peaty water," etc. Cf. Blackpool *infra*. *Lathun* (*Lathon*) CC is no doubt due to association with Lathom De.

Warbreck : *Wardebrec* c 1140, *Wardebrecca* 1147, *Wardebrech* 1155 Ch, *Warthebrek* 1324 LI, 1332 LS, etc. " Beacon hill "; from O.N. *varði, varða* " beacon " and *brekka* " slope." Warbreck stands on a ridge of 100 ft., on which is also a place called Knowle (O.E. *cnoll* " knoll ").

Blackpool town (: *Blacke Pull* 1661 RW 14) took its name from " a peaty-coloured pool of water " (VHL VII. 242), called *Pul* 1252-68 CC 157 ; cf. *del Pull* 1332 LS (Layton).

Bispham or **Layton Hawes :** *Houwes, Howes inter Lithum et Laton* 13 cent. CC, *the Hawes* 1531 DL. The plural of *how* from O.N. *haugr* " hill."

2. **Bispham with Norbreck** (N. of Blackpool).

Bispham, Gr. and Li. (hamlets) : *Biscopham* DB, c 1130, 1147 Ch, 1196 LF, *Bischopeham* 1094 Ch, *Biscopeham* c 1140 ib., *Bischopham* 1155, c 1190 ib., *Biscopheyma* 1216 Ind, *Bisbhaym* c 1270 CC, *Bispeham* 1327 LS, *Bispham* 1332 LS, 1340 LF, etc., *Byspham in ye Fyle* 1577 Saxton. O.E. *Biscophām* " the bishop's hām." The forms with *heym,* due to Scand. influence, are very rare. There is no reason with Lindkvist p. 60 to look upon the name as Scand. and derive the first el. from O.N. *biskop.* It is doubtful if the pronunciation *sk* is evidenced ; with *Biscopham* in DB, etc., may be compared *Biscopestone,* Suss., Som., etc., in DB. For the development of *Biscop-* to *Bisp-* cf. Bispestone, Staffs. *Biscomb* (Bardsley) is probably a different name.

Norbreck (h.) : *Norhicbiec* 1241 LF, *Northbrek* 1267 LAR, 1327, 1332 LS, etc. " The northern slope " or " hill " (O.N. *brekka*). The place is on the slope of a small hill N. of Gt. Bispham.

POULTON-LE-FYLDE PAR.

A district E. and N. of Blackpool, W. of the Wyre. The surface is low and mostly level.

1. **Marton** (S.E. of Blackpool) : *Meretun* DB, *Mertona* 1176 LPR, *Mereton* 1177ff. LPR, 1212 LI, *Merton* 1286 IPM, 1332 LS, etc., *Mareton* 1183f. LPR, *Marton* 1249 IPM, etc., *Great, Little Marton* 1297 LI, etc., *Merton Magna* 1327 LS. Marton is named from Marton Mere, now reduced considerably in size, so that the hamlets of Gt. and Li. Marton stand at some distance from it. The first el. is O.E. *mere* " lake."

Linholm is sometimes mentioned together with Marton in early documents : *Lynholm, Lynolm* 1249 IPM, *Lenholm* 1286 IPM, *de Lynholm* 1332 LS. " Flax holme " (O.E., O.N. *līn* " flax ").

Peel : *Pile* 1593 Poulton R. *Peel* " a palisade ; a small tower " (<A.F. *pel*).

Revoe : *Revoe* 1595 Poulton R, 1672 RW 225. Second el. apparently O.N. *haugr* " hill."

2. **Hardhorn with Newton** (E. of Blackpool).

Staining (h.) : *Stainінghe* DB, *Stenīg* 1208 Rot. Obl. 425, *Stanynggas, Steyninges* 1211-40 WhC 419f., *Stainінges, Stayninges, Staining, de Staning* 1246 LAR, *Staynyng Grange* 1297 LI, *Staynynge* 1312 LI.

This is no doubt an old name in *-ingas,* derived from a pers. name or some other word. The base seems to be a Scand. word, but I am inclined to believe that Staining is rather a Scand. adaptation of an O.E. *Stāningas* or *Stæningas* ; cf.

Steyning, Suss.: *Stæningum* 880, *Staninges* DB, but *Steininges* 1278, etc. (Roberts). The form *Stanynggas*, which looks as if it had been taken out of some O.E. deed, to some extent corroborates this. *Stān-* is not with certainty evidenced in O.E. pers. names. But the corresponding *Stein-* is common in O.H.G. and Scand. names; it is therefore probable that the element was once used by the Anglo-Saxons. Derivation from **Stān* pers. n. seems to me most probable, but *stān* " stone " or a place-name *Stān* may also be the base. Staining is an old manor; in DB it is assessed at no less than six ploughlands. Hardhorn and Newton are not mentioned until fairly late.

Hardhorn (h.): *Hordern* 1298 WhC 439, 1324 LI, 1327 LS, *Hordorn* 1332 LS. O.E. *hordern* " store-house, store-room." Cf. Hordern, p. 48. Hardhorn must have been a storehouse belonging to the lords of Staining or to Whalley Abbey.

Newton (h.): *Neuton* 1298 WhC 439, 1327 LS, *Nuton* 1332 LS.

Todderstaffe: *de Taldrestath* 1332 LS, *Talderstath* 1526, *Talderstafe* 1524 DL, *Toderstaffe* 1597 Poulton R. The forms allow of no definite etymology. Todderstaffe stands on a brook; the second el. may be O.N. *stoð* " landing-place."

3. **Poulton** (N.E. of Blackpool; with Great Poulton v., Little Poulton h.): *Poltun* DB, *Pultona* 1094, c 1190 Ch, 1216 Ind, *Pulton* 1196 LF, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., *Magna, Parva Pulton* LC 400, *Kirkepulton* 1330 LF. " The *tūn* at the pool." Poulton township lies between two brooks, which join to form the brook called Skippool. I suppose Poulton was named from Skippool, which see.

Compley: *Comptley* 1600, *Conntley* 1605, 1607 Poulton R. An earlier form is very likely *Cantelawe* LC 403. If so, the name seems to go back to O.E. *Cantan hlāw* " the hill of *Canta*." High Compley is on a slight hill.

4. **Carleton** (N.E. of Blackpool; Gt. and Li. Carleton, hamlets): *Carlentun* DB, *Carlton* a 1190 CC, *Karlton* 1243 LI, *Karleton* 1256 LF, *Carleton* 1327, 1332 LS, etc.; *parva Carlton* c 1200 CC, *Magna Carlton* c 1260 ib. Carleton and Carlton are common names in Scand. England; examples are found as far S. as Cambr. and Beds. I take it that the first el. is *karla* the gen. pl. of O.N. *karl* " a man, a husbandman," etc. Skeat explains Carlton, Suff. so, while Björkman, Wyld, Sephton take the first el. to be a pers. n. (O.N. *Karl, -i*). The name is a Scand. counterpart of Charlton, etc. (*see* Chorlton, p. 32). To some extent Carleton may be a Scand. adaptation of O.E. *Ceorlatūn*.

Hayholme: *Hayholm* c 1270 CC, *de Haiholm* 1332 LS, *hayome* 1594 Poulton R. O.E. *hēg* or O.N. *hey* " hay " and O.N. *holmr* " island," etc.

Norcross (Great Carleton): *Northcros* c 1200 CC, *Nortcros* c 1250 CC, *de Northecrosse* 1285 LAR. The " north cross."

Riscar: *Rysecarre* 1598 Poulton R. Probably O.N. *hrís* " brushwood " (or O.E. *hrīs*) and *kiarr* " bog," etc.

5. **Thornton** (Gt. and Li., N. of Blackpool, between the Wyre and the sea; v.): *Torentun* DB, *Torrenton* 1226 LI, *Thorneton* 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., *Thorinton* 1258 IPM, *Thornton* 1275 LC, 1297 LI, etc. First el. O.E. *þorn* " thorn."

Burn or **Bourn Hall** (N. of Gt. Thornton): *Brune* DB, 1246 LAR, *Brunne* 1204 LPR, 1283 LF, *Brone* 1324 LI, *de Brun* 1332 LS; *Brome* 1200 LPR, *de Brume* LC 417. O.E. *brunna*, an older form of *burna* " brook "; cf. Burnley in Bl. There are two or three small brooks in the neighbourhood. Of course, the place may have been named after a spring.

The Holmes (near Gt. Thornton vil.): *le Holmes* 1386 CR 358, *Holmes* 1489 PatR, 1525 DL. O.N. *holmr* " island," etc.

Limebrest (S. of Gt. Thornton): *the Lymebreste* 1604 Poulton R. Etymology obscure.†

Ritherham, now Cleveleys (on the sea): *Rotherholme* 1571 DL, *Ridthrome* 1588 RW 5, *Rytherome* 1596 Poulton R. O.E. *hrȳðer* " ox " and *holm* " island."

Rossall (the headland between the Wyre and the sea with Fleetwood[1] town at the N. end): *Rushale* DB, *Rossall* 1212 LI, *Rossale* (pastura) 1216, 1221 ClR, (haya de) *Roshal* 1222 ClR, *Roshale* 1228 LF, 1292 ChR, *Russal, Rossale* 1292 PW, *Rosso hall* 1577 Saxton. The ground is low and level.

The second el. of the name is perhaps O.E. *halh* " haugh." The first el. is supposed by Wyld to be O.E. *hros* " horse," but the O.E. form is regularly *hors*, and it is doubtful if O.E. *hros* existed. O.N. *hross* " horse " is well evidenced. If the first el. is *hross*, however, the second el. should rather be identified with O.N. *hali* " tail," which is found in Norw. place-names to denote a long and narrow strip of land or a projecting ridge. Also in Iceland *hali* is used, *e.g.*, in the name *Refshali* " fox's tail." Rossall might mean " horse's tail " or perhaps " the tongue of land used for a horse-pasture." As a matter of fact, Rossall has mainly been used as a pasture-ground. On the other hand the spellings *Rushale, Russall* in early sources are noteworthy. Possibly they indicate that *o* was long. Cf. *Gusansarghe* DB, now Goosnargh. If so, *Ros-* may be identified with Welsh *rhos* (cf. Roose in Furness *infra*). This word originally meant " promontory," a sense still preserved in Irish, and possibly preserved in such names of promontories in Wales as Rhos-on-Sea, Penrhos Point, and Rhoscolyn Head (near Holyhead). If the first el. is the Brit. word, the second is no doubt O.E. *halh*.

Stanah (on the Wyre, opposite to Staynall): *Staynole ultra Wyr* CC 136, *Staynolf* 1324 LI. Stanah and Staynall must once have formed a whole, and it is hardly possible in each case to establish to which of the two early quotations refer. Of early forms the following may be quoted without an attempt at exact identification: *Steinola* 1177 LPR, *Stanhol* 1201 LPR, *Stainhol, Steinhol* 1226 LI, *Steynholf* 1249 LI, *Steynhole* 1265 IPM. The second el. is clearly O.E. *holh* or O.N. *hol* " hollow, hole," probably in the sense " a hollow in the ground." Staynall stands at the edge of a depression in the ground. The first el. is apparently O.N. *steinn* " stone " or *Steinn* pers. n. Again, of course, an O.E. name in *Stān-* may have been modified by Scandinavians; if so, the first el. is no doubt O.E. *stān* " stone."

Trunnah (near Gt. Thornton): *de Truno* 1271 CC, 1287 LC, *Turnoll* 1525 DL, *Trunnall* 1593, *Truno* 1600 Poulton R. Etymology obscure. The second el. appears to be O.E. *hōh* (or O.N. *haugr*). The place stands at a slight rounded elevation. The only suggestion I can make as regards the first el. is that it may go back to an O.E. **trun* or the like, related to O.E. *trendan* " to roll," *trinde* " round lump, ball," Engl. *trundle*, O.Fris. *trind, trund* " round," etc.; cf. NED s.v. *trend* vb., Falk and Torp s.v. *trind*, Torp-Fick, p. 170. The base is found without *d* in O.H.G. *trennila* " ball," M.H.G. *trinnen, trennen*. The O.E. **trun* might be an adj. meaning " round " or a noun meaning " a lump " or something like that.

[1] Named from Sir Peter H. Fleetwood; the town dates from the earlier half of the 19th century (VHL VII. 237).

LANCASTER PAR. (part)

A district E. of Fleetwood and the lower Wyre.

1. **Stalmine with Staynall.**

Staynall (on the Wyre ; h.) : *Staynole* (citra Wir) a 1190 CC, *Stainold, Stainhole* a 1220 FC II., *Steinole* 1206-35 FC II. (orig.), *Staynoll* 1332 LS, *Steynolff* 1520 LF. *See* Stanah, p. 158.

Stalmin[e] (N.E. of Staynall, h.) : *Stalmine* DB, *Stalmin* 1206 LPR, 1236-46 FC II. 237 (orig.), etc. ; *Stalmyn* 1262 LF, 1297 LI, etc., *Stalmynne* 1332 LS, *Staylmyn* 1443 LF ; *Sto'min* Waugh.

The second el. of the name is obviously O.N. *mynni* " mouth of a river." The first el. seems to be O.E. *stall* (*steall*) " pool " (cf. Rawtenstall). But we expect as the first el. a word meaning a stream ; cf. Airmyn, Yks., situated at the point where the Aire falls into the Ouse. Stalmine does not stand at the junction of two streams, but near a very slowly moving stream. The following seems to me the most plausible explanation of the name. The el. *stall* here means " a stream " ; *stell* in dialects means not only " a pool," but also " a large open drain, a brook, a small running stream " (cf. EDD). The same sense-development from " pool " to " stream " is seen in *pool* (p. 15). Stalmine is now more than a mile E. of the place where the brook falls into the Wyre. But it is quite possible that at one time the course of that river was more easterly than it is now ; it seems very plausible that Staynall and Stanah were once on the same side of the Wyre, viz., on the W. bank. If so, Stalmine would have been a good deal nearer the mouth of the stream than it is now, especially at high water. Of course, the original Stalmine vil. may have been farther W. than the present one.

Corcas Lane (in the N.W. part of Stalmine) preserves an interesting old name : *Corchole, Corchola* a 1220 FC II., *Corchole* a 1235 ib. ; *Corkea Hill* 1677 Stalmine R. This is probably the Ir. pers. n. *Corc* or O.N. *korki* " oats " (from Ir. *coirce*) and O.E. *holh* or O.N. *hol* " a hollow."

2. **Preesall with Hackinsall** (N. of Stalmine with Staynall).

Preesall (v.). Three types of the name may be distinguished : (*a*) *Pressouede* DB, *Preshoued* c 1190 Ch (PatR 15 R II.), *Preshoueth* a 1248, *Presoueth* a 1265, *Preshout* c 1265 CC, *Preshefd* (written *-hesd*) 1256 Ind. ; (*b*) *Pressoure* 1094, c 1190 Ch, *Preshouere* c 1190 Ch, *Presoura* 1169 LPR, *Pressora* 1177 ib., *Presoure* 1202 ib. ; (*c*) *Preshou* c 1190 Ch, 1200 CC, 1246 LF, 1332 LS, etc., *Presho* 1199 LF, 1261 IPM, *Preeshou* 1355 LF, *Preeshowe* 1327 LS, *Priso* 1590 Burghley.

The surface of the township is low and flat, but Preesall vil. stands on a short ridge which falls away steeply to the N. and is very conspicuous ; it is marked as a beacon hill in Burghley's Map 1590. The first el. of the name is no doubt identical with Preese p. 153. The old British name of the district was probably *Pres*. The second el. is in the earliest instances (type *a*) O.N. *hǫfuð*, here used in the sense " a steep ridge." Type *c* seems to contain O.N. *haugr* " hill," which supplanted the original second el., because *hǫfuð* at an early date was forgotten in the living language. Type *b* seems to contain O.E. *ōfer* " shore." As Preesall stands near the bank of the Wyre, *Presouer* is a natural popular etymology for *Pres(h)oueth*.

Parrox Hall (estate): *Parrock hey* 1456 VHL VII. 258. The name seems to contain O.E. *parroc* " enclosure."

Hackinsall (opposite to Fleetwood): *Hacunesho* c 1190 Ch, 1221 ClR, 1246 LAR, 1262 IPM, *Akenesho* 1202 LPR, *de Hacuneshou* 1246 LAR, *Hacunshou* a 1246 CC, *Hakenesho* 1285 LAR, *Hacounshou* 1332 LS, *Haconeshou* 1357 LF; cf. Wyld and Lindkvist, p. 181.

The first el. is the O.N. pers. n. *Hákon*. The second in the earliest quotations would seem to be O.E. *hōh* " projecting ridge," etc., whereas the later ones point to O.N. *haugr*. I believe, with Lindkvist, that the name originally contained O.N. *haugr*. Hackinsall stands on a slight elevation in a low and level district.

Knott End (h.): *Hacunshou Cnote* c 1265 CC. M.E. *knot* " a hill "; cf. p. 9. There is a slight hill close to the hamlet.

Lickow: (Campus de) *Licol* c 1250 CC, *Lickol* c 1265 ib. The second el. is obviously O.E. *hol(h)* or O.N. *hol*, probably in the sense of " a hollow." The first el. is doubtful. O.N. *lykkia* " enclosure " might be suggested. Cf. also Lickle, p. 191. Or we might compare O.E. *Licepyt* 945 BCS 803, *Lichepet* DB (Lickpits, Hants); this may contain a word derived from the verb *lick*.

3. **Pilling Lane** (the N.E. district, on the border of Pilling): *the lower end of Pyllyn* 1583 CC. Clearly " the road to Pilling."

ST. MICHAEL-ON-WYRE PAR.

Micheleschercherche DB, *eccl. Sči Mich' Sup' Wirū* c 1195 Ch, eccl. *Sči Mich'is sup' Wir'* 1204 AP, (cap. pertinens) *Sancto Micaeli super Wiram* 1205 LPR, *ecclesie beati Michaelis super Wyre* 1326 LC 453, *Sainct Mihels* c 1540 Leland, *Mighel church* 1577 Harr. The church is in Upper Rawcliffe.

The parish is situated N.W. of Preston on both sides of the Wyre with a southern extension on the Woodplumpton Brook. The district is flat and low.

1. **Out Rawcliffe** (N. of the Wyre; v.): *Rodeclif* DB, *Outroutheclif* 1324 LI, *Outerouthclif* 1327 LS, *Outrotheclife* 1332 ib., *Outrauclif* 1443 LF. Out, Middle, and Upper Rawcliffe are difficult to keep apart when no prefix is added. Examples of Rawcliffe: *Bouteclive* (!) 1206 LPR, *Raucheclive* 1267 LAR, *Routhecleve* 1286 IPM, *Raudeclif* c 1540 Leland, *the Rawcliffes* 1577 Harr. The name means " red cliff " (O.N. *rauðr* " red " and O.N. *klif* " steep hill," or O.E. *clif* " cliff "). The name is fairly common in England, *see* Lindkvist p. 159. The surface of the township is low, but Out Rawcliffe stands between two patches of higher land, reaching an elevation of 50ft. Out Rawcliffe is to the W. of Upper Rawcliffe, which is higher up the Wyre.

Middle Rawcliffe: *Rodeclif* DB, *Middle Routheclive* 1249 IPM.

Ashton: ? *de Asshton* 1332 LS (Preesall). " Ash village "; cf. p. 29. Ashton is presumably an old English village or homestead.

Liscoe: *Liscoe* 1677 RW 54. Second el. no doubt O.N. *skógr* " wood," the first being *e.g.* O.N. *hlíð* " slope."

Moorham Hill: Early forms not found. The second el. is no doubt *holm*. The place is on a piece of higher land in the old mossland.

Skitham: *Scytholm* CC 47. O.N. *skitr* " dirt " and *holmr* " island." The place stands at a slight elevation surrounded by mossland.

2. **Upper Rawcliffe with Tarnacre** (E. of Out Rawcliffe, on both sides of the Wyre).

Upper Rawcliffe : *Rodeclif* DB, *Uproucheclive* 1246 LAR, *Hop Routheclive* c 1250 CC, *Uproutheclive* c 1275 CC, *Vprotheclife* 1332 LS, *Uprauclyf* 1369 LF. Upper Rawcliffe was no doubt originally part of Out Rawcliffe, as the name can hardly be explained otherwise ; the ground is low and level.

Tarnacre (the N.E. part) : *Tranaker* c 1210 CC, 1292 PW, *de Tranaker* 1246 LAR, *Tranacre* 1323 LF ; *Trenaker* c 1275 CC, *Trenakyr* 1451, *Trenakir* 1461 CC. The second el. is O.N. *akr* or O.E. *æcer* ; the first O.N. *trani* (*trana*) " crane " or the O.N. pers. n. *Trani* derived from it. As regards the interchange of *e* and *a* we may compare Trenholme, Yks. (*Traneholm* 1276 HR), Tranwell, Nhb. (*Trennewell* 1268, *Trenwell* 1271 IPM, *Tranewell* 1289 ib., *Trenwell, Tranewell* 1324 ib.). The form with *e* may represent an O.N. form with *i*-mutation ; cf. NoB VIII. 94ff.

3. **Great Eccleston** (S. of the Wyre, v.) : *Eglestun* DB, *Eccliston* 1212, 1243 LI, *Great Ecleston* 1285 LF, *Great Eccleston* 1296 LF, *Magna Eccleston* 1346 FA, *Eccliston Magna* 1332 LS. Cf. p. 37. There seems to be no record of an old church in Eccleston.

Copp (h.): O.E. *copp* " top." Copp stands on a small conspicuous hill (78ft.).

4. **Elswick** (S. of Eccleston, v.) : *Edelesuuic* DB, *Hedthelsiwic* c 1160 Ch 374, *Ethelswic, Etleswhic* 1202 LF, *de Etheliswyc, de Ethereswyk* 1246 LAR, *Etheleswyk* 1298 LF, etc., *Ethelleswyk* 1311 IPM, *Etheliswike* 1332 LS. The form of c 1160 may point to O.E. *Eðelsige* as the first el. ; anyhow it is a pers. n. in *Eðel-*. The second is O.E. *wīc* " dwelling," etc.

5. **Inskip with Sowerby** (S. of the Wyre, S.E. of Gt. Eccleston).

Sowerby (the E. part) : *Sorbi* DB, *Soureby* 1246 LAR, 1324 LI, *Sourby* 1332 LS, 1340 LF, etc. ; now [sauərbi]. O.N. *Saurbýr* from *saurr* " mud, dirt " and *býr*. *Saurbœr* is a common name in Iceland and Norway, and the corresponding name is found in Sweden ; it denotes a village or farm standing on marshy soil. The name is common also in England ; *see* Lindkvist p. 162f. The surface of the township is low and level. *Sourelandes* in Sowerby are mentioned 1230-68 CC 244.

Inskip (the S.W. part ; v.) : *Inscip* DB, *Hinskipe, Inscype* 1246 LAR, *de Inscipk, Inschip* c 1260 CC, *Insckyp* 1285 LF, *Inskip* 1330 LF, 1332 LS, etc., *Inskyp* 1341 IN. This is a very curious name. The first el. may be Celt *inis* " island " (cf. Ince, p. 103). Inskip stands on a plateau some 50ft. above sea-level ; the surrounding country is low. The second el. of the name is doubtful. Two names that show a certain resemblance to Inskip may be mentioned here : Minskip, Yks. (*Minescip* DB) and *Brennskip'* (*Bronnskip'*) in Denbigh 1334 Survey of Denbigh. The first el. of Minskip might be identical with Welsh *mynydd* " hill " ; the place is on the slope of a slight hill. The first el. of *Brennskip* is, I presume, Welsh *bryn* " hill."

6. **Woodplumpton** (on both sides of Woodplumpton Brook ; v.) : *Pluntun* DB, *Plumpton* 1256 LF, *Plumton* 1287 Ind, *Wodeplumpton* 1327, 1332 LS, 1369 LF, etc. ; cf. *Plympton brooke, the Plime* or *Plimton water* 1577 Harr. O.E. *plūm-tūn*, *see* Fieldplumpton p. 151.

Bartle (Higher and Lower, S. of Woodplumpton) : *Bartayl* (moor) 1256 LF,

Nezerbartailesheye 1287 Ind, *de Bartaill* 1323, 1328 LF. The second el. is the word *tail* (O.E. *tægl*) in the sense " a piece or slip of irregularly bounded land jutting out from a larger piece " (found from 1472 in Scotland, NED). Higher and Lower Bartle, and Bartle Hall stand a good way apart. Similarly O.N. *hali* " tail " is used in Norw. place-names. The first el. is perhaps O.E. *bere* (with vowel as in *barley, Barton*) or possibly *bare* adj. or even *bār* " boar."

Catforth (on Woodplumpton Brook): *de Catford* 1332 LS, *Catforthe* 1514 DL, *Catford hall* 1577 Saxton. Probably " cat ford."

Eaves: *Eves* 1538 DL, *the Eaves* 1628 RW 63. O.E. *efes*, perhaps in the sense " edge of a wood."

Lewth: *Lewthe* 1622 RW 63. The name is identical with dial. *lewth* " shelter; a sheltered place " (EDD) from O.E. *hlēowþ* " shelter, protection."

GARSTANG PAR.

This parish occupies a large district on both sides of the Wyre and its tributaries the Calder and the Brock, besides Pilling township on the Lune estuary. The surface varies a good deal. The W. part is low and level, partly mossland, while the E. part is on the slope of the fells (Bleasdale Moor, etc.).

1. **Bilsborrow** (S. of Garstang and the Brock): *Billesbure* 1187ff. LPR, *Billisburg* c 1200 CC, *Billesburgh* 1212 LI, 1303 LF, 1332 LS, etc., *Billesburg* 1226 LI, 1259 LAR, *Ballisburg'* 1245 IPM, *Billisburgh* 1297 LI, *Bilsborough* 1508 LF. " The *burh* of *Bil*." *Bil* is an O.E. pers. n., found *e.g.* in Billesley, Warw. (*billes læh* 704-9 BCS 123).

2. **Claughton** (S.E. of Garstang): *Clactune* DB, *Clacton* 1185f. LPR, 1208 LF, etc., *Clatton* 1246 LAR, *Clahton* 1252 IPM, *Claghton* 1285 LAR, 1292 PW, 1332 LS, etc., *Clahgton* 1297 LI, *Clayghton* 1554 DL; said to be pronounced *Clighton* (Bulmer p. 293). There seem to be two alternatives for the explanation of the first el. Either it is the pers. n. *Clac* (probably from O.N. *Klakkr*, etc., Björkman) found in *Claxtorp*, Yks., *Clactorp*, Linc. DB; or it is O.N. *klakkr* " lump, clot," Swed. dial. *klakk* also " small hillock," Icel. *klakkur* ' rock." Cf. on this word in Scand. and Engl. names NoB VIII. 89f. At least it seems probable that some names in *Clac-* contain the common noun. Claughton stands on the slope of a hill which reaches some 400ft. above sea-level.

Dandy Birks (N.E. of Claughton Hall, in a high situation). Said to be identical with *Dounanesherg* 1241 CC. This contains Ir. *Dunán* or *Dubán* pers. n. and *ergh* " a shieling." *See* Scandinavians p. 80.

Hecham or **Heigham**: *Heyham* 1241 CC, *Hegham* 1292 PW, *de Hegham* 1332 LS. The name seems to contain O.E. *hēah* " high " and *hamm* " enclosure " or *hām* " homestead."

3. **Catterall** (S. of Garstang, in the tongue of land E. of the confluence of the Brock and the Wyre; v.): *Catrehala* DB, *Caterhale* 1212 LI, 1301 LF, *Katirhal* 1244 IPM, *Caterale, Kateral* 1258 IPM, *Caterale* 1323 LF, *Caterhale* 1332 LS, *Caterall* 1346 FA, 1387 LF, etc. This name has been identified with a Norw. name derived from O.N. *Kattarhali*, literally " cat's tail " (Wyld, Lindkvist p. 186). But nothing in the situation of the place seems to render such an etymology plausible, while O.E. *halh* " haugh " is just what one would

expect as the second el.; the surface of the township is low and flat, especially along the Calder. But if O.E. *halh* is the second el., the first is hardly Scandinavian. Names in *halh* very often have as first el. a pers. name, and very likely such is the case with Catterall. An O.E. pers. n. *Cater* or the like is not evidenced but is very likely the base of O.E. *Cateringas* in *Cateringatune* Thorpe 560 (now Catherington, Hants.). A hamlet in Catterall was called *Halecath* 1212 LI, *Halechat* 1213-42 CC. This seems to be a place-name Hale (<O.E. *halh*) with a pers. n. *Cat* placed behind for distinction (from Catterall ?). Cf. *Torpkat* HR, *Thorp Cuntasse* ib. (now Catthorpe, Countesthorpe, Leic.).

Landskill (on the slope of Bleasdale Fell): *Longstal* (for *-scal*) 1341 IN, *Lanscaile* 1589 DL, *Langscayles* 1594 DL. "The long scale or hut" (O.N. *skāli*).

Rowall or **Rohall** or **Roe Farm** (at the junction of the Wyre and the Brock): *Ruhale* c 1200 CC, *Rouhale* 1251 CC, *de Rouhale* c 1260 CC, *de Routhale* c 1265 CC, *de Rouwale* 1293 LI, 1325 LCR, *Rowall* 1443 LF. Cf. Roall, Yks.: *Ruhale* DB, *Rughala* 1159, etc. (Moorman). O.E. *rūh* "rough" and *halh* "haugh." The pronunciation is said to be "Rooa."

4. **Kirkland** (S.W. of Garstang): (mortuo bosco de) *Kirkelund* c 1230 CC, *Kirkelund wood*, *Kirlundfeldes* 1247 IPM, *Kirk(e)lund* (boscus de K.) c 1280 CC, *Kirkland* 1392 LF. "The church grove"; *lund* is O.N. *lundr* "grove." Garstang church is in Kirkland. Churchtown is a hamlet close to the church.

Humblescough: *Humbilschough* c 1280 CC. Humblescough is on flat ground. No prominent physical features suggest a definite etymology. As the second el. is Scand. (O.N. *skógr*), we seem warranted in deriving also the first from a Scand. word. O.N. *humli* "hop plant" or *humla* "humble-bee" are both plausible. O.Swed., O.Dan. *Hum(b)li* pers. n. is well evidenced in place-names, and O.N. *Humli* also occurs.

5. **Garstang** (town): *Cherestanc* DB, *Gairstāg* 1194-99 Ch (orig.), *Gresteng* 1204 AP, *Geresteg̃* 1199-1212 AP, *de Gueyrestang* 1206 LC, *Geirstang* 1216 ChR, *Gairstang* 1247 IPM, 1332 LS, etc., *Gayerstang* 1246 LF, *Gayrstang* 1246 LAR, 1292 LF, etc., *Gayrstanges* c 1275 CC, *Gerstang* 1278 LAR, *Garstan* 1577 Harr. Further examples are given by Lindkvist, p. 47, who points out that the same name is found in Scotland, viz., Girstenwood: *Gairstang* 1305 ChR. The second el. is clearly O.N. *stǫng* "pole." The first el. is identified by Wyld with O.N. *Geirr* pers. n., with O.N. *geiri* "a triangular piece of land," by Lindkvist. It seems improbable that the word *stǫng* should twice have been combined with the same pers. name. Lindkvist's suggestion seems preferable, though it is curious also that a combination of *geiri* and *stǫng* should occur twice.

6. **Barnacre with Bonds** (E. of Garstang and the Wyre).

Bonds (near Garstang). The name is apparently late: *Bonds* 1667 RW 110. This may be elliptical for Bond's place or the like.

Byrewath or **Byerworth** (on the Wyre): *Birwath* c 1260 CC, *Byrwath* 1290 LI, *de Burwath* 1341 IN, *Byreweth* 1501 CC, *Byrewarthe* 1529 DL; now [baiəwəþ]. The name probably means "the village ford," the first el. being the gen. (*bjár*, *býjar*) of O.N. *býr* "village," the second O.N. *vað* "ford." O.E. *bȳre* "byre" is also possible as the first element.

Dimples: *Dymples* 1524 LP I. 115, *Dimples* 1600 RS XII. The name no doubt means "the pools" (O.E. **dympel* or **dympla* "a pool"); cf. Dumplington p. 38.

In O.M. 1846-51 three ponds are marked in the close neighbourhood of Dimples; traces of these are still to be seen.

Greenhalgh Castle: *Grenolf* 1347 VHL VII. 315, *Grenehaugh* c 1540 Leland, *Grenno cast.* 1577 Saxton; now [gri·nə]. Cf. Greenhalgh p. 154. The castle ruin is on a small hillock, but Greenhalgh Castle Farm is in a slight depression in the ground.

Howath or **Howarth** (on the Calder): *Hawath, Houwat* 1258 IPM, *Howath* c 1260 CC, *Houwath* (pons) c 1280 CC, *de Howath* 1323 LI, *Haweth* 1443 LF, *Hawith* 1468 LF; now [hauəþ]. The name means the "ford by the hillock" (O.N. *haugr* "hill" and *vað* "ford"). The place stands close to Brunahill, which is on a slight hill. Lindkvist's suggestion "high ford" (O.N. *hōr* "high" and *vað*) does not suit the topography of the place.

Lingart (h.): *de Lingarth* 1246 LI, *de Lingard* c 1260 CC, *Lyngard* 1451, 1461 CC. "Flax enclosure," O.N. or O.E. *līn* "flax" and O.N. *garðr* "enclosure."

Barnacre (the larger N.E. part): *Berneacre* 1517, *Bernacre* 1521 DL. Perhaps "barn-acre" (O.E. *bern* "barn" and *æcer*). Or the first el. might be O.N. *Biarni* pers. n.; cf. the next name.

Stirzacre: *de Stirsacre* 1323 LF, *de Steresacre* 1341 IN. First el. the O.N. pers. n. *Styrr.*

Sullam Side (on a hill-slope to the E.): *de Solam* 1246 LAR. Etymology doubtful. Sullom Hill reaches 525ft. We might think of O.E. *Solan hamm* (or *hām*), if *Sola* had *ō.*

Woodacre: *Wadacre* 1246 LAR, *de Wedacre* 1245-8 LC, 1325 LCR, *de Wedakre* 1293 LI, *Wedacre* 1363 CC, *Weddaker* 1521, *Wodeacre* 1517 DL, *Waddiker* 1577 Saxton. O.E. *wēod* "weed" and *æcer.* Woodacre is due to popular etymology.

7. **Nateby** (W. of Garstang; h.): *Nateby, Natebi* 1204 LF, *parva Nateby* 1320 CC, *de Nateby* c 1260 CC, 1292 LF, 1293 LI. As the second el. is O.N. *býr* "village," etc., it is probable that also the first is of Scand. origin. A pers. n. seems most plausible, and there are apparently traces of an O.Scand. *Nate*; *see* Lindroth, Ortnamnen på *-rum* p. 55. This is probably the first el. of some other names in Nate-, as Nateby, Wml., but in some cases O.N. *nata* "nettle" is very likely to be assumed, as in Natland; cf. Norw. Notland, derived from *Notuland, i.e.*, "nettle-land" NG XI. 124. Several E. names in *Nate-* are adduced and discussed, without a definite result, by Lindkvist p. 202.

8. **Winmarleigh** (N.W. of Garstang): *Wunemerleye* a 1200 CC, *Wynemerislega, Wynermerisle* 1212 BF, *Winmerleie* c 1220 CC, *de Wymmerle* 1246 LAR, *Wynmerlegh* 1343 LF, *Wimmerlaw* c 1540 Leland; now [win ma·li]. O.E. *Winemār* pers. n. and *lēah.*

9. **Nether Wyresdale** (between the Wyre and Grizedale Brook): *Wiresdale* 1190 CC, *Wyresdale* 1319 LF, 1327 CC, etc., *Nether Weiresdale* 1517 DL, *Laygher Wyresdale* 1533 LP II. 28. "The valley of the Wyre."

Dolphinholme: *Dolphineholme* 1591 DL, *Dolphinhoulme* 1621 Cockerham R. The elements are *Dolfin* pers. n. (perhaps Scand.) and O.N. *holmr* "island," etc.

Scorton (v.): *Scourton* c 1550 DL, *Skurton* 1563 RW 73; now [skɔ·tn]. Close to the church is a deep ravine. It seems plausible to derive the first el. from O.N. *skor* "a rift in a rock or precipice," *skura* "a score, trench." In Sweden *Skuru* occurs as the name of a deep ravine in Småland.

10. **Cabus** (N. of Garstang): *de Kaibal* 1200-10 FC II. 231 (orig.), *de Caybel* 1246 LAR, *Cayball* 1320 CC, *de Kaybal[les]* c 1250 CC, *Caboos* c 1550 DL; now [ke·bəs].

This is a difficult name. The topography of the place offers little indication. The surface is on the whole low, but there are some slight ridges or hillocks; most conspicuous is a long low ridge running from N. to S. along the Wyre. The first el. of the name may be compared with that of Keysoe, Beds. (: *Kaysho* TN, etc.), Cainhoe, Beds. (: *Cainou, Chainehou* DB), Cassio, Herts. (: *Cægesho* 793 BCS 267), Keyham, Leic. (: *Caiha'* DB), Cayton, Yks. (: *Caitune* DB, *Caytona* 1155 YCh 76). All these may have as first el. a pers. n. **Cæg* or **Cæga*. If this is right we may assume the same pers. n. as the first el. of Cabus. Cf., however, Cayley p. 100. The second el. is an early M.E. word *ball* or the plural of it. I suggest that this is identical with *ball* "a knoll, a rounded hill" (W. Som.) and Engl. *ball* in the sense "ball of the hand or foot." Cf. Dan. *-balle* in place-names, apparently to be compared with *balle* in *fodballe* "ball of the foot" (Steenstrup, Indledende Studier, p. 23). The word *balle* is here used to denote slight elevations. The same word I suppose is found in Swinsty Ball, the name of a hill in Kirkby Moor (Furness). I take the second el. of Cabus to refer to the elevations in the township mentioned.

Gubberford (in G. Lane, G. Bridge): *de Gobethayt* after 1268 CC, *Guburthwait, Guberthwat* 1398 CC, *Tobberthwayte* 1587 DL, *Goberthwayte* 1588 DL. The early forms are not clear enough to allow of a definite etymology. The second el. is O.N. *þveit* "thwaite." The first is possibly a pers. n. (*e.g.*, O.N. *Guðbiǫrg*).

11. **Holleth** (detached township N. of Forton): *Holout* 1242 CC, *Holauth* 1320 CC, *Holouth* 1364 CC, *Holloth* 1521 DL. The elements of the name are O.N. or O.E. *hol* "hole" and ON *hǫfuð* "hill." The township consists of a conspicuous hill (c 100ft.). On this are found a number of small ponds, marked in the 6-inch map. Two of these are in a fairly deep round hollow. I suppose the name means "the hill with the deep pool or pools."

12. **Pilling** (on the Lune estuary; v.): *pylin* 1194-99 CC 375 (orig.), *Pylin* 1201 CC, 1270 LAR, *Pelyn* 1320 CC; *Mussam de Pilyn* c 1280 CC 270; now [pilin]. The name is no doubt derived from the river-name Pilling. The surface is very low, and to a great extent consists of moss-land.

Eskham is probably "ash holm."

LANCASTER PAR. (part)

Bleasdale (E. of Garstang in the hilly country on the upper Calder and Brock): *Blesedale* 1228 ClR, (forest of) *Blesedale* 1297 LI, *Blestale* c 1540 Leland. Two possibilities seem to offer themselves for the explanation of the first el. of the name. It may be the O.N. pers. n. *Blesi*, found in Bleasby, Linc. and Notts. (cf. Björkman). Or it may be identical with the place-name Bleaze (Blease), found in Bleaze Wood, Lo., Blease Fell, Wml., etc. This name is no doubt identical with Norw. *Blesa, Blesan*, which are thought to belong to Icel. *blesi* "a blaze, a light spot" (Rygh NG II. 235). It is suggested that the names refer to some light spot in the vicinity, *e.g.*, on a hill-side; Norw. *blesa* actually means "a bare spot on a hill-side." Another meaning of the word is found in Swedish

dial., viz., " an opening between hills." I am inclined to believe that Bleasdale contains the Scand. *blesi* or *blesa* in one of its senses. A full account of the name will be found in NoB. VIII. 85f.

Admarsh Church : *Admarshe* (pasture) 1572 DL, *Edmarshe chap.* 1577 Saxton, *Edmersey chappell* 1577 Harr., *Chappell of Admarsham* 1650 LC. The forms are too late to allow of a certain conclusion. The second el. seems to be O.E. *mersc* " marsh," the first O.E. *Ēada* or a name in *Ēad-*.

Blindhurst (on the slope of Parlick) : *Blyndhirst* 1323 LI, 1341 IN, *Blyndehurst* 1324 LI. Probably O.E. *blind* " dark, obscure," and *hyrst*, " wood."

Brooks (near Fairsnape) : (vaccary between) *Le Brokes* 1323 LI, (vaccary) *del Brokes* 1324 ib., *Brokes* 1341 IN. " The brooks."

Fairsnape (Higher and Lower, on the slope of Fairsnape Fell) : *Fayrsnape* (vaccary) 1323, 1324 LI, *Fairsnap* 1341 IN. O.E. *fæger* or O.N. *fagr* " fair, beautiful," and *snape* " pasture " p. 17.

Grizedale (on Grizedale Brook) : *Grisedale* 1314, *Grisdale* 1324 LI, *Grysedale* c 1350 LPR. First el. either the pers. n. *Gris* (O.N. *Gríss*) or more probably the common noun *grice* " pig " (O.N. *gríss*). Grizedale is also the name of a brook in Over Wyresdale.

Hazelhead : *Haselheved* 1323, 1324 LI, (vaccary) 1341 IN, *Haselheued* c 1350 LPR. *Head* means " hill." Stated to be now Broadhead.

Thorpen Lees (lost) : *sthorsmelees* 1228 ClR, *Thorphynislegh* 1338 LPR, *Thorfleghsyke* c 1350 LPR. The elements are the O.N. pers. n. *Þorfinnr* and O.E. *lēah* " lea."

Winsnape : *Wensnape* 1228 ClR, *Wanesnape(broke)* 1338 LPR. O.N. *vænn* " beautiful," etc., may be the first el. ; the second is *snape* " pasture " (cf. p. 17).

COCKERHAM PAR. (part)

The part of Cockerham par. S. of the Cocker was originally in Amounderness hundred. The E. part of the district is undulating, while the W. part is low and level.

1. **Cleveley** (W. of the Wyre) : *Cliueleie* c 1180 CC, *Cliveley* c 1270 ib., *Kliflegh* c 1380 CR 349. O.E. *clif* " cliff," etc., and *lēah*. Elevations of 200ft. are reached in the township.

Shireshead chapel : *Shireshead* 1577 Saxton, *Shireshed* 1577 Harr. The name means " the upper end of the shire." Shireshead stands near the Cocker, the old boundary between Amounderness and Lonsdale.

2. **Forton :** *Fortune* DB, *Forton* 1212 LI, 1323 LF, etc., *Fortun* 13 cent. Ind. Probably O.E. *ford-tūn, i.e.*, " the tūn by the ford." In early documents two fords are alluded to in connection with Forton, viz., *Langwathforde* 1250-68 CC (O.N. *Langavað* " the long ford ") and *Scamwath* (O.N. *Skammavað* " the short ford "), in *Scamwathlithe*, etc., 1220-40 CC. The township is bounded on the W. by the Cocker, on which the original Forton may have stood. Forton Hall is on a trib. of the Cocker.

3. **Cockerham** (*see* further p. 170).

Crimbles : *Crimeles* DB, *Crimblis* c 1155 Ch, *Crimbles* 1207, 1241 LF, *le Crymbles* 1320 CC ; *Crimell* c 1240 CC ; *Grimbles* 1364 CC ; *Crumles* 1206 LF, *Crumbles*

1212 LI, *de Crumbles* a 1265 CC. Gt. and Li. Crimbles are both S. of the Cocker, but formerly part of Crimbles was N. of the river.

This name is common, especially as a field-name. Cf. *e.g.*, Crimble (Heap, Bury), *Crymyll* (Worston) 1518 CCR, and *see* VHL III. 430, IV. 399. Goodall mentions several examples of Crimbles from Yks. *Crymel* (Cornw.) is found OR I. 203, *Crumble*, Suss. HR II. 205. This name must represent a native common noun, apparently an O.E. **crymel* or the like. This may be a derivative of *cruma* " small piece, scrap," the meaning being " a small piece of land " ; this is corroborated by the fact that the name often has the plural form.[1] Similar names are : *Scrapps* (a small piece of land in Aspull) 1501 CC (cf. *scrap* " a small piece "), the Croats, Glo. (cf. M.E. *crote* " small piece "). For names of similar meaning in Sweden *see* Lidén, NoB IV. 106ff.

Laithwaite : *Lathwayt* 1320 CC, *Laithwatt* 1600 Cockerham R. Probably O.N. *hlaða* " barn," as alternatively suggested by Lindkvist, and *thwaite*.

LONSDALE HUNDRED, SOUTH OF THE SANDS

Lonsdale hundred consists of two distinct parts, Lonsdale S. of the Sands or Lonsdale proper, and Lonsdale N. of the Sands, the district W. of the Kent estuary and the Winster. The two parts are best dealt with separately.

Lonsdale at first meant " the Lune valley," but in the 12th cent. began to be used of Lonsdale hundred. Early forms of the name:

Lanesdale DB, (Burtona de) *Lanesdala* 1130 LPR, *Lansdale* (Yks.) 1210 AP, *Lonisdale* 1150-60 Ch, *Lonesdale* (Wapentake) 1169 LPR, 1285 Ind, *Lonesdele* (Wapentake) 1169 LPR, *Lonesdala* 1188, 1199 LPR, *Lounesdal* 1267 ChR ; *Landesdale* 1220 ClR, *Londesdale* 1362 OR, *Landes-*, *Lunesdale* c 1540 Leland, *Lansdale*, " corrupt for *Lunesdale* " 1577 Harr. " The valley of the Lune."

Lonsdale S. of the Sands comprises roughly the valleys of the Lune with its tributaries, and of the Keer. The surface is mostly undulating, with level parts along the sea and in the river valleys. There is a large fell district in the S.E. part, where an altitude of 1,836ft. is attained at Ward's Stone, and a smaller one in the N.E., where a height of over 2,000ft. is reached in Leck Fell.

Names of Rivers, etc.

Damas Gill (a trib. of the Wyre) : *Dameresgile* 1228 ClR, *Damergill* c 1350 LPR. The first el. is possibly a compound of O.E. *dā* " doe " and *mere* " lake." There is a tarn (now a reservoir) near the stream. The second el. is O.N. *gil* " ravine."

Lune : *loin* 1156-60 Ch, *Lon* 1180-4 CC, 1228 ClR, *Loon* a 1190, 13 cent. CC, *Lonn* c 1190 Ch, *Lone* 1202 LF, 1246 LAR, etc., *Lon'* 1252 IPM, *le Loon* 1342 LPD II. 162, *Loone* 1364 CC, 1389 FC II, *Lune* c 1540 Leland, 1577 Harr., *Luni*, *Loni* (gen.) 1586 Camden ; now [lu·n, liun]. Cf. Lonsdale *supra* and Lancaster.

[1] In the following passage from the Chartulary of St. John Pontefract, p. 476, *crimble* is clearly used as a common noun: [ego dedi] " duos crimblos in campis de Brettona . . . , unum crimble buttat super molendinum . . . , et unum capud unius crimble buttat super dirne " [Dearne riv.].

The early and modern forms point to O.E. *Lōn*, M.E. *Lōn* as the base. Of course, we expect the name of such an important river to be British. It has been identified with *Alone* (the name of a Roman station) in Ant. It. (McClure p. 111). This identification is not impossible. *Alone* goes back to Prim. Celt. **Alaun-*, which would become Brit. **Alōn-* (>Welsh *Alun*). If the name was adopted very early, the *ō* might still have been preserved. As regards the loss of the initial vowel, it is to be remembered that Brit. **Alōn* no doubt had the chief stress on the second syllable. The *a*, which occurs in early forms of *Lonsdale* and is regular in *Lancaster*, might be explained as due to O.E. shortening and subsequent substitution for *o* of the open *o* alternating with *a* before nasals. But the etymology of the name *Lune* is to some extent bound up with that of *Lancaster*. This name apparently means " the city on the Lune." Now there are two O.E. examples of this name, viz., *Landc* on two coins of the time of Harold I. (1035-39); cf. Hildebrand, Anglosachsiska mynt, p. 352f. If these forms are trustworthy, they seem to point to the first el. of *Lancaster* having been originally O.E. *land*; *Landc(æster)* might mean " the chief fort of the country " or the like. In such a form the *d* would drop out at an early period. If this is right, the similarity between the first el. of *Lancaster* and the name *Lune* must be accidental, but *Lan-* (*Lon-*) must at an early period have been associated with the name *Lune*. This might help to explain the form *Lanesdale* for *Lonesdale*. After all, the O.E. *Landc(æster)* may be due to popular etymology.†

Cocker (a trib. of the Lune): *Cocur* ? 930 YCh (genuine ?), *Cokir* c 1155 Ch, *Coker* c 1175 CC, *Koker* a 1202 CC. Cf. Cockerham and Cockersand p. 170f. The same name is found in Cumb., and Cockerton in Durh. (*Cocertune* Hist. St. Cuthbert) was no doubt named from a river Cocker. A lost stream-name in Leyl. is *Cokerdene* c 1225, c 1240 CC, *Kokerdene* c 1240 PC; the name may be preserved in Cocker Bar[1] (Leyland par.). If Stokes correctly derives Ir. *cúar* " crooked " from **kukros*, the name Cocker is easily explained as the fem. form of this: **kukrā* > Brit. **kokrā*. The Lanc. Cocker may be aptly described as " the winding river." But the etymology of Ir. *cúar* proposed is open to doubt. Anyhow, Cocker is probably a Brit. name. We may perhaps compare the Brit. pers. names *Cocuro*, *Cocurus* in Holder.

Conder (a trib. of the Lune): *Kondover* a 1220 CC, *Kondoure* 1225-50 CC, *Gondour'*, *Gondouere* 1228 ClR, *Candovere* 1246 LAR. The name is no doubt British, the second el. being Celt. **dubron* (Welsh *dwfr*, etc.) " water." The first el. is difficult.

Lucy Brook (between Aldcliffe and Lancaster): *Lousibrok* c 1300 FC II. First el. perhaps dial. *lousy* " sparkling, frothing, foaming " (EDD sub. *louse* vb.).

Escowbeck (Caton): *Escouthebec* a 1241, *Escouthebroc* a 1250 CC. The first el. is an O.N. place name *Eski-hǫfuð* " ashtree hill." Cf. on *hǫfuð*, p. 13.

Artlebeck: *Arkelbec* c 1200, c 1245 CC, *Arkelbek* 13 cent. LC, *Hartlebek* 1577 Saxton. O.N. *Arnketill*, *Arnkell* pers. n. and *beck*.

Ragill Beck (a trib. of Artlebeck): *Rouchgill*, *-heued*, *Rauchgill* c 1350 LPR.

[1] But Cocker Brook and Cocker Lumb in Oswaldtwistle Bl. do not contain this old stream-name. Cocker is evidently identical with the first el. of *Cokaside*, *Cockaisidemos* 1208-25, *Kokasyd* 13 cent. DD; cf. *la Thuercokerdiche* 1270-80 ib. This may be identical with Cockey, p. 53, or a compound of O.E. *cocc* " cock " and *ēg* " island, water-meadow."

Rouch- is no doubt for *Routh-*, *i.e.*, O.N. *rauðr* " red " ; *gill* is O.N. *gil* " a ravine."
Wenning (a trib. of the Lune) : *Wennyng* c 1170, c 1177 FC II, *Wenninga* 1165-77 FC II. 309 (orig.), *Wenning(g)a* 1189 Cal. Sc. I. 28, *Wening* a 1255, *Wenning* a 1260 CC, *Wennigh* a 1268 CC, *the Wenny* 1577 Harr. ; now [wenin]. *See* the discussion under Wennington p. 181. The name *Wenning* cannot be a derivative of the Celt. adj. **vindo-* in Welsh *gwyn* (fem. *gwen*) " white," etc. (cf. *Afon Wen*, in Wales), for the water of the river is peaty-brown.
Hindburn (a trib. of the Wenning) : *Hyndborn* 1577 Saxton, *the Hinburne* 1577 Harr. ; now [hainbən]. First el. no doubt O.E. *hind* " the female of the hart." Cf. the same name in Bl.
Roeburn (a trib. of the Hindburn) : *the Rheburne* 1577 Harr., *Roburn* 1577 Saxton ; now [ro·bən]. Cf. Roeburndale p. 181. The first el. is probably O.E. *rāgan* g. sg. of *rāge* " roe." As regards the sound development we may compare M.E. (northern) *bree* from O.E. *brēgan* " frighten " (probably in *breed* All. Poems C. 143), *dee* " to die," *kee* " key " (O.E. *cǣg*), etc. The change from *Re-* to *Roe-* is due to influence from the word *roe*. Second el. O.E. *burna* " burn."
Greeta (falls into the Lune near Tunstall) : *the Gretey* 1577 Harr. ; cf. *de Gretagila* a 1230 CC (Clapham, Yks.). The name is identical with Greta, Cumb. and Yks. It goes back to O.N. *Griótá* (cf. *Griótá* in Iceland), from *griót* " stone(s) " and *á* " river."
Cant Beck (a trib. of the Greeta) : *Kant* 1202 LF. Perhaps a back-formation from *Cantsfield* ; *see* this name, p. 183. If not, the name is probably British.
Keer (falls into Morecambe Bay) : *Keere*, *Kere* c 1350 LPR, *Keri* c 1540 Leland ; *Docker* 1577 Saxton, Harr. Possibly the Celtic adj. found in Ir. as *ciar* " dusky " (cf. Joyce II. 271). The base is **keiro-*, which would give Brit. **kēr-*, a stem not to my knowledge evidenced in Brit. languages. But other derivations are possible. *Docker* is, of course, a different name, derived from Docker in Whittington.
Kent (falls into Morecambe Bay) : *Kent* 1208 LF, 1272 LI, *Kenet* 1246 LAR, *Kente* c 1350 LPR. The name is identical with *Kennet*, the name of an affluent of the Thames (*cynetan* 944 BCS 802), Kennet, Camb., and Welsh *Cynwyd*, O.Brit. *Cunetione* (abl.) Ant. It. (Holder).
Hawes Water (Silverdale). Now [ɔ·z wɔ·tə]. The old name was Arnside Dub : *Arnolvesheued Dub* 1246 LF. Arnside is in Wml. just over the border. The elements of the name are O.E. *Earnwulf* pers. n. and *hēafod* " head, hill." *Dub*, a word of obscure etymology, means " a pool." Hawes is presumably dial. *hause* (from O.E. or O.N. *hals*) " a narrower and lower neck between two heights or summits ; a *col* " (NED), also " a defile, a narrow passage between mountains " (EDD).

Names of Hills

Clougha, Clougha Pike (S.E. of Lancaster ; c 1,500ft.) : *Clochoch* 1199 LI I. 92, *Clochehoc* 1228 ClR, *Cloghou* 1228 WhC, *Clough ho hill* 1577 Saxton ; now [kləfə]. The elements of the name are *clough* (O.E. *clōh*) and O.E. *hōh* " projecting ridge," etc. Clougha Pike forms a projection from the massive of hills.
Little Fell (near Quernmore) : *Littelfel* 1228 ClR. *Fell* is O.N. *fiall*.
Stephen's Head (E. of Clougha ; 1,633ft.) : *Steuensete*, *Littelsteudensete* c 1350 LPR. " Stephen's set or shieling." The hill was named from a shieling. A

similar name is *Ughtryshsete, Ughrithsete* c 1350 LPR (identified with Great Hill on the Yks. border). The first el. is the O.E. pers. n. *Uhtrēd.*

Swaintley Hill (Roeburndale): *Swynecloghеued, Swyn(e)styclogh* c 1350 LPR. *Swynsty-* might be O.E. *swīnstig* "pigsty," but is more likely O.E. *swīn* "wild boar" and *stīg* "a path."

Threaphaw Fell (on the border between Lanc. and Yks.; close to the Trough of Bowland): *Threpehowe, Threphaw* c 1350 LPR. "The debatable hill." Cf. *threapland* "debatable land." The elements are O.E. *prēapian* "to quarrel" and O.N. *haugr* "hill." Trough (of Bowland): *Trogh* c 1350 LPR. O.E. *trog* "trough," later "a troughlike valley."

Winfold Fell (close to Threaphaw): *Whynfell* c 1350 LPR. M.E. *whinne* "whin, furze" and O.N. *fiall* "fell."

Wolfhole Crag (1,731ft.; N. of Threaphaw): *Wolfalcrag, Wlffalcragge* c 1350 LPR, *Wulfo crag* 1577 Saxton, *Wulfcragge* 1577 Harr. The earliest forms point to O.E. *wulf-halh,* which might mean "wolf's corner or hiding-place." But the original form may have been *wulf-hol* "wolf's lair."

COCKERHAM PAR. (part)

The district N. of the lower Cocker. On the part of the par. S. of the Cocker cf. p. 166. The surface is mostly low and level in the W. with some pieces of slightly higher land, but is more elevated in the E., where altitudes of some 500ft. are reached.

1. **Cockerham** (v.): *Cocreham* DB, *Kokerham* 1190 CC, 1202 AP, 1212 LI, 1246 LAR, *Cokerham* 1332 LS, *Cokirham* 1327 LS, 1438 LF; *Cokerheim* c 1155, a 1160 Ch, 1207 LF, *Kokerheim* 1206 LF, *Kokerhaim* 1246 LAR. The elements of the name are the river-name *Cocker* and O.E. *hām,* in some early forms replaced by Scand. *heimr.* The village stands near the Cocker.

Crookhey: *Crochaghe* c 1200 CC, *de Crochaghe* 1260 CC, *de Crochagh* 1314 LI. The place is in a bend of the Cocker. The elements of the name are M.E. *crōk* (probably from O.N. *krókr*) "bend" and O.E. *haga* or O.N. *hagi* "enclosure."

Hillam (old manor): *Hillun* DB. O.E. *hyllum* "(at) the hills." Hillam stands at the S. end of a ridge reaching 75ft., on which is Norbrick (cf. Norbreck, Am.), and near another smaller hill.

Thursland: *Thurselande* 1320 CC, *Thurslond* 1340 CC, *Thurlond* 1364 CC. First el. no doubt the pers. n. *Thōr, Thūr* (of Scand. origin).

2. **Ellel** (in the valleys of the Cocker and Conder): *Ellhale* DB, *Elhale* c 1155 Ch, 1246 LAR, etc., *Elhal* 1202 LF, 1246 LAR, *Ellehal* 1208 LPR, *Ellale* 1212 LI, 1277 LAR, 1332 LS. O.E. *Ella* pers. n. and O.E. *halh* "haugh, low-lying meadow." There are typical haughs on the bank of the Conder where the church and Ellel Hall stand.

Ellel Crag (at a hill reaching 400ft.): *Craghouse* 1490 TI, *Cragge* 1598 Cockerham R. There is also Crag Hall. On *crag,* a Celtic word, see p. 9.

Galgate (v.): *Gawgett* 1605 Cockerham R. The name is considered to mean "the Galloway road," cattle drovers from Galloway having given name to the road on which the place stands (VHL VIII. 96). Cf. *Galwaithegate* CC 976 (Kendal or Cowperthwaite). Long Causey (*Langcawsall* 1599 Cockerham R) may have

been named from the same road. Two Roman roads are considered to have met at Galgate.

Hubbersty (now lost) : *Hobyrstath* a 1236 FC II., *Hobirstad* a 1250 CC, *Hobyrstad* c 1254 ib. First el. apparently the L.G. pers. n. *Hubrecht*. The second is doubtful. If the place was on the Conder, as the map in VHL VIII. indicates, the second el. of the name is probably O.N. *stǫð* " landing-place."

3. **Thurnham** (on the lower Lune, bounded on the N.E. by the Conder) : *Tiernun* DB, *Thurnum* a 1160 Ch, 1205, 1230 CC, *Thirnum* 1301 LF, 1327 LS, *Thirnom* 1332 LS, *Thernum* c 1388 FC. O.E. or O.N. *pyrnum* (dat. pl. of O.E. *pyrne* or O.N. *pyrnir*) " (at) the thorn-bushes."

Crook : (pullum de) *Croc* a 1190, c 1265 CC, *Crokispul* a 1160 Ch, *Crocpul*, *Crockepul* 1364 CC. Crook stands near a bend of the Lune. Cf. Crookhey p. 170.

Glasson (at the confluence of the Conder and the Lune ; now the port of Lancaster) : (pasturam de) *Glassene* c 1265 CC, *Glasson* 1552 LF ; now [glazən]. Glasson is in a very low situation, but Old Glasson stands on a piece of slightly higher land. The name seems to be identical with Glazen (Glazenwood 1-inch map) Ess. : (on) *Glæsne* 970 Thorpe 517, *Glasene* 1204-5, *Glasnes* 1219-20, *Glasne* 1223-4 Essex Feet of Fines (ed. R.G. Kirk). Glazenwood is in Bradwell near Coggeshall, less than a mile from the Blackwater. It is on rising ground, c 200ft. above sea-level ; the ground along the river reaches some 130ft. Glasson and Glazen are probably of native origin and may belong to O.E. *glæs* " glass " or rather to the base **glās* discussed under Gleaston p. 209. But the material does not allow of a definite etymology. Glasson in Cumb. (*Glassan* 1259, 1278, Sedgefield) is probably unrelated. It may be Celtic, *e.g.*, an ellipsis of such a name as *Tref Glassan* " the village belonging to Glassan." *Glassan* is a known Ir. pers. name.

Cockersand Abbey : *Cocresha* 1207 LPR, *Kokersand* 1212 LI, *Cocressand*, *Cokeresand* 1215 LPR, *Cokersand* 1229 LAR, *Kokirsaund* 1297 LI. The name means " the Cocker sands, the sandy bank of the Cocker." O.E. *sand* and O.N. *sandr* are both used in the sense " sandy shore." The abbey, now in ruins, stands on the shore near the mouth of the Cocker. The abbey was built at a place called *Askel(es)cros* CC 757f. ; *Askel* is O.N. *Askell* pers. n.

LANCASTER PAR.

This large parish, the chief part of which is situated on both sides of the lower Lune, comprises 14 townships in Lonsdale and 5 in Amounderness. The latter are detached and have already been dealt with. The surface of the Lonsdale part varies considerably. W. of the Lune it is low and mostly flat. E. of the river it is undulating, and rises by degrees till an elevation of some 1,500ft. is reached in the easternmost part (in Over Wyresdale and Quernmore).

1. **Over Wyresdale** : *Wyresdale* 1246 LAR, c 1250 CC, 1314 LI, etc.

The township occupies a large hilly district in the upper Wyre valley S.E. of Lancaster. It is sparsely inhabited. In early times the district seems to have been used only for pasture. Several of the divisions of the township are still called vaccaries, as Greenbank Vaccary, etc. Much of it is desolate fell country. The homesteads are chiefly on or near the Wyre.

Abbeystead : *vaccary del Abbey* 1323, 1324 LI. The name, which means " the site of the abbey," preserves the memory of a house of Cistercian monks in Wyresdale, founded by monks from Furness Abbey in the reign of Henry II., but soon removed (VHL VIII., 78).

Catshaw : *Cattesagh* 1323 LI, *Catteshawe* 1324 LI. O.E. *catt* " cat " and *scaga* " shaw."

Dunkenshaw : *Dunokesagh* 1323 LI, *Dunnokschawe* 1324 LI. Cf. Dunnockshaw p. 80. The first el. is no doubt M.E. *dunnok* " hedge-sparrow."

Emmetts : *Emodes* 1323, 1324 LI. The place is in the tongue of land E. of the junction of the Tarnbrook and Marshaw Wyres. The name goes back to O.E. *ēagemōtu* " junction of streams."

Gilberton (on the Tarnbrook Wyre) : *de Gilberdesholm* c 1230 CC, *Litel-, Overgilbretholm* 1323 LI, *Litel, Overgilbertholme* 1324 LI (old vaccaries). The elements of the name are the Norman pers. n. *Gilbert* and O.N. *holmr* " island," etc.

Greenbank : *Grenebonk* 1323 LI, *-bank* 1324 LI. Probably " the green hill or slope."

Hawthornthwaite (S. of the Marshaw Wyre) : *Haghthornthayt* 1323 LI, *Haghethornthwait* 1324 LI, *de Haghethorntwait* 1325 LCR. O.E. *haguporn* or O.N. *hagporn* " hawthorn " and *thwaite* " meadow," etc.

Lee Fell, Higher and Lower : *Mikelegh, Litelegh* 1323 LI, *Mikellegh, Litellegh* 1324 LI. O.E. *lēah* " pasture," etc.

Lentworth : *Lonteworth* 1323 LI, *Lenteworth* 1324 LI. L. stands N. of the Wyre and near a brook, called Gallows Clough. The first el. of the name may be an old name of the brook identical with O.E. *leontan, liontan* (obl. forms) 704-9 BCS 123, the name of a river in Warw. ; *lentan* 854 BCS 477, 931 BCS 675, the name of rivers in Hants and Berks. This is no doubt a Celtic name, to be compared with Welsh *lliant* " a stream." On *worth* " enclosure," etc., *see* p. 20.

Marshaw : *Marthesagh* 1323 LI, *Marcheshawe* 1324 LI, *Marchshagh, Marschashheued* c 1350 LPR. I suppose the correct form is that of 1323, and identify the first el. with O.E. *mearð* " marten."

Ortner (N. of Swainshead, on the N. bank of the Wyre) : *Overtonargh* 1323 LI, *Hortounargh* 1324 LI. The name means " the *ergh* (or shieling) belonging to Overton." Overton is clearly the village of that name on the Lune estuary (cf. p. 175), situated at a distance of over 6 miles from Ortner as the crow flies. The example seems to indicate that Over Wyresdale was in pre-Conquest time common land to the townships round the lower Lune. On *ergh see* p. 10.

Swainshead (in the S.W. part, S. of the Wyre) : *Suenesat* DB, *Swaineseste* 1199 LPR, *Swaynesheved* 1323f. LI. The elements of the name are the O.N. pers. n. *Sveinn* and *set, sat* " a shieling " (*see* p. 16). Swainshead Hall stands on a hill some 500ft. above sea-level.

Tarnbrook (on the Tarnbrook Wyre) : *Tyrn(e)brok* 1323, 1324 LI. Tarnbrook was originally, of course, the name of the brook. As *e* often becomes *i* in N. dialects (cf. *gris* < *gres* " grass," etc.), it seems plausible that *Tyrn-* stands for earlier *Tern-* and is to be derived from O.N. *tiǫrn* " tarn." However, to judge by the map, there is no tarn near the stream. It should be added that Tarnsyke Clough is the name of a brook that falls into the Wyre near Tarnbrook.

2. **Quernmore** (E. of Lancaster) : *Quernemor* 1228 ClR, *Quernemore* 1278 FC II. (orig.), 1323 LI, *Quermore* 1342 FC II., *Whermore* c 1500 DL ; now [wɔ·mə]. The township lies on the W. slope of Clougha Fell. The second el. of the name is O.E. *mōr* " moor." The first is O.E. *cweorn* or O.N. *kvern* " quern, mill " or possibly " mill-stone " ; cf. Quarlton p. 46.

Hareappletree or **Appletree** : *Harapeltre* 1323 LI, *Harapultre* 1324 LI, *Appultre* 1537 DL. O.E. *hār* " grey " and *æppeltrēo*.

Hutton (old manor, the N. part of the township ; the name is now lost) : *Hotun* DB, *Hoton* 1278 FC II. (orig.), *Hutton* 1557 LF. Cf. the same name p. 136.

Lythe Brow (on a hill-side S. of Caton) : *le Lyht* 1278 FC II. (orig.). O.N. *hlíð* " slope." In the same document is mentioned the interesting name *les Schyrokes* " the shire oaks " ; the name is now lost.

Rowton Brook : *La Routandebrok* 1323 LI, *Routandbrok* 1324 LI, *Rowtane* 1537 DL. Really the name of the brook on which the place stands. The name means " the roaring brook " ; first el. the pres. part. *routand* from M.E. *routen* " to roar " (<O.N. *rauta*) ; cf. Rawtenstall p. 92.

Scarthwaite (now apparently lost) : *Starkthweyt* 1278 FC II. (orig.), *Sterwhart* 1530 DL. The early forms do not allow of a definite etymology. Possibly that of 1530 points to O.E. *stirc* " a heifer " as the first el. ; if so, *Stark-* in the earliest quotation must be miswritten.

3. **Scotforth** (S.E. of Lancaster, bounded on the E. by the Conder ; v.) : *Scozforde* DB, *Scoteford* 1204 LF, *Scotford* 1212 LI, 1246 IPM, 1323 LF, 1332 LS, etc., *Schotford, Scodford* 1301 LF, *Scodeford* 1323 LI, *Scotforth* 1501 CC. Scotford vil. stands near a stream ; the village was no doubt named from a ford over this stream. I take the first el. of the name to be O.E. *Scot* " Scotsman," etc., either in the gen. plur. or (originally) in the gen. sing. The name may be compared with Galgate (p. 170) and refer to Scottish traffic along a road through the district or to some event in which a Scotsman or some Scotsmen were concerned.

Bailrigg : *Balrig* a 1254 CC, *de Ballrugge* 1277 LAR, *de Balrig* 1283 LI, *de Balerig* 1287 LC, *Baleryg* 1461 CC, *Baylerygge* 1539 CC, *Balerigge* 1545 LF ; now [be·lrig]. B. stands on the side of a gently sloping ridge. The second el. of the name is O.N. *hryggr* " ridge." The first must be a word with a (M.E.) long vowel, perhaps O.N. *bál*, M.E. *bāl* " a blazing pile, a bonfire " or more probably O.N. *bali* " a gentle slope along the shore," a word found in Norw. and Icel. place-names. Bailrigg is not on the shore of the sea, but no doubt O.N. *bali* was originally used of any gentle slope.

Big Forth (S. of Scotforth vil.) : *de Biggetheit* 1242 LAR, *de Bigthwait* 1246 LI, *Biggethwayt* 1323 LF. Bigthwaite clearly means " barley thwaite " (O.N. *bygg* " barley " and *thwaite* p. 19). The identification of the early forms given with Big Forth is not certain, but plausible. Bigthwaite is stated to be in the adjacent Ashton township. Big Forth is near the Ashton boundary. The correctness of the identification is to some extent corroborated by the fact that it is difficult to explain the name Big Forth if the second el. is O.E. *ford*, for the place is not on a stream. A change of Bigthwaite to Big Forth is easily explained as due to popular etymology. It is worthy of notice that at least in Wml. *-thwaite* is sometimes pronounced [fət] ; cf. Ellis V. 605. Cf. also Gubberford, p. 165.

Burrow (sometimes looked upon as a separate vill): *Burg, Burgo, Burgum* c 1200 CC, *Burgh* 1451ff. CC, *Burgesbroc* c 1200 CC (a brook), (Brentebrec super) *Aldeburgh* a 1268 CC, *Burghthwaytethurst* LC 336. O.E. *burh* " fortified place." Nothing appears to be known about this old *burh*. It is worthy of notice that the place stands on the old Roman road between Ribchester and Lancaster, and in a fairly high situation (on Burrow Heights).

Hala Carr (E. of Scotforth, near a brook): *Helecarre* 1658, *Helacar* 1659, *Hayley Karr* 1660 Lancaster R; now [e·lə ka·]. I suppose *Hala* is identical with the first part of the lost name Hallatrice: *Helewadris* 1184-90 CC, *Heilewateris* 1190 CC, *Halotryse* 1545 LF, *Halatrash* (?) 1659 Lancaster R. The last syllable of this is apparently O.N. *hrís* " brushwood " (or O.E. *hrīs* " twigs, branches, brushwood "); cf. *e.g.*, *Kelderise* (Scotforth) CC 804. This element seems to have been added to a name with O.N. *vað* " ford " as second el. The first el. is obscure; possibly it is O.N. *heill* " luck " or *heill* adj. " lucky."

Hazelrigg: *Hesilrig* c 1200, c 1250 CC, *Haselrig* c 1210 CC. H. stands on or at a ridge. The elements of the name are O.N. *hesli* " hazel-bushes " or O.E. *hæsel* " hazel " and O.N. *hryggr* " ridge."

Langthwaite: *Langethwayte* LC 336, *Langthwaite* ib. 340. " The long thwaite."

4. **Ashton with Stodday** (a low-lying district E. of the Lune estuary S. of Lancaster).

Ashton Hall: *Estvn* DB, *Eston* 1212 LI, *Esseton* 1301 LF, *Esshton* 1332 LS, *Asshton* 1327 LS, *Assheton* 1301ff. LF. O.E. *Æsctūn* " ash town."

Stodday: *Stodhae* c 1200 CC, *de Stodaye* 1246 LI, *de Stodehahe* 1252 LI, *Stodhag* 1262 LAR, *de Stodagh* 1332 LS, *Stoday* 1440, 1448 LF. O.E. **stōdhaga* " stud enclosure."

Brantbeck: *Brantebrec, Brentebrec* c 1250 CC, *de Brantebre* 1246 LI. M.E. *brant, brent* " steep " (from O.E. *brant* or O.N. *brattr* < **brant-*; cf. Swed. *brant*) and O.N. *brekka* " slope." B. is on a fairly steep slope. The loss of the *r* in the second syllable is due to dissimilation.

Grizehead (apparently lost): *Grisehevet* c 1250 CC, *de Grisehed* 1332 LS. O.N. *gríss* " pig " (or *Gríss* pers. n.) and O.E. *hēafod* " hill."

5. **Aldcliffe** (S.W. of Lancaster): *Aldeclif* DB, 1332 LS, *Audeclivam* 1094 LC, *Aldeclyue, Audeclyviam* c 1190 Ch, *Aldecliue* 1212 LI, 1327 LS, *Aldeclyf* 1341 IN, *Auclyff* 1577 Saxton, *Awcliffe* 1577 Harr. I take the name to represent an O.E. *Aldanclif*; *Alda* is a known O.E. name. *Clif* seems to mean " a slope "; the ground rises to 100ft. close to Aldcliffe Hall.

6. **Lancaster** (town): *Landc* 1035-1039 Hildebrand (coin), *Loncastre, Chercaloncastre* DB, *Lanecastrum* 1094 LC, *Loncastra* 1127 Ch, *Lancastra* 1162ff., 1176ff. LPR, *Lancastre* c 1140 Gaimar, 1198 LPR, 1212 LI, 1225 LF, 1246 LAR, etc., *Lancaster* 1262, 1292, 1314 LF, etc., *Langcastre, Langkastre* 13 cent. Ind. Leland c 1540 gives the local pronunciation as *Lancastre*, " corruptely spoken for *Lunecastre* viii miles off "; Camden 1586 gives the local pronunciation *Loncaster*. The name seems to mean " the city on the Lune "; cf. however under Lune p. 168. *Chercaloncastre* in DB means " Kirk Lancaster "; there are in DB two manors of Lancaster.

Bowerham (old manor; now the S.E. part of Lancaster): *Bolerund* 1201 LPR, *Bolerun* 1204, 1206 ib., *Bulerun* 1207 ib., *Bolron* 1212 LI, 1450 CC, *Bolrun* 1297

LI, *de Bolroun* 1332 LS ; *Bolrum* 1226 LI, 1212-17 RB, 1215 CC, etc. The name seems to be identical with Boldron, Yks. (: *Bul(e)run* 1280 IPM, *Bolleron* 1285 ib.). It appears to have originally ended in *-n* ; the *-m* may be due to assimilation to the initial labial or to association with names in *-ham* and *-rum* (p. 16). The first el. is apparently M.E. *bule* " bull " (probably a Scand. word) or possibly O.E. *Bula* pers. n. The second I identify with a word *run* found in Cumb. and Wml. names, as *Poteruns* RSB 419, *Stelerun* ib. 163 (cf. Scandinavians p. 93f.) and very likely to be derived from O.N. *runnr* " a brake or thicket."

Calkeld Lane (street) : *Caldekelde* 1220-50 FC II. " The cold well." *Keld* is O.N. *kelda* " a well."

Edenbreck (in Lancaster) : *Etenbreck* 1285 FC II (orig.). The second el. is O.N. *brekka* " a slope." The first is doubtful.

Priestwath or **Priesta,** now **Scale Ford** (VHL VIII. 13) : *Prestreguet* 1094 LC, *Prestwath* 1317 LC, 1460 FC II., *Prestwaith* 1371 OR. The name means " the priests' ford," the second el. being O.N. *vað* " ford," which in the earliest quotation is translated by Fr. *guet* (*gué*). The last form quoted seems to show influence from O.N. *veiðr* " fishery, hunting ; place for fishing," etc.

7. **Bulk** (N.E. of Lancaster, in a bend of the Lune) : *Bulk* 1318 LC, 1327 LS, 1332 LS, *Bulke* 1341 IN, *Bowke* 1581 DL. The ground slopes from some 280ft. to some 30ft. A long ridge, on which is a place called Ridge (: *Rigge* 1318 LC), runs from S. to N. The name might be identical with M.E. *bulk* " a heap " (1440, etc.), apparently a Scand. word ; cf. O.N. *bulki* " a heap, cargo," Swed., Norw. dial. *bulk* " a knob, bump." If this is right, the name would mean " a hill " or the like and refer to the ridge mentioned. But we might also compare the O.E. *bolca* " a gangway." The name might refer to a foot-bridge over a stream. Cf. *vadum de Bulkes* (Am.) 1330 LC.

Newton : *Neutun* DB, *Neutone* 1094 LC, *Neuton* 1212 LI, *Newton* 1389 FC II. The name is now preserved in Newton Beck. In DB *Neutun* represents Bulk township.

Dolphinlees : *Dolfenlee, -ley* 1533 DL. The first el. is the pers. n. *Dolfin*, perhaps of Scand. origin.

8. **Overton** (W. of the Lune estuary ; v.) : *Ouretun* DB, *Ouretonam* 1094 Ch, *Ouerton* 1177, 1205 LPR, 1332 LS, etc., *Overton* 1201ff. LPR, 1212 LI, etc., *Orton* 1577 Saxton, 1577 Harr. ; now [ɔvətn, o·vətn]. Overton vil. stands near the bank of the Lune. The first el. of the name is no doubt O.E. *ōfer* " shore." The meaning " upper town " is improbable.

Bazil Point (a promontory S. of Overton) : *Basul* 1199–1206 CC. The second el. of the name is O.E. *hyll* " hill." The S. end of the point rises to 50ft. The first el. is possibly the pers. n. from which Basing (Hants) and the first el. of Basingstoke (Hants) are derived.

Colloway : *Collingeswelle* c 1200 CC. " Colling's well or brook." There is a small stream near the place. *Colling* is an O.E. pers. n., probably native.

Sunderland (the southernmost part of the township) : ? *de Sinderlaund* 1246 LAR, ? *Sunderlond* 1262 LAR. O.E. *sundor-land.* A meaning " outlying, detached land " is plausible. Cf. the same name pp. 29, 70.

Trailholme : *Threlhame* 1663, *Thrilham* 1664 Heysham R. The forms, though late, point to an O.N. *þrælaholmr* " island of the thralls." The place stands on a

small elevation in low-lying country. Cf. *Threleholmes* (N. Meols) c 1250 Farrer, Hist. N. Meols, p. 10.

9. **Middleton** (W. of the Lune ; v.) : *Middeltun* DB, *Middelton* c 1190 Ch, 1199ff. LPR, *Midelton* 1212 LI, 1332 LS, etc. The village has a middle position between Overton and Heysham ; hence its name. O.E. *Middeltūn.*

10. **Heaton with Oxcliffe** (W. and N. of the lower Lune).

Heaton : *Hietune* DB, *Hetun* c 1160 Ch, *Heton* c 1170 Ch, 1212 LI, 1283 LF, 1332 LS. " The high *tūn.*" The township is low-lying, but Heaton h. stands on a tract of rising ground, some 50ft. above sea-level.

Oxcliffe : *Oxeneclif* DB, *Oxeclive* 1201ff. LPR, *Oxecliue* 1212 LI, 1297 LI, *Oxcliff* 1327, *-clif* 1332 LS, 1427 LF, etc., *Excliffe* 1577 Harr. ; now [ɔkslif]. The name means " the height where oxen were kept." The small hamlet stands on a little bluff.

Melishaw : *Melanshow* in an early deed VHL VIII. 71 ; now [meliʃɔ·, meliʃə]. The elements of the name may be the O.Ir. pers. n. *Máelán* and O.N. *haugr.* The farm stands at a slight hill, which, however, has now practically disappeared.

Ovangle : *Ovangle* 1476, 1586 DL ; now [o·faŋgl]. The place stands on a slight elevation close to an arm of the Lune which separates the large meadow called Salt Ayre from the mainland. This arm makes a wide bend. It seems plausible, therefore, that *angle* might be O.E. *angel* or O.N. *ǫngull* " a fishing-hook," here used as a name of the bend or the arm as a whole. The first el. might then be the O.N. *ofan* " above " ; a meaning such as " (the place) above the bend " would be very suitable. But there are other names containing an el. *angle,* with which Ovangle may be compared. In Ince Blundell there were formerly two pieces of land called *Low-angle* and *the Ox-angle* 13 cent. HS XXXIII. 12, 17. The situation of these places is unknown. The meaning of *angle* at least in *Ox-angle* can hardly have been simply " hook " or " bend." But very likely it is identical with O.E. *angel,* etc. ; this word may have developed senses such as " bend of a river," traces of which are perhaps to be found in Continental languages (cf. Förstemann), and also " land within a bend," " river-meadow " or the like. This may be the sense of *angle* in Ovangle, whose first el. might then be O.E. *Ofa* pers. n. *Angel,* the name of the district from which the Angles came, may belong here ; *see* on this name especially Erdmann, Über die Heimat und den Namen der Angeln, Uppsala 1891. Cf. Angle (Pembr.) on Angle Bay.

Salt Ayre : *Ayre* is O.N. *eyrr* " gravel-bank." The word is often found denoting islands or water-meadows, former sand-banks, in the Lune valley. High and Low Ayre are low-lying meadows, liable to floods, W. of Tunstall. Green Ayre (*Green-aer* 1778 West, Guide to the Lakes p. 18) is now part of Lancaster. Cf. also under Skerton. Salt Ayre is still partly submerged at high water.

11. **Poulton, Bare,** and **Torrisholme,** on Morecambe Bay[1] ; originally three manors. The township is also called Morecambe from the modern town of this name.

Poulton-le-Sands (old vil.) : *Poltune* DB, *Pulton* 1201 LPR, 1212 LI, 1332 LS,

[1] The identification of Morecambe Bay (formerly Kent Sands) with Ptolemy's *Moricambe,* which gave rise to the name Morecambe Bay, seems to have been made first by Whitaker, History of Manchester, 1771 (I, 125). It was accepted by West, Antiquities of Furness, 1774, and the new name was soon generally adopted.

etc., *Poulton* 1226 LI; *Putton* 1200 LPR, *Pilton* 1205 ib. are no doubt corrupt. The old vil. stood near the sea, and must have been named from some pool or brook (O.E. *pōl, pull*), perhaps from Bare Beck, which falls into the sea a little to the E.

Bare (v.): *Bare* DB, 1094 Ch, 1212 LI, 1332 LS, etc., *Bar* 1206 LF, *Barre* 1220-25 FC II. Probably O.E. *bearo* "grove"; *Bar* 1206 no doubt stands for *Bar'*, *i.e.*, *Bare.*

Torrisholme (h.): *Toredholme* DB, *Toroldesham* 1201 LPR, *Turoldesholm* 1204, 1210 ib., *Thoraldesholm* 1206 LC, *Thoroldesholm, Thoroudesholm* 1212 LI, *Thoredesholm* 1233 LF, *Thorisholme* 1323 LI, *-holm* 1332 LS, *Torisholm* 1322 LF, 1327 LS, *Torryshulme* 1557 LF. The elements of the name are *Þorold* pers. n. from O.N. *Þóraldr* and O.N. *holmr*. *T-* instead of *Th-* is due to A.N. influence. The place is situated at the S. end of a ridge reaching 150ft.; the surrounding country is low.

Hestham (in Poulton). The name no doubt goes back to earlier *Hestholm* from O.N. *hestr* "horse" and *holmr*; cf. *de Hestholm* 1332 LS (Marton, Am.). The place is on a slight elevation in low-lying country.

12. **Skerton** (N. of the Lune opposite to Lancaster): *Schertune* DB, *escartonam* 1094 Ch, *Schereton* c 1190 Ch, *Skerton* 1201ff. LPR, 1212 LI, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., *Schaerton* 1249 LI, *Skirton* 1310 LF, *Skyrton* 1557 LF; now [skə·tn]. The old village stands on the bank of the Lune opposite to a low flat islet called Cow Shard; further up-stream are Stake Ayre, Rabbit Ayre and others. I have no doubt the name means "the village at the ayre or gravel-bank." The first el. is O.N. *sker* "skerry," etc. The ayres were originally gravel-banks such as one sees to-day in different parts of the lower Lune. In Engl. dialects *scar* (O.N. *sker*) means among other things "a bed of rough gravel or stones; a spit of sand running into a lake" (EDD).

Beaumont (the N. half of the township): *Belli Montis* 1190 FC, *Bellum Montem* 1292 ib., *Belmunt* 1212 LI, *de Beaumont* 13 cent. LC, *Beamond* c 1320 LI, *de Bemound* 1332 LS; now [bo·mənt]. The name is obviously French and means "the beautiful hill." The place, which belonged to Furness Abbey, is in a fairly high situation and well deserves the name.—*Neuhuse* DB is said to have embraced Beaumont (VHL VIII. 59).

Scale Hall: *Scale* 1577 Saxton. "The hut"; O.N. *skáli.*

13. **Caton** (N.E. of Lancaster, S. of the Lune; v.): *Catun* DB, *Catton* 1186, 1197ff. LPR, 1212 LI, 1273 LAR, *Caton* 1185, 1196 LPR, 1327 LS, 1395 LF, etc., *Katon* 1233 LF, 1251 IPM, *Kaiton* 1664 RW 52; now [ke·tn]. The first el. of the name is no doubt a pers. n., *e.g.*, O.E. *C(e)atta* or O.N. *Káti.* If the modern pronunciation is not due to the spelling, it is most probably O.N. *Káti*, as that form might account for both the forms *Catton* and *Caton*; *see* Layton p. 155. Cf. Catton, Norf. (*Cateluna, Cattuna, Catuna* DB), Yks. (*Cattune* DB), Caton, Dev.

Crag House: *del Crag* 1332 LS. Cf. p. 9.

Grassyard or **Gresgarth**: *Gresgarthe* 1577 Saxton, *Gresyard, Girsgarth* 1589 RW 85. O.N. *gres* "grass" and *garðr* "enclosure."

Littledale (the S. part of Caton): *Luteldale* 1226 LI, *Liteldale* 1251 IPM. "The little valley."

Tongue Moor (in Littledale): *Tonge more* 1588 RW 222, *Tangmore* 1636 RW 80,

Tungmore 1639 RW 295. The place is in the tongue of land between Foxdale Beck and a tributary of it. The first el. is probably the O.E. *tang* " fork of a river," discussed p. 18.

Winder (near Artle Beck; now perhaps lost, but found in O.M. 1846-51): *Wynder* (family name) 1501 CC (Caton). *See* Winder in Cartmel p. 197.

14. **Gressingham** (a detached township N. of the Lune, near Hornby): *Ghersinctune* DB, *Gersingeham* 1183, 1194 LPR, *Guersingueham* 12 cent. LC, *Gersingham* 1204 LPR, 1235 LF, 1285 LAR, etc., *Gersinghaim* 1204-12 CC 921 (orig.), *de Gersinghaym* 1246 LAR, *Karsingeham* 1212 RB; *Gressingham* 1206 LPR, 1246 LAR, *Gressyngham* 1341 IN. The name may be compared with Grassington, Yks. (*Ghersintone* DB), Gressenhall, Norf. (*Gressinghal* 1275 HR), Grassendale in Garston (p. 111). The first el. seems to be M.E. *gresing, grasing* " pasturing, pastureland " (1440, etc.), a derivative of O.E. *gærs* or O.N. *gras* (*gres*). As regards the interchange of *Gers-* and *Gres-* cf. M.E. *gers, gres* " grass." The second el. seems to be O.E. *hām*; cf. the isolated forms in *-haim*, due to Scand. influence. But O.E. *hamm* is also possible. The name seems to mean " grazing-farm."

Eskrig: *Escrig* 1202 LF, *escrig* 1204-12 CC 921 (orig.). The place stands on a ridge. The name goes back to an O.N. *Eskihryggr* " ash ridge."

Higher, Lower Snab: *the Snabbe* 1584 DL, *Snab* 1673 RW 316. The places are on a slope. *Snab* " a steep place or ascent; a rugged rise or point " is evidenced in NED from 1797.

CLAUGHTON PAR.

A single-township par. S. of the Lune, E. of Caton.

Claughton (v.): *Clactun* DB, *Clahton* 1208 LF, 1226 LI, 1252 IPM, 1255 IPM, *Clacton* 1212 LI, 1246 LAR, *Clauton* 1241 LF, *de Clafton* 1246 LAR, *Clagton* 1255 IPM, *Clatton* 1257 LAR, *Claghton* 1297 LI, 1327, 1332 LS, etc., *Claughton* 1297 LI; now [klaftn]. Claughton vil. is at the foot of Claughton Moor, which rises steeply to some 1,000ft. above sea-level. The name is identical with Claughton in Am., and may like that have for its first el. a pers. n. *Clac* (from O.N. *Klakkr*) or O.N. *klakkr* " a hill," etc.

HEYSHAM PAR.

A district on the sea, W. of Lancaster, S. of Morecambe.

Heysham, Higher and Lower (hamlets): *Hessam* DB, *Hesseim, Heseym* 1094 Ch, *Hesheim* 1180-99 Ch (orig.), *Hesam* 1212-17 RB, 1297 LI, etc., *Hessein* 1194 LPR, *Hessem* 1201 LPR, *Hesham* c 1190 Ch, 1208 LF, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., *Hesaim* 1212 LI, *Heesam* 1246 IPM, *de Heshaym* 1259 IPM, *Hesaym* 1272-5 FC II. (orig.); *Heghsham* 1323 LI, *Hyseham* 1557 LF; *magna, parva Hesham* LC 298, *Hesaym Superiori* 1285-8 FC II., *Nethir-hessam* 1297 LI; now [hi·ʃəm], but Ellis, p. 626, gives the form [ːiisʊm].

The second el. of the name seems to be O.E. *hām* rather than *hamm*; it is often Scandinavianized to *-haym*, etc. The first is no doubt O.E. *hæs*. This word corresponds to a L.G. word very common in place-names (as *Hees, Haiss*, etc.) and apparently still in living use in the form *hees* or *hese*; the meaning seems to be " brushwood, underwood " (cf. Förstemann, Namenbuch 1196ff., Nomina

Geographica Neerlandica III. 338). The base of the word is **haisiō*; cf. *Silva Cœsia* (=*Heserwald*) in Tacitus. O.E. *hǣs* is often used in names of swine-pastures. This seems to tell us that at least its original meaning was "beach or oak wood." The same stem is found in M.L.G. *heister*, *hêster*, M.H.G. *heister*[1] "young tree," especially "young oak or beech." Examples of O.E. *hǣs* are: *hæse* 831 BCS 400 (orig.), *Linga hæse* 793 BCS 265 (orig.; now Hayes in Midds.), *Hese* (Kent) 838 BCS 418. The O.E. form *hēs(e)* is due to the Kentish sound-change $\bar{æ} > \bar{e}$, and *hyse*, *hœse*, which also occur, are inverted spellings due to the changes $\bar{y}$, $\bar{æ} > \bar{e}$ (in Kentish, etc.).

Cross Copp (on a small hill N. of Heysham): *Crossecoppe* 1272-5 FC II., 1285-8 *ib.* O.E. *copp* means "top, summit."

Sugham Fields (on a slight elevation, 57ft. above sea-level): *Suggeholm* c 1280 FC II., LC 292. The second el. is O.N. *holmr*. The first is difficult to determine. O.E. *Sucga* pers. n., *sucge* in O.E. *hegesucge* "hedge-sparrow," dial. *sug* "a morass, soft, boggy ground," Swed., Norw. dial. *sugga* "sow" may be thought of.

HALTON PAR.

A district N. of the Lune, N.E. of Lancaster.

Halton (township; v.): *Haltune* DB, *Haltun* c 1225 FC II., *Halgton*, *Halghton* 1246-51 LI, *Halehton* 1251 IPM, *Halton* 1243 LI, 1246 LAR, 1252 LI, 1332 LS, etc. O.E. *halh* and *tūn*. The village stands on the Lune, where there is a narrow strip of flat ground. *Halh* seems to mean "haugh," *i.e.*, "flat river meadow."

Aughton (on the Lune; h.): *Aghton* 1320-46 CS 74, 1458 TI; now [aftn]. O.E. *Ăc-tūn* "oak town."

Holgill (on Holgill Brook): *Hollegyll* 1329 LC, *Hollgill* 1331 *ib.* O.E. *hol(h)* or O.N. *holr* adj. "hollow" and *gill* "a ravine."

Sideyard or **Sidegarth** (near Aughton): *Sydeyard*, *Shydeyard* 1323 LI, *Sideyard* 1458 TI. The same name is found in Caton: *le Sigard*, *boscum de Sidyard* a 1250 CC. The first el. is no doubt O.E. *sīd* adj., with the meaning "large" or perhaps "distant." The second varies between O.E. *geard* and O.N. *garðr*.

Strellas: *Stralous* 1210-35 FC II., *Stralaw(e)s* 1366-7 *ib.* Strellas Lane, S. Beck, and S. Bridge are c 1 m. N.W. of Halton vil., near a couple of hills, one of 300ft. I suppose the name consists of O.N. *strá* (or possibly O.E. **strā* by the side of *strēa*) "straw" and O.E. *hlāw* "hill."

Stub Hall: *de Stub* 1212 LI, *Stubbe* 1376 LF, *le Stub* 1458 TI. O.E. *stubb* "stub, stump of a tree."

MELLING PAR.

The nucleus of this parish is the tongue of land between the Lune and the Wenning. To the N. of the Lune is Arkholme with Cawood, and S. of the Wenning is a large district consisting to a great extent of fell country. Most of the district is hilly.

[1] I am inclined to believe that a word corresponding to G. *heister* is the first el. of Hesterheugh (a hill at Yetholm, Scotland): *Hesterhoh* 12 cent. Hist. St. Cuthbert (Sim. Durh. p. 139). As G. *heister* seems to go back to a base **haistra-*, *Hester-* must, if my suggestion is correct, be derived from a side-form with an *iōn*-suffix (*haistriōn-*); cf. O.E. *bēce* "beech" (O.H.G. *buohha*), *birce*, *pyrne* by the side of *beorc*, *þorn*, etc. (Kluge, Stammbildungslehre, § 83.)

1. Melling with Wrayton.

Melling (near the Lune; v.): *Mellinge* DB, *Mellynges* 1094 Ch, c 1200 LC, *Mellingues* 12 cent. LC, *Mellinges* 1196f. LPR, 1271 LAR, *Melling* c 1190 Ch, 1227 ChR, 1246 LF, etc., *Mellyng* 1332 LS, 1363, 1375 LF; *Malling* 1229 LF. Melling represents an O.E. *Mellingas*, a patronymic derived either from O.E. *Moll* or from the stem *Mall-* in Malling, Kent, and Suss. It is identical with Melling in De, p. 119.

Wrayton (old manor): *Wraiton* 1229 LF, *Wretton* 1227 ChR, *Wraton* 1271 LAR, 1327, 1332 LS, *de Wraton* 1247 CC. Further examples in Lindkvist p. 199. First el. O.N. *(v)rá* "corner." The place stands on the Greeta in a situation remote from the main valley.

Cringleber (at a small round hill). The name means "round hill," the first el. being O.N. *kringla* "circle" (cf. O.N. *kringlu-mýrr* "round marsh"), the second O.E. *beorh* or O.N. *berg* "hill." Cf. Cringlebarrow p. 189 and *Cringelborhanes*, etc., p. 85.

2. Hornby (v., castle: near the confluence of the Wenning and the Lune): *Hornebi* DB, 1212 LI, *Horneby* 1227, 1229 LF, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., *Hornby* 1297 LI, 1500 LF, *Horne Castelle* c 1540 Leland. The first el. of the name is a dissyllabic word, no doubt the pers. n. *Horne* DB (probably Scand.). It is noteworthy that *Horni* seems only to be evidenced in E.Scand. sources.

3. Farleton (on the S. bank of the Lune): *Fareltun* DB, 1154-89 Ind, *Farletones* 1208 LF, *Farelton* 1212 LI, *Farleton* 1235 LF, 1246 LAR, etc., *Farlton* 1243 LI, *ffarleton* 1332 LS. The name is apparently identical with Farleton, Wml.: *Fareltun* DB, c 1170 Ind., *Farletone* 1190-5 Ch, *Farlton* 1227, *Farleton* 1244 (Sedgefield). The first el. of the name would seem to be a pers. n. It might be O.N. *Faraldr* (cf. Björkman, Namenkunde). But in view of Farlham, Cumb. (: *Farlam* 1169, etc., *Farlham* 1234, etc.: Sedgefield) it is perhaps rather the somewhat doubtful O.N. *Farle* (cf. Björkman, *op. cit.*) or an O.E. name corresponding to it and derived from the stem *Fara-* found in O.G. names (cf. Förstemann).

Akefrith (old manor; now lost): *Farleton Eichefrid* 1154-89 Ind, *Farleton Okesrith* (for *-frith*) 1246 LF, *Akefrith* man. 1529 DL. O.E. *āc* "oak" (in the earliest ex. Scandinavianized; cf. O.N. *eik*) and *fyrhþ* "frith."

4. Arkholme with Cawood (between the Lune and the Keer, N.W. of Melling).

Arkholme (v.): *Ergune* DB, *Argun* 1195 LPR, *Argum* 1196 ib., *Erghum* 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, *Hergun* 1243 LI, *Ergum* 1271 LAR, 1279 ChR, *Arwyn* 1519 LF, *Erholme* 1539 LF. The dat. pl. of *ergh, argh* "shieling, mountain pasture" (*see* p. 10). The township is hilly; it reaches 466ft. at Cragg Lot. Arkholme vil. is near the Lune.

Cawood: (nemus de) *Kawode* c 1225, c 1250 CC, (moss of) *Cawode* c 1350 LPR. Cf. *Cavuda* (silva) CC 469 (Hoole, Leyl.) and Cawood, Yks. (Lindkvist p. 184). First el. M.E. *kā* "jack-daw," probably a native word. Cawood was the forest of the lords of Melling.

Gunnerthwaite (near the Keer): *Gunnerthwait* 1633 RW 26. "The thwaite of Gunnarr." *Gunnarr* is a well-known O.N. name.

Kitlow (on a hill): *Kydloo* 1445 VHL VIII. 205, *Kitley* 1647 RW 309. This might be an old **Ketilhow*, "the how (O.N. *haugr*) of *Ketill*."

Locka: *Lochawe* 1271 LAR, *de Loghagh* 1325 LCR, *de Logkagh* 1326 ib. O.E. **lochaga* from *loc* "lock, enclosure, fold" and *haga* "enclosure."

Storrs : *de Stordis* 1243 LI, *Estrodes* 1271 LAR, *the Storthes* c 1350 LPR, *del Storches* 1332 LS, *Storres* c 1590 RW 263. O.N. *storð* " brushwood, underwood."

5. **Wennington** (h.) : *Wennigetun, Wininctune* DB, *Wenington* 1212 LI, *Wenigton* 1227 ChR, 1271 LAR, *Weninton* 1229 LF, 1243 LI, *Wenyngton* 1332 LS, 1346 LF, etc. The hamlet stands on the river Wenning, whose name is evidenced from 1165 on, and it would seem obvious that the first el. of the name is that of the river. But Old Wennington (*Old Wenigton* 1227 ChR, *Old Weninton* 1229 LF) stands near the Greeta. If the epithet *Old* may be taken to prove that the original Wennington was that on the Greeta, it does not seem quite probable that it was named after the Wenning. If it is not, Wennington, like Wennington in Hunts, must have as its first el. the patronymic *Wenningas* (from O.E. *Wenna* pers. n.). I am inclined to prefer the second alternative. The river-name would then have to be explained either as a back-formation from Wennington (which, in view of the early occurrence of the name, is somewhat hard to believe) or else as an independent derivative of the pers. n. *Wenna* : " the stream belonging to Wenna," no doubt the same Wenna as the ancestor of the Wennings.

Hutton (on a ridge or hill between Wennington and Old Wennington) : *Hoton* a 1227 CC, *Hotunn* a 1242 ib. First el. O.E. *hōh* " ridge," etc. Cf. the same name in Leyl.

6. **Roeburndale** (a wide tract of hill country on both sides of the Roeburn) : *Reburndale* 1285 IPM, *Rebrundale, Reynbrundale* 1301 FC II., *Reburncedal* 1341 IN, *Rybburndale* 1372 Gaunt R, *Roberundale* 1528 LF. " The valley of the Roeburn."

Harterbeck (on a brook) : *Hatherbecke* 1576 RW 277, *Harterbeck* 1587 ib., *Hartherbecke* 1609 ib. 24. The first el. may be identical with that of Harter Fell, Cumb. (*Herterfel* c 1210 FC II.), *i.e.*, the gen. of O.N. *hiǫrtr* " hart " or *Hiǫrtr* pers. n.

Haylot (on the slope of Haylot Fell) : *Hailett* 1584, *Hayloth* 1624 RW 228. No doubt literally " hay lot " ; *lot* means " allotment for grazing on a fell." An early example of this *lot* is *Yuclotesheuede* 1228 ClR, which means " Yew Lot Hill."

Mallowdale (near the Roeburn, on the slope of Mallowdale Fell) : *Malydall* 1574 RW 277, *Malladale* 1640 RW 159. Probably simply " mallow dale."

Outhwaite (on the lower Roeburn) : *Wlvetheit* 1199 ChR, *Ulthuayte* 1528 LF. Probably " the thwaite of Ulf " ; *Ulfr* is a common O.N. name.

Salter (on the slope of Goodber Fell) : *Salter* 1612, 1625 RW 222, *Lower Salter* 1613 RW 310. The name is identical with Salter in Cumb. (*Salterghe* 12 cent.), a compound of O.N. *salt* sb. or *saltr* adj. " salt " and *ergh* " a shieling." The meaning of the first el. is not obvious.

Scambler (apparently lost) : *Scamler* 1536 DL, *Scambeler* 1569 ib. The first el. is apparently the Scand. pers. n. *Skamel* (found in O.Dan. ; cf. O.N. *Skamkell*), found also in *Scamelbrec* c 1250 Wetherhal Reg. The second is no doubt *ergh* " a shieling."

Smeer Hall : *Smerhawe* 1418 TI, *Smearehaw* 1639 RW 317. The second el. is probably O.E. *haga* or O.N. *hagi* " enclosure." The first is apparently O.N. *smiǫr* " butter." The meaning of the name would be something like " fat pasture." In Scand. place-names *smōr* " butter " is sometimes used to denote

good soil or the like. In Swed. dialects *smörmåse* means " a pasture where cows give the best butter." Cf. Lindroth, Ortnamn på *-rum*, p. 70. But the first el. may also be O.E. *smeoru* with a sense " mire " or the like.

Stauvin : *Stoneing* 1646, *Stouvin, Stowing* 1678 RW 24, *Stowving* 1786 Yates ; now [stauvin]. Etymology obscure.

Winder (on the slope of Caton Moor) : *Hye Winder* 1618 RW 317. Cf. Winder in Cartmel, p. 197.

7. **Wray with Botton** (a long strip of hillside land along the Hindburn).

Wray (v.) : *Wra* 1227 ChR, 1229 LF, 1271 LAR, etc., *Wraa* 1327, 1332 LS ; now [re·]. The village stands on the Hindburn in a rather remote and out-of-the-way situation. The name is O.N. *(v)rá* " corner."

Botton : *de Bottun* c 1230 CC, *Botine* 1246 LF I. 95, *Botten* 1341 IN ; *Botnebek* 1235 LF. Botton is the district round the upper Hindburn valley. The name is O.N. *botn* " bottom ; the innermost part of a valley," also used as a place-name in Iceland. An essentially correct explanation is given by Sephton.

Summersgill : *Somerscall* 1606 RW 222. " Summer scale or hut," " hut for use in summer " (O.N. *sumarr* " sommer " and *skáli* " hut "). The place is on a hill side.

Thrushgill : *Thursgill* 1631 RW 317, *Thurskeale* 1672 RW 293. The elements of the name are apparently O.N. *þurs* " giant " and *gil* " ravine." Higher and Lower T. are on the steep slope W. of the Hindburn. Cf. *Thursgyll* c 1350 LPR (near Capernwray) and *Thursegilemos* CC 958 (Bland, Yks.).

TATHAM PAR.

A narrow strip of hilly country between the Hindburn and the Yorkshire border, chiefly S. of the Wenning. The church, however, is on the N. bank of the river. There is only one township.

Tatham : *Tathaim* DB, 1215 LPR, *Tateham* 1202, 1463 LF, *Thatham, Thataim* 1212 LI, *Tatham* 1226 LI, 1317 LF, 1327, 1332 LS, etc., *Tatam* 1297 LI. O.E. *Tāta*, a common pers. n., and *hām*, sometimes supplanted by O.N. *heimr*. There is no village Tatham ; it must have been on the Wenning.

High Gale : *Gail* a 1225 CC. O.N. *geil* " ravine."

Gamblesholme (on the Hindburn, E. of Wray) : *Gamelsholme* 1661 RW 258. First el. the O.N. pers. n. *Gamall*.

Ivah : *Ivo* 1520, 1597 DL, *Ive* 1528 LF, *Ivoth* 1603 RW 317, *Iva(h)* 1631 RW 277. The place is close to Ivah Great Hill (647ft.). The name is obscure ; the second el. may be O.N. *hǫfuð* " head, hill."

Lowgill : *Lawgill* 1520 DL, 1528 LF. Probably " low ravine."

Lythe (on the slope of Lythe Fell) : *Lyeth* 1588 RW 37. O.N. *hlíð* " slope."

Robert Hall (old seat) : *Robertes hall* 1577 Saxton. The place was named after Robert Cansfield, who inherited it in 1515 at the age of three (VHL).

Whiteray (on Whiteray Beck) : *Wytewra* 1235 LF, *Whitraye* 1622 RW 311. The place is high up among the hills. The elements of the name are O.N. *hvítr* or O.E. *hwīt* " white " and O.N. *(v)rá* " corner," etc.

THORNTON PAR. (Yks.)

Ireby township on the Yks. border belongs to Thornton par. in Yks., but is reckoned as belonging to Lancashire, owing to early connection with Tatham. The township is situated E. of the Lune and Whittington.

Ireby (v.): *Irebi* DB, *Yreby* 1212 LI, *Yrebi* 1215 LPR, *Ireby* 1241, 1317 LF, etc., *Yrby* 1297 LI, *Irby* 1332 LS. Cf. Ireby in Cumb., Irby in Ches. The first el. is the pers. n. *Ire* (O.N. *Iri*) or, more probably, *Ira*, the gen. of O.N. *Irar* "Irishmen."

TUNSTALL PAR.

This parish, situated between the Lune and the Greeta, forms the N.E. part of the hundred. The surface is level along the Lune, but rises to considerable altitudes in the N.E. on the Yks. border.

1. **Cantsfield** (between Cant Beck and the Greeta; v.): *Cantesfelt* DB, *Canceveld* 1202 LF, *Cancefeld* 1208, 1229, 1235 LF, *Kancefeld* 1243 LI, *Cancefeud* 1271 LAR, *Caunsfeld* 1327, 1332 LS, *Cauntefeld* 1341 IN, now [kansfi·ld]. The early forms are a good deal influenced by Norman spelling. We may start from a late O.E. *Cantesfeld*. The first el. has some connection with the name *Cant Beck*. But Cantsfield vil. stands some way S. of Cant Beck on a small tributary of the latter. Yet it is no doubt possible to derive *Cantes-* from *Cant*, the name of the brook (found from 1202). On the other hand, *Cant* may be a back-formation from *Cantesfeld*, and the first el. of the latter may be **Cant* pers. n., a side-form of *Canta*, which is no doubt a pet form of names such as *Cantwine* (*Centwine*). I am inclined to prefer the second alternative. The vil. and hall stand at a piece of level land extending to Cant Beck.

Laithbutts: *Lathebolt* 1202 LF. There seems to have been a place called Lathebote in Whittington: *Lathebote* 1219 LF, *-bot* a 1219, c 1260 CC. Cf. also *Lathebot* c 1200 CC 579 (Ainsdale, De.). Laithbutts is obviously identical with these two names. The first el. is O.N. *hlaða* "barn." The second may be Norw. dial. *bót* "a piece"; also, "a patch of land." Cf. *bœti* in place-names in the Faroe Islands (Jakobsen), a derivative of *bót*. But it is curious that the combination *Lathebot* is so common. Cf. *Lathebot* (Rimington, Yks.) 1276 PD.

Scaleber (on the slope of a hill near the Yks. border): *Scaleberg(e)* 1202 LF. First el. O.N. *skáli* "hut."

Thurland Castle (W. of Cantsfield vil.): *Thurland* 1465 PatR, 1539 CC, 1577 Saxton, 1586 Camden, *Thorsland* 1500, 1514 DL, *Thurlande* 1577 Harr., *Thursland* 1578 RW 104; *Fyrrelande* c 1540 Leland. The name, according to VHL VIII. 232, does not occur until 1402. The first el. is apparently a Scand. name in *Þōr-*, *Þūr-*. Possibly Thurland is identical with the *Thorolfland* mentioned in CC 903 (1247) under Wennington, which is separated from Cantsfield by the Greeta.

2. **Tunstall** (E. of the confluence of the Greeta and the Lune; v.): *Tunestalle* DB, *Tunstall* 1235 LF, 1246 LAR, 1271 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., *Tunstal* 1227, 1229, 1235 LF, 1246 LAR, *Tunstale* 1338 LF. This is a fairly common place-name occurring in various parts of England (Kent, Suff., Staffs., Yks., Durh., etc.). The name is identical with O.E. *tūnsteall* (O.E. *tūn* and *steall* "place"), which

seems to mean " site of a farm ; farmstead." It may be compared with O.E. *hāmsteall* " homestead " and O.N. names in *-staðr* such as *Bólstaðr*, *Bjárstaðr*, etc. (Rygh, Indl. p. 76).

3. **Burrow with Burrow** (on the Lune) : *Borch* DB, *Burg* 1212 LI, *Burg'* 1252 IPM, *Burgh* 1259 IPM, 1332 LS, etc., *Burras* 1577 Saxton, *Burros* 1577 Harr. There were two manors, distinguished as Over and Nether Burrow : *Over-*, *Nethirburgh* 1370 LF. Burrow is, of course, O.E. *burh* " fortified place." There are remains of a Roman fort (VHL II. p. 519). A Roman road runs along the E. boundary of the township.

Cowan Bridge (at Leck Beck) : *Collingbrigke*, *Colligbrige* c 1200 CC. First el. presumably *Colling* pers. n. as in Colloway p. 175. There is a place Collin Holme in Tunstall.

High Gale (on Eller Beck) : *Gale* 1465 PatR, *Overgaile* 1606 RW 25. *Gale* is O.N. *geil* " ravine."

4. **Leck** (the N.E. part of the parish ; v.) : *Lech* DB, *Leec* 1196 CC, *Lecke* 1212 LI, *Lec* 1251 IPM, *Leck* 1252 IPM, 1327 LS, *Leek* 1332 LS, 1370 LF. Leck vil. stands on Leck Beck, and, of course, took its name from it. The source is very likely O.N. *lækr* " brook." But the name is found so often in England (cf. *e.g.*, Leake Notts., Yks., Lincs., Leek Staffs., Warw.) that it is difficult to believe that the O.N. word is always the source. Partly the name is probably a side-form without assibilation of Leach, Lache (Glo., Ches.) from an O.E. word for " brook " found in M.E. as *leche*, *lache*, in Mod. E. as *leach*, *letch* (NED s.v. *letch*).

Fairthwaite (apparently lost) : *de Fauerwayt* 1262 LF, *Fagherthwayt* 1324 VHL VIII. 238, *Fayretwhayte parke* 1465 PatR, " The beautiful clearing," O.N. *fagr* " fair " and *þveit* (p. 19).

Old Town (estate) : *Altan* (for *-tun*) 1212 LI. " The old *tūn*." Perhaps the oldest settlement in Leck.

Todgill (Todgilber O.M. 1846-51) : *de Toddegill* 1332 LS, *Todgill* 1590 RW 27. The place stands in a valley by a hill (547ft.). The first el. of the name is no doubt *tod* " a fox " (1170 NED), the second O.N. *gil* " a ravine."

WHITTINGTON PAR.

A single-township par. W. of the Lune. The part near the Lune is level. Whittington proper forms the N. half, Newton with Docker the S. half.

Whittington (v.) : *Witetvne* DB, *Witington* 1212 LI, *Quitinton* a 1219 CC, *Whitington* 1246 LAR, 1327 LS, *Wyttinton* 1252 IPM, *Whitynton* 1332 LS. No doubt an O.E. *Hwītingatūn*, *Hwītingas* being a patronymic derived from *Hwīta*. Whittington was in pre-Conquest time an important place, the centre of the great lordship of Whittington held by Tostig. The vil. is near the Lune.

Bleaze Wood (high up on a hill-side W. of Whittington) : *Blese* a 1219 CC. Cf. Bleasdale p. 165.

Sellet Hall : *magnum Selehout* a 1219 CC, a 1268 ib., *Selleth hall* 1577 Saxton. The place is situated on the slope of Sellet Bank, a hill of 379ft. The name probably represents a Scand. *Selhǫfuð*, from *sel* " hut, shieling " and *hǫfuð* " a hill."

Thirnby (old manor ; the name is now lost) : *Tiernebi* DB, *Thirneby* a 1219 CC,

Thirnebi a 1268 CC. Cf. Thrimby, Wml.: *Tirneby* 1200, *Thirneby* 1241 (Sedgefield). The first el. is no doubt an O.Scand. pers. n. *Thyrne*, found as *Þirne* in a York doc. of 1023 (Björkman, Namenkunde). The name seems to be evidenced only in E.Scand.

West Hall (old manor): *Westhalle* 1416 TI, *West hall* 1577 Saxton. The place is W. of Whittington vil.

Newton (old manor): *Neutune* DB, *Neuton super Lon* a 1219 CC. "The new tūn."

Docker (h.): *Dokker* 1505, 1507 LF, *Docker towne* 1577 Harr. The name is identical with Docker, Wml.: *Docherga* 1294 (Sedgefield). Its second el. is *ergh* "a shieling" (cf. p. 10). The first is perhaps O.N. *dǫkk* "a hollow, valley" (cf. Scandinavians p. 77). The hamlet stands on fairly high ground in a valley, through which runs a brook.

Yarlside is a small round hill of c 250ft. Cf. the same name in Furness (p. 201).

BOLTON-LE-SANDS PAR.

A district N. and N.E. of Lancaster, on Morecambe Bay. The surface is undulating. In the E. elevations of some 400ft. are reached.

1. **Slyne with Hest** (N. of Lancaster).

Slyne (v.): *Sline* DB, *Asselinas* 1094 Ch, *Slynes* c 1190 Ch, *Slina* 1177 LPR, *Slin* 1185 LPR, *Sline* 1203 LPR, 1212 LI, 1246 LAR, 1332 LS, etc., *Slyne*, *Slyndale* 1200-10 FC II., *Slyne* 1246 LAR, etc., *Slene* 1248-51 LI, *de Slen* c 1250 CC, *de Slene* 1332 LS; *de Sleen* c 1200, a 1240 CC; now [slain]. Slyne stands on a ridge. Near Slyne Hall is a small, prominent hill.

The early forms point to a M.E. *Sline* (with short *i*); [slain] must be a spelling-pronunciation. Related names are perhaps *Slynehead* p. 107, Slindon, Staffs. (*Slindone* DB), Slindon, Suss. (*Eslindone* DB). But the last two may have as first el. **slind-*, with *d* lost. I believe Sline goes back to an O.E. **slinu* or the like, related to Norw. dial. *slein* "gently and evenly sloping terrain," *sleina* "to glance aside; to slope." These contain a stem parallel to *hlin-* in O.E. *hlinian* "to lean," Goth. *hlains* "hill," Norw. *lein* "slope," etc., Lat. *clino*, etc. (Torp-Fick 111). Interchange of initial *sk-* and *k-* and the like is a well-known phenomenon in Aryan languages; cf. Noreen, Urg. Lautlehre 201ff., Brugmann I. § 818, and especially Johansson PBB XIV. 289ff., where O.E. *slind*, Ir. *sliss* "side" by the side of O.N. *hlið*, Lat. *clino*, etc., are pointed out. O.E. **slinu* may have meant "a slope"; this seems a suitable meaning here. A meaning "hill" is also possible; cf. especially Goth. *hlains*. As regards the formation of the word we may compare O.E. *cinu* "chink" by the side of O.E. *cīnan* "to burst."

Hest (with Hest Bank, h.): *Hest* 1177ff. LPR, 1212 LI, 1332 LS, etc., *Heste* 1327 LS, *Heest* 1246 LI, *Heast* 1557 LF; now [hest]. This is apparently another interesting old name containing an otherwise lost word. The form *Heest* points to a word with a long vowel, O.E. *Hēst* or *Hēst*. The name is to be compared with the Cont.-Germ. *Haist* dealt with by Förstemann, p. 1198, and considered by him to belong to the L.G. *hees* (*see* Heysham). O.E. **hēst* very likely had about the same meaning as *hēs*. It may be the first el. of *Hesthope* (Shrops.) 1341 IN.

Stapleton Terne (old manor): *Stopeltierne* DB, *Stapiturnam* 1094 Ch, *Stapilthorne* a 1189 FC II., *Stapelthorn* c 1190 Ch, *Stapelthurn* 1201 LPR, *-e* 1212 LI, *Stapilterne* 1201 (orig.), 1220-40 FC II., *Stapelthiern* 1226, *Stappilterne* 1297 LI. O.E. *stapol* " pillar, post " and *þyrne* " thornbush." Cf. *to stapola ðorne* 901 BCS 596, *to ðam ðorne ðær se stapul stent* CD 1096. The meaning seems to be " the thornbush by the staple." The change to Stapleton Terne is due to association with *tern* " tarn."

Ancliffe: *Ancliffe* 1537 FC II., *Lytell, Great Anclyff* 1539 ib. Ancliffe Hall is on a slope. The first el. of the name is doubtful. It may, of course, be the well-known O.E. pers. n. *Anna*.

2. **Bolton-le-Sands** (v.): *Bodeltone* DB, *Boeltone* 1094 Ch, *Bothelton* c 1190 Ch, 1201, 1202 LPR, 1212 LI, 1246 LAR, etc., *Bohtheltun* 1201-16 FC II. (orig.), *Bouelton* 1256-8 LI, *Boulton* 1206 LPR, 1226 LI, *-e* 1248 LI, 1310 LF, *Bolton* 1265 IPM, 1297 LI, 1327, 1332 LS, etc. O.E. *bōþl* " dwelling " and *tūn*; cf. p. 8. The addition *le-Sands* refers to the situation of the village near the sands of Morecambe Bay.

The ground must formerly have been to a great extent marshy, to judge by numerous names in *-myre* " mire," found in early sources, as *Enge-, Wedholmmyre* LC 177. In the marshy land were several pieces of higher land designated by names in *-holm*. Examples are: *Calfholme* c 1240 FC II., *Gerefholm* 1204 LPR (*Grefholm* c 1245 CC) " the greave's holm," *Serlesholme* 1323 LI " the holm of Serle."

Dertren (in Dertren Lane, Yate): *Driterñ* (for *Driterũ, i.e., -rum*) 1204 ChR, *Driterum* 1204ff. FC II. O.N. or O.E. *drit* " dirt " and *rūm*, perhaps " a clearing." The change *-m*>*-n* has a perfect analogy in Dendron p. 209. The nasal seems to have been assimilated to the dental consonants in the words.

Hawkshead: *Houkeshout* 1220-50 CC, *Haukesheued* 1230-50 FC II. O.N. *Haukr* pers. n., and O.N. *hǫfuð* " head; hill," later replaced by Engl. *head*. Cf. *Hokeswelle* LC 182, *Haukeswelle* ib. 215 (in Bolton-le-Sands), which has the same first el.

Hatlex: *in Magnis Hakelakes* 1230-5 FC II., *in Parvis Hakelakes, Litel-, Mekelhakelakes* 1246-67 ib., *de Hakelakes* 1250-70 FC II. 139 (orig.), *Haclex* 1586 RW 93, *Hakles* 1526, *Hackleek* 1557 LF; now [hatliks]. Hatlex farms are on a brook called Hatlex Beck. The second el. of the name is no doubt *lake* sb. " a small stream." The first may be a pers. n., *e.g.*, O.E. *Hacca* or O.N. *Haki*, or possibly *hackle* " stickleback " (found from 1655, but probably a native word representing O.E. **hacule, *hecile*; *see* NED). The plur. form is probably due to the fact that there are (or were) two farms of the name.

Inglebreck: *Hingelbrec* c 1200 CC, *Ingelbrec* 1201-16 FC II. (orig.). Probably O.N. *Ingolfr* or *Ingialdr* pers. n. and *brekka* " hill, slope."

Ramshead (apparently lost): *Ramesheued* c 1204 FC II., *-e* c 1242 ib., *Ramshouth* LC 242, *Rameshout* c 1320 LI. O.E. *ram* " ram " or *Ram* pers. n. and O.E. *hēafod* or O.N. *hǫfuð* " hill."

3. **Kellet,** Nether and Over (townships and villages S.E. of Carnforth): *Chellet* DB, 13 cent. RSB 453, *Kellet* 1194f. LPR, 1242, 1246 LAR, 1297 LI, etc., *Kelled* 1199f. LPR, c 1200 CC, *Kelleth* 1212 LI, *Keleth* 1235-45 FC II., 13 cent. Ind, *Kellett* 1246 LAR, *Kellit* 1257 LAR, *de Kellettes* LC 150. *Kellettam inferiorem* LC 173, *Netherkellet* 1299, 1343 LF, 1332 LS, *-kellett* 1327 LS, *Nether*

Kellettes 1297 LC. *Ovrekellet* 1277 LAR, *Overkellet* 1278 LAR, *Kellet superiori* c 1275 CC, *Ovirkellet* 1285-7 CC, *Ouerkellet* 1332 LS.

Wyld derives the name from O.N. *kelda* " spring " and *hlíð* " slope." In Anglia Beiblatt XXIII. 189 I have expressed some doubt as to the correctness of this etymology. Wyld bases his etymology on the form *de Keldelith* LC 150 (deed from c 1225, but in a late transcript). I am not convinced that *Keldelith* refers to Kellet. There is a Kelleth in Wml., which is often written *Keldelyth* and the like in early sources (*see* Sedgefield). Very likely *Keldelith* in LC refers to Kelleth. Yet I now believe Wyld's derivation is correct; the analogy of Kelleth seems to me convincing. The early reduction of the original form may be due partly to the base having been O.N. **Keldhlíð*, where the *d* would easily be dropped between the *l*'s, partly to A.N. influence. The early change of *-ð* to *-t* is apparently due to A.N. influence (cf. Zachrisson, A.N. Infl. p. 95f.). The name then means " the slope of the spring." Over Kellet stands by Kellet Seeds (470ft.); Nether Kellet is on the slope of a hill. The spring which gave name to the place may have been that mentioned CC 907 : *Yerleskelde* " the earl's spring."

Addington (in Nether Kellet) : *Addington* 1786 Yates. I have found no earlier forms of the name. *Addington* 1311 quoted by Wyld is a mistake for Adlington, Le. If it is an old name in the district, it probably represents O.E. *Addinga tūn.*

Birkland Barrow : *Berchlundberghe, Berkelondberh, Birkelundeberh* 1200-50 CC, *Birklundberg'* 1230-40 FC II. Cf. *Birkelundewra* 1268-75 CC. The place stands on a hill. The name is a compound of *Birkelund* (O.N. *birkilundr* " birch copse ") and O.N. *berg* or O.E. *beorh* " hill."

Capernwray (h., hall) : *de Coupmanwra* c 1200 LC, *Koupemoneswra* 1212 LI, *de Caupemanneswra* 1228 ClR, *de Copmannewra, de Coupmanewro* 1246 LAR, *Copynwra* c 1350 LPR ; now [ke·pnre·]. *See* further Lindkvist, p. 146. O.N. *kaupmaðr* " merchant," here perhaps used as a pers. n. (Lindkvist, Björkman, Personennamen) and O.N. *(v)rá* " corner," etc. The place stands in a remote situation near a brook falling into the Keer.

Helks Wood (near Birkland Barrow) : *le Helkis* c 1270 CC. *Helks* in Lanc. and Yks. dialects means " large detached crags ; a confused pile or range of rocks " (EDD). *Helk* is apparently from O.N. *helkn, hǫlkn* " barren, rocky ground." The loss of *n* probably took place in English, as no form without *n* is evidenced in Scand. languages. Helks Wood is on the slope of a hill reaching 400ft.

WARTON PAR.

A district N. of Lancaster on the lower Keer and Kent Sands. Most of it is hilly, but there is some flat, partly marshy country, especially on the Keer and the Kent estuary.

1. **Carnforth** (S. of the lower Keer ; v.) : *Chreneforde* DB, *Corneford* 1212 BF, *Kernefo̊rd* 1246 LAR, 1312 LF, 1332 LS, etc. (the usual early form), *Carneforde* 1356, *Corneford'* c 1388 FC. The second el. of the name is O.E. *ford* ; the vil. stands on the Keer. The first el. I take to be a form of O.E. *cran* " crane " ; cf. the common name Cranford. It might be a sideform with *e*, identical with *cren* in Barbour. But it is quite possible that *e* (in *Kern-*, etc.) is merely an inverted spelling for *a*, due to the fact that in A.N. *e* often became *a* before *r*, especially

in a pretonic position. *Chreneforde* in DB has an exact parallel in *Crenefort* by the side of *Cranefort* DB (Suffolk). As regards the form *Kerneford* we may compare early forms of Cranwich, Norf.: *Kernewiz* 1275 HR, *Kernewiss* 1283 AP. Metathesis is found in O.E. *cornuc*, for *cronuc*, *cranuc*, a derivative of *cran*. Cf. also Cornbrook, p. 27.

2. **Warton with Lindeth** (N. of the Keer, on Morecambe Bay).

Warton (the E. part; v.): *Wartun* DB, *Warton* 1246 LAR, 1285 LAR, 1332 LS, etc. Probably O.E. *Weard-tūn*, from *weard* "guard"; cf. Warton, Am. The village stands at the foot of the dominating Warton Crag (534ft.), an ancient beacon hill, on which there are remains of an old earth-work. But O.E. *waroð*, *wearð* "shore" is also a possible first el.

Hubberthorne (now lost): *de Huberthorne* 1246 LI, *de Hubrightthorn* 1302 VHL VIII. 178, *Hoburthornes* 1416 TI. The first el. is the L.G. pers. n. *Hubreht*, *Hubrecht*, as in Hubbersty, p. 171.

Hyning: *del Heyning* 1299 LI. Cf. *le Haynigne* (Yks.) Percy C 247, *le Henyng* (Bolton-le-Sands) LC 186, 190. The name is identical with *haining* "enclosure" (1535, etc.); cf. *hain* "enclosure" (1205ff.), *hain* "to enclose" (15 cent.) from O.N. *hegna* "to fence" (NED).

Maureholme (a lost old manor): *Maureholme* (cultura) c 1240 FC II., *Moureholm* 1324 IPM, *Morholm'*, *Moreholme* 1356 FC, *Maureholme* 1431 FA. *See* further Lindkvist, p. 148, who derives the name from O.N. *maurr* "ant" and *holmr* "island," etc. M. is supposed to have stood on a hillock E. of Warton.

Tewitfield (or **-mire**): *Tewhitmyre* c 1388 FC, *Tuwhitfeld* 1500 DL. First el. *tew(h)it* "lapwing or pewit."

Lindeth (the W. part): *Lyndeheved* 1344, 1347 OR, *Lyndhevede*, *Lindheved*, *Lindehevede* 1356 FC, *Lyndesheved* 1412 FC, *Lynteth* 1501, *Lyndeth* 1537 CC. O.E. *lind* "lime-tree" and *hēafod* "head; headland." L. occupies a steep headland. The change of *-d* to *-th* may be due to association with the word *heath*.

Fleagarth: *Flegarth* 1548 DL. The first el. is doubtful. O.N. *flá* "a small ledge on a hill-side" may be suggested.

3. **Borwick** (N.E. of Carnforth, on the N. bank of the Keer; v.): *Bereuuic* DB, *de Berwik* 1228 ClR, *Berewyk* 1285 LAR, 1323 LI, *-wik* 1327 LS, *Berwik* 1332 LS, 1518 DL, *-wyk* 1446 LF, *Barwyc hall* 1577 Harr. O.E. *berewīc* "berewick, demesne farm"; cf. Barton p. 38. The change of *e* or *a* to *o* is remarkable, but late; *Borwyc* 1255 LI is probably corrupt for *Berwyc*.

4. **Priest Hutton** (N.E. of Borwick; v.): *Hotune* DB, *Hoton* 1327, 1332 LS, 1382 LF, *Presthoton* 1406 CR, 1438, 1443 LF. Cf. Hutton p. 136. The village stands at a spur of land in a sheltered position. *Priest* was added to distinguish the place from Hutton Roof in Kirkby Lonsdale (Wml.). The manor was in the hands of the rector of Warton.

5. **Yealand** (W. of Burton in Kendal; there are two townships, old manors and villages, Yealand Redmayne and Yealand Conyers): *Jalant* DB, *de Yaland* 1206 LC, *Yaland* 1200-25 CC; *Hielande* 1202 LF, *Hieland* 1204-12 CC (orig.), 1207 LF; *Yeland* 1190 CC, 1208 LF, 1212 LI, 1243 LI, etc., *Ieland* 1227 LF, *Yelond* 1246 LF, 1332 LS; *Yholand* 1246 LAR; *Mukelelond*, *Litylelond* 1323 LI, *Elandes* 1577 Saxton; *Yeland Redman* 1395 LF, 1341 IN, *Yeland Coygners* 1301 LF, 1341 IN, *Yeland Conyers* 1353 LF; now [jelənd].

The etymology depends upon whether the early forms *Hieland(e)*, *Yholand* are to be disregarded or not. An inorganic *H-* is not uncommon in early forms of names, but in this name they are unusually frequent. If the name originally began in *H-* I would derive it from O.E. *Hēaland*; if not, from O.E. *Ēaland*. The villages are situated on the E. slope of a ridge; " high land " is an accurate name. On the other hand, Leighton Beck is less than a mile N. of Yealand Conyers village and forms the N. boundary of the township; but the intervening land is occupied by White Moss. O.E. *Ealand* would mean " the land by the stream." The first alternative seems to me distinctly preferable.[1] We must in any case assume that O.E. *ēa* became [ja] and [je]. *Hēa-* would have become [hja], and by loss of [h] in this unusual position [ja]. A change of *ēa* to *ya, ye* is found elsewhere; *see, e.g.*, Zachrisson, A.N. Infl. p. 65f. The relation between *Yaland* and later *Yeland* is not sufficiently clear.—After the Conquest, Yealand was divided into two manors named from the families by which they were held.

Cringlebarrow Wood (on a hill S.W. of Yealand Redmayne). Cf. Cringleber, p. 180.

Hilderston (near Leighton Beck): *Hildriston* a 1190 CC, *Hildrestona* 1190 CC, *de Hildreston* 1260 CC, *Hildrestonheuet* a 1220 CC. The first el. is obviously an O.E. pers. n. in *Hild-*, perhaps *Hildered*, found in the time of Canute, or *Hilderic*, as in Hildersham, Cambr. (*Hildricesham* DB).

Leighton (old manor): *Betheleghton* 1246 LF, *de Lecton* 1255 LI, *Leghton* 1301 LF, *Leghton Conyers* 1325 LF; now [le·tn]. O.E. *lēactun* " garden." *Bethe-* in the earliest quotation may stand for *Beche-, i.e., Beck*; cf. Leighton Beck. Leighton Hall stands a good way from Leighton Beck stream, and Leighton is a part of Yealand Conyers, which is separated from Leighton Beck by Yealand Redmayne. We must assume that in early days Leighton extended as far as Leighton Beck, as it could give that brook its name. This is corroborated by the fact that Leighton House stands N. of Leighton Beck (in Wml.). Probably Leighton was in pre-Conquest time the name of the whole district occupied by the Yealands. But *Bethe-* might also be a form of the name Beetham. Leighton before the Conquest belonged to Beetham lordship (Wml.). Early forms of Beetham[2] are: *Biedvn* DB, *Bethum* 1190-9 Ch.

Waitholme (on an elevation in mossy land). Cf. Waitham, p. 198.

Yealand Storrs (near Yealand Redmayne and Storrs Moss): *Yelondstorthes* 1558 LF, *Yealand Stors* 1593 RW 126. Cf. Storrs, p. 181.

6. **Silverdale** (on Morecambe Bay; v.): *Selredal* 1199 ChR, 1246 LF, *de Sellerdal* 1246 LAR, *Sellerdal* 1341 IN, *Celverdale* 1292 PW, *Siluerdale* 1320-46 CS 74, *Silverdale* 1382, 1507 LF.[3] Silverdale proper is no doubt the valley in which the church stands. The name simply means " silver valley." It refers to the silver-grey rocks which form a prominent characteristic of the place. Such

[1] Wyld suggests as first el. the O.E. word corresponding to G. *gau* (O.E. *-gē*, etc.). This would not account for the early forms.

[2] Beetham is apparently a Scand. name, identical with (*Ind-, Ut*)*bjoe* in Bergenhus, Norway; cf. *Wthbiwdom* 1482. *Bjoe* is O.N. *Bióðar*, pl. of *bjóðr* " a table," etc. The name refers to flat ground (NG. xi, 90f.).

[3] Forms such as *Syfrethelegh* 1202, *Siuerdelege* 1241 LF, refer to a place in De.

lime-stone rocks are found especially in the high ridge N. of the church (called Silverdale Nab by West, Guide to the Lakes, 1778), at the cove near the sea where Cove Hall is, and in the hill E. of the church. No doubt these cliffs were formerly to be seen in more places than they are now.

Challen Hall : *Challendhall* 1574 RW 301 ; now [tʃalən hɔ·l]. *Challen* is probably a family name ; cf. Challen in Bardsley.

BURTON IN KENDAL PAR.

This parish is in Wml. with the exception of one township.

Dalton : *Dalton* a 1225 CC, 1228, 1235 LF, etc. The place seems to have been named from the valley N. of Dalton Hall.

Deerslet or Deerslack : *de Duresslet* 1324 LI, *Durslett* 1451, 1461 CC. Apparently O.E. *dēor* or O.N. *dýr* " deer " and O.N. *slētta* " flat ground," whence Yks. dial. *sleet* " a flat meadow ; a level moor " (EDD).

LONSDALE HUNDRED, NORTH OF THE SANDS

This district, which is separated from the rest of the hundred by a strip of Westmorland, forms the southernmost part of the Lake District. It is bounded on the E. by the Kent estuary, the Winster, and Lake Windermere, on the W. by the Duddon, on the N. by the Duddon and the Brathay. It consists to a great extent of fell country, and abounds with lakes or tarns, rivers and streams, and hills with distinctive names. Settlements of importance are found chiefly in the southern parts, and to some extent in the river valleys and on the lakes.

Names of Rivers

Winster (a trib. of the Kent) : *Wynster* 1577 Saxton, *Winstar* 1577 Harr. Cf. *Winstirthwaytes* 1249 (Sedgefield), stated to be an early form of Winster in Kendal, also *Wynster* 1538 RW 215 (a place). I identify the name with *Vinstra*, the name of two rivers in Norway. *Vinstra* is derived by Bugge (in Rygh, N.E. 342) from the adj. *vinstri* " left." The Winster may have been called " the left one " in contradistinction to the Leven, which forms the W. boundary of the Cartmel district, while the Winster forms the E. boundary. Or the comparison may have been with the Gilpin in Wml., which runs parallel to the Winster ; the point of view would then have been that of people coming up the Kent. The derivation from the Brit. words found in Welsh *gwyn* " white " and O.Bret. *staer* " water " suggested by McClure, p. 150, is rendered impossible by the fact that the Winster has dark brown water.

Eea or **Ay** (runs through the Cartmel district). No early forms have been found.[1] The present pronunciation [e·] points to O.N. *á* " river " as the source rather than O.E. *ēa*.

[1] West, Guide to the Lakes, 2nd ed. 1780, and Antiquities of Furness, 2nd ed. 1813, gives *the Eau*, " pronounced commonly *Eea*," as the name of the Leven after its junction with the Crake. Stockdale, Annales Caermoelenses, p. 542, states that the Kent is called the " *Ea* " in its passage over the sands.

Leven (empties Lake Windermere into Morecambe Bay): *leuenam* 1157-63 Ch (orig.), *Leven* 1196 LF, *Levenam* 1196 FC, *Levene, Leuene* 1246 LAR. The name *Leven* is found elsewhere. Bartholomew mentions one Leven in Yks. and three in Scotland. There is every reason to suppose that the Engl. and the Scotch Leven are identical in origin. The Scotch Leven occurs in early sources as *Lemain* (g. *Lemna*), and is thus identical with Ir. *Lemain* (*see* Hogan). The names are derived from a word meaning " elm," O.Ir. *lem*, Welsh *llwyf*, etc. The *v* in Leven is due to Brit. lenition.

Crake (empties Coniston Water into the Leven): *crec* 1157-63 Ch (orig.), *Craic* 1196 LF, *Crec, Craic* 1196 FC, *Craik* 13 cent. FC; now [kre·k]. There is a river of the same name in Wml.: *Craik* 1247, *Craik, Crayc* 1257 FC. The name is perhaps preserved in Crake Hall near Skelsmergh. I suppose the name Crake is cognate with Welsh *craig* " rock," earlier *creic* in *Penncreic* LL 229. It may be a derivative of that word, or it may go back to a Brit. name of the type *Afon Creic* " the rocky stream " or the like. The river in parts of its course has a rocky, stony bed, and it runs past rocky hills. It is also possible that the river was named from some place called *Creic*. The place *Craikeslith* near the Crake, mentioned in a Final Concord of 1196, may have been named from the Crake, but also from one of the hills W. of the Crake. A similar explanation no doubt holds good for the Wml. Craik.

Dulas: *Water of Dulas* (in Finsthwaite) 1565 West, App. ix. The stream that runs past Stott Park and falls into Lake Windermere may be meant. The name seems identical with Douglas p. 126, but appears in a later form.

Levy Beck (falls into the Leven estuary). No early forms have been found. *Lebby Beck* 1867 Morris. An earlier name of the stream is given by Harr. 1577: *The Rawther*. This seems to be most probably corrupt for *Rawthey, i.e.*, O.N. *Rauð-á* " the red river."

Duddon (falls into the Irish Sea): *Dudenam* 1157-63 Ch (orig.), *Duden* c 1180 Ch, 12 cent. RSB, *Dudene* 13 cent. RSB, *Dodyn* c 1280 RSB, *Dodyne, Doden, Dodin* c 1300 FC; *Duthen* 1196 LF; now [dudn]. I believe the name is a compound, the second el. being O.E. *denu* " valley." If so, the compound was obscured at an early date, as indicated by spellings such as *Dodyn*. The first el. may be an old Brit. river-name identical with Celt **dubo-* " black " (Welsh *du*, etc.). Cf. Duff in Ireland (Hogan, s.v. *dub, dubh*) and Dove Ford, p. 220. As regards the disappearance of the final *v* we may compare *Douglas* in Leyland. The river Duddon has clear water, but a dark bottom. Or the first el. may possibly be the O.E. pers. n. *Dudda* or *Dudd*.

Steers Pool (a trib. of the Duddon): *Styrespol* 1235 LF, *Sterispul* c 1300 FC. O.N. *Styrr* pers. n. and *pool* " a stream " (cf. p. 15).

Otterpool (in Angerton): *Otrepul, Otirpul, Otterpul* FC I. 325ff., *Otrepole* 1424 FC II. " The otter pool." Cf. the same name, p. 95.

Lickle (a trib. of the Duddon): *Licul* c 1180 Ch. Cf. *de Likyl* 1246 LAR. The name seems to be a compound with O.N. *hylr* " pool " as second el. *Hylr*, like *pool*, may have come to be used also of a slowly-moving stream. The lower course of the river is characterized by numerous wide bends. It seems plausible, therefore, that the first el. may be O.N. *lykkja* " a loop."

On the Lickle is a place called **Croglinhurst**, no early forms of which have been

found. The first el. *Croglin-* is identical in form with Croglin, the name of a river in Cumb. If Croglinhurst is an old name, it seems extremely probable that the Lickle was once called Croglin.

Brathay (falls into Lake Windermere): *Braitha* 1157-63 Ch (orig.), 1196 LF, *Braiza* 1157-63 Ch (orig.), *Brayza* 1196 FC; now [bre·ði]. O.N. *Breiðá* "the broad river," as suggested by Collingwood, Scand. Britain p. 213. The lower part of the river is remarkably broad. The river gave name to Brathay Hall: *Brathey* 1577 Saxton.

Yewdale Beck (falls into Coniston Water): *Ywedalebec* 1196 LF. *Yew* is, of course, O.E. *īw* "yew."

Names of Lakes

No sufficiently early forms have been found of Gaits Water[1] (*Gait* is very likely a pers. n. of O.N. origin, as suggested by Wyld), Helton Tarn, Levers Water.[2]

Blelham Tarn (in Hawkshead): *Blalam terne* 1537 Beck lxv, *Blalam Terne* 1539 FC II.; now [bleləm]. The first el. is O.N. *blár* "blue, black"; this suits the case. The second cannot be determined with the material at our disposal. Possibly it is the word *lum* "a pool," found several times in Bl.

Coniston Water or **Thurston Water**: *turstiniwatra* 1157-63 Ch (orig.), *Thurstainewater* 1196 LF. *See* further Lindkvist, p. 96. The first el. is the O.N. pers. n. *Þórsteinn* or rather *Þúrsteinn*. The lake was named from a previous owner. *See* also under Coniston *infra*. The name Thurston Water was formerly applied also to the river Crake or to its upper part. *Thurstane Water in Egton* (a fishery) is mentioned in FC II. 605 (1539). West (1774) tells us that the Crake was called *Thurston* or *Coniston water* as far south as Lowick Bridge or Under Nibthwaite (p. xxxii). Thurston Vale is the name of the valley S. of Coniston Water in O.M. 1846-51.

Elterwater (a tarn on the N. boundary, partly in Wml.): *heltewatra*, *Elterwat'* 1157-63 Ch (orig.), *Elteswater* 1196 LF, FC, *Helterwatra* 1196 FC, *Elterwater* FC I. 393, *Elterwaterpark* 1539 FC II. The name probably represents an O.N. **Elptarvatn* (cf. Swed. *Ämtervatten*), the first el. being the gen. sg. either of O.N. *elptr* "swan" or of *Elptr*, a river-name derived from it. *Elpt* is a common element in Scand. names of lakes and rivers. *See* the detailed discussion of the name in NoB VIII. 86f., and cf. Noreen, NoB I. 5ff. The change of *Elptar-* to *Elter-* is regular; cf. the loss of *f* in *halter* from O.E. *hælfter* and O.Norw. *alt*<*alpt* (Noreen, Aisl. Gr. § 281). Engl. *water* seems to have replaced an original O.N. *vatn*, as it often has in Shetland names (Jakobsen p. 163). It may be added that another example of the el. *Elter-* seems to occur in N. Lanc., viz., Elter Holme, the name of a slight headland in Esthwaite Water.

Esthwaite Water. *See* p. 218.

Standing Tarn (N.E. of Dalton in Furness) seems to have been formerly Green Tarn: *greneterne* c 1535, *Greneterne* 1537 Beck lxvi.

[1] *Goats Tarn* 1774 West (Map), *Goats Water* 1786 Yates, *Goats-water* 1843 Jopling; *Gaits Water* 1849 The Old Man.

[2] *Lever Water* 1774 West (Map), *Levers Tarn* 1786 Yates, *Levers Water* 1830 Leigh; now [li·vez wɔ·tə].

Windermere : ? *Wonwaldremere*[1] c 1130 Sim. Durh., *Winendemere, Wynandrem'* 1157-63 Ch (orig.), *Winandermer* 1196 LF, *Winendremer* 1196 LF, 1246 FC, *Wynandermer* 1272 IPM, *Winnandermare* 1282 FC, *the Winander Water* 1577 Harr.

The first el. of the name must be identical with that of Winderwath, the name of a place near Great Asby in Wml. : *de Vinanderuuat'* c 1277 CWNS XX. 74, *Wynandeswath* 1288 ib. IX. 325 ; cf. also Sedgefield. Windermere and Winderwath are far apart and must have been named independently of each other. This shows that Windermere cannot have as its first element an old name of the lake, as might be supposed. In all probability *Winder-* is a pers. n., as has been suggested by Wyld and others. This is all the more probable as personal names are the first el. of the names Thurston Water and Ullswater in Cumb. (*Ulveswatre* 1324 IPM). Ullswater is a lake of about the same size as Windermere. But *Winder-* cannot be the gen. of an O.N. **Wignandr* : a name corresponding to O.E. *Wignōð* would have had the form **Wignannr*. There is no O.N. name to which *Winander-* may be with certainty referred. But the O.Swed. *Vinnunder, Vinandus*, found in Finnland (*Vinandus de Tenalum* 1329, *Vinnunder i Vinnundböle* 1410 ; cf. Lundgren-Brate), may be the name sought for. *Vinandus* 1329 is also called *Vinaldus*, and Brate is inclined to believe that the name is Low German. But *Vinandus* must be identical with *Vinnunder*, as the two names were borne by persons from the same district, and *Vinnunder* seems to be in all probability an old Swed. name (*Vinunder*, g. *Vinandar*). It would seem to be a name analogous to *Anunder* and the like ; *see* Noreen, NoB I. 143ff, *i.e.*, a name with O.N. *vǫndr* " staff " as second el. The chief objection against this etymology is the fact that the el. *Vin-* (O.N. *vinr* " friend ") is not with certainty evidenced in Scand. names as a first el. If *Wonwaldremere* Sim. Durh. belongs here, it seems to point to the second el. having once begun with a *w*. This would go very well with the etymology suggested, for names in *-vǫndr* sometimes retained *v* in certain forms. The Saxon form *Winwadremer* given by Camden 1587 cannot be traced. I believe, then, that *Winander-* represents the gen. sg. of an O.Scand. *Vinundr*, gen. *Vinandar*.

Names of Hills, etc.

Apart from names of minor hills which have given names to places, very few hill-names have been found in early sources.[2]

[1] The identification is not certain. The entry in which the name occurs refers to the year 791. If Windermere is meant, the name cannot well have formed part of a contemporary annal.

[2] The absence of names such as Wetherlam, Old Man, etc., in early sources, is remarkable. It is curious that West, in his Antiquities of Furness 1774, and Guide to the Lakes 1778, does not mention the names of any Furness hills, though he was a resident of Tytup Hall, N. of Dalton-in-Furness, and enumerates a great many Cumberland and Westmorland hills. The first mention of hill-names such as Old Man I find in Yates's map of 1786 : *Dow Crag, Fairfield, Grey Friar, Stickle Pyke, Scar* (=Walney Scar), *Weatherlom, Yewdale Cragg*, also *Old Man Quarry*. Smith's New and Accurate Map of the Lakes 1800 has *Fairfield, Grey Friar, Old Man*, and his map of the county of Lancaster 1801 adds *Stickle Pyke* and *Weatherton* (!). *Wetherlam* I find in the map in Wordsworth's Guide to the Lakes, 3rd ed., 1822 ; in the text occurs *Walna Scar*. Leigh's Guide to the Lakes 1830 has *Walney Scar*.

Of the names, Grey Friar is self-explaining. *Stickle* in Stickle Pike is O.E. *sticol* " lofty ; steep." The hill is steep and pointed. Names such as Dow Crags, Fairfield, Wetherlam

Caw (1,735ft.; in Dunnerdale and Seathwaite): *Calfheud* 1170-84 Ch. The early form seems to mean "the top of Caw." *Calf* is, of course, O.E. *calf* or O.N. *kalfr* "calf." A reasonable theory is that the word *calf* is here used in the same way as when it denotes a small island situated near a larger one. This has actually been suggested by Collingwood, CWNS XVIII. p. 94, though he thinks *Calfheud* refers to a point on Dow Crags. The fells W. of Coniston Water consist of a mountainous range with peaks such as Coniston Old Man (2,633ft.), Wetherlam (2,502ft.) and others, with the minor height called Caw further south. To anyone who has seen the fells, *e.g.*, from the S.E., I think, it will seem very plausible that Caw could be looked upon as the "calf" of the more northern group. The loss of the *-f* of *Calf* may have taken place in such a combination as Caw Pike.

Flan Hill (N. of Ulverston): *Flan* (the name of a place) 1597 RW 81. There is a M.E. word *flan* (<O.N. *flan*) "a sudden gust of wind" c 1475 (NED). A hill-name *Flan-how* or the like seems quite plausible, and *Flan* 1597 may be an elliptic form. Perhaps the Norw. name Flamberget (*Flanberg* 1723) has the same first el., but the author of NG XVI gives a different suggestion.

Latterbarrow (Hawkshead). No early forms are on record. In Scandinavians, p. 91, I suggest that *Latter-* in this and some other names may be early Ir. *lettir* "a hill, a slope." I find now that *Latter-* at least in some of these names can be explained in another and simpler way. There is an O.N. word *látr* (<**lahtra-*) meaning "lair of an animal," and *letre* in Norw. dialects means "small house or shelter for animals, especially pigs" (Aasen). *Swynlatermire* (Asby, Wml.) CWNS XX. 73 very likely contains O.N. *látr* in the sense "lair of wild swine" or "pig-sty." One of these senses seems plausible in Latterbarrow, La. and Cumb., and in Latterhead, Cumb. Also Hulleter in Colton (p. 216) may very well contain this *látr*, the first el. being *e.g.* O.N. *hóll* "hill." But it seems very difficult to believe that Whinlatter in Cumb. (the name of a hill of 1,696ft.) can be so explained. I find that the identification of *Latter-* with O.N. *látr* is suggested by Collingwood in Thorstein of the Mere (1895).

Tarn Hows (N. of Coniston Water): *Ternehowys* 1538 FC II., *Ternehowes* 1560 ib. O.N. *tiǫrn* "tarn" and the plur. of O.N. *haugr* "hill." The hills were named from the tarns close by.

Wrynose Hawse (on the border between Lanc. and Cumb.): *Wreineshals*, *Wraineshals* 1157-63 Ch (orig.), *Wrenhalse* 1157-63 FC, *Wranishals* c 1180 Ch, *Wreneshals* 1196 LF, *Wrenosse hill* 1577 Saxton. The second el. of Wrynose is *hause* (O.N. or O.E. *hals*) "a narrower and lower neck or connecting ridge between

cannot be explained without earlier forms. Old Man probably contains the common words *old* and *man*, but their exact meaning is doubtful. Perhaps the most probable explanation is that *man* is here used in the sense "a cairn or pile of stones marking a summit" (cf. NED), and that the name originally referred to the mediæval beacon (Collingwood, CWNS 18, p. 93). Another possibility is the following. *Old Man* is a miners' term for an old vein that has become exhausted or has been abandoned for a long time (NED, EDD). It is no doubt an adaptation of G. *alter mann*, used in the same sense (Grimm Wbch, *Mann* 14). In Yates's map *Old Man* occurs only in the name *Old Man Quarry*, though it is possible the words at the same time do service as the name of the hill-top. Old Man Quarry may have been named from an "old man," *Old Man* being subsequently taken to be the name of the hill. But Mr. Collingwood tells me there are no traces of any old mines near the top of the Old Man.

two heights or summits; a *col.* . . . Generally at the head of two stream valleys which descend opposite sides of the hause, forming a pass over the ridge or mountain chain at this point" (NED). This description suits Wrynose Pass (or Hawse) to a nicety. The Duddon and Brathay both rise at Wrynose and flow different ways. After the second el. of Wrynose had been obscured Hawse was added again. The first el. may be an O.E. pers. n. (*V*)*reini*, a by-name from (*v*)*reini* " stallion " (Wyld); O.Swed. *Vrene* may have existed (Björkman, Namenkunde). But I find it at least as probable that the first el. is simply the O.N. (*v*)*reini* " stallion." It may be the name, as suggested by Collingwood, who thinks, however (CWNS XVIII.), that the base of the name may be *vreinhestshals*, that the name alludes to the fact that the road is one which needed a strong horse. But the name may equally well have been given owing to some accident that once befell a stallion at the spot or the like.

Lonsdale N. of the Sands falls into two parts, separated by the Leven and Lake Windermere. The Eastern, smaller part consists only of Cartmel parish, while the Western part, the Furness district, consists of several parishes.

CARTMEL PAR.

Early forms of the name: *Ceartmel* 12 cent. MS Gale (Sim. Durh. 231); *Cartmel* 12 cent. Hist. St. Cuthbert (Sim. Durh. 141), *Cartmel* 1177, 1189, 1194 LPR, 1215 ChR, etc., *Carmel* 1188 LPR, *Karmel* 1190 CC, *Kartemel* 1199 ChR, *Kartmel* 1206ff. LPR, 1270 ChR; *Caertmel* c 1188 Ind; *Kertmell* 1157-63 Ch (orig.), *Kertmel* 1188 Ind, c 1190 Ch (orig.), 1205 LPR, 1279 LF, etc., *Cermel* 1187 LPR, *Kertemel* 1297 LI. *Curtmel* 1169 LPR is no doubt miswritten.

The name is used of the parish, village (or town), and priory of Cartmel. No doubt it originally denoted the village. For the etymology it is of importance to establish whether the first syllable originally had the vowel *a* or *e*. Forms such as *Kertmel* are probably more common in early sources than *Cartmel* and the like. But the earliest forms are probably *Cartmel*, *Ceartmel*, those heading the list. These are found in MSS of the 12th cent., but very likely represent late O.E. forms. They render it likely that the O.E. base was *Cartmel* or *Ceartmel*. *Kertmel* is probably a traditional spelling, the *e* being a so-called inverted spelling (cf. Carnforth, p. 187).

The name is probably Scandinavian. The fact that Cartmel is stated in the Hist. of St. Cuthbert to have been given in 677 by King Ecgfrith to St. Cuthbert might point to the name being British or at least pre Scandinavian; but there is no proof, even if the statement is trustworthy, that the place was called Cartmel at that early date. The second el. is no doubt O.N. *melr* " a sand-bank." Cartmel vil. stands on the Eea. There are not now any sand-banks or sand-hills in the neighbourhood, but very likely there were formerly. The slight bank between the two arms of the Eea may very well have been a sand-bank, especially as the stream has a sandy bottom. The first el. I identify with O.E. *ceart*, found in place-names (Chart, Kent, Surrey), Norw. *kart* (O.N. **kartr*) " rough, rocky, sterile soil." The meaning of O.E. *ceart* was probably about the same as that of *kartr*. Cartmel may be a compound of O.N. *kartr* and *melr*. Or the O.E. name of the place may have been *Ceart*; if so, we must assume that *Cartmel* was

coined by Scandinavians adding *melr*. Close to the town, on the W., is a piece of rocky ground, Cartmel Park, which would be accurately described as a *ceart* or *kart*. This may have been called O.E. *Ceart*. Another possibility is that *Cart-* is an old name of the Eea, as suggested by Bradley, EHR 26 p. 822. If so, it is probably to be compared with the (somewhat doubtful) Norw. river name *Kart-*, dealt with by Rygh, Norske Elvenavne, and presumably to be derived from *kart*.

Cartmel is not in DB, but is evidently represented by *Cherchebi*, a name equivalent to the later Churchtown, a name of Cartmel vil.: *Churchtowne* 1585 Cartmel R. *Cherchebi* is O.N. *Kirkiubýr* " church-village."

The ground of the district varies considerably. The S. part and the country along the Leven estuary are very low, and were in early times to a great extent uninhabitable. The Eea valley is broad and level. On both sides of it are irregular ridges, the eastern one of which continues as Cartmel Fell to the N. boundary of the parish. Much of the district is fell country.

1. **Lower Allithwaite** (the S.E. part; v.): *Hailiuethait* 1162-90 FC II. (orig.), *Aliuthwait* 1200-20 FC II., *Alefthuayth* 1225-45 LPD II. 192, *Alithwait* 1327 LS, *Alyutwait* 1332 LS. *See* further Lindkvist p. 106. Lindkvist explains the name as a compound of O.N. *Eilífr* pers. n. and *thwaite*. This is perhaps right, but the preponderance of *A-* in early forms is remarkable. Perhaps we have to assume a side-form **Álífr* by the side of *Eilífr*; cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gram. § 54, 3, a.

Birkby Hall (fairly high on a hill slope): *Britby* 1489 PatR, *Bretby, Brykby* 1522 DL, *Birtby* 1537 LR, *Birkeby* 1589 DL. This name, like Birkby, Cumb. (*Bretteby* 13 cent. RSB 285) and Yks. (*Bretebi* DB), means " the settlement of the Britons," and represents an O.N. *Bretabýr*.

Blenket Farm: *Blenkett* 1609 Cartmel R. The name seems identical with Blenket Rigg, the name of a hill (810ft.) in W. Cumb. The elements may be the Brit. words corresponding to Welsh *blaen* " point, end, top," O.Bret. *blaen* " summit," and Welsh *coed* " wood," etc. Perhaps " the end of the wood."

Boar Bank (on a hill slope N.W. of Allithwaite vil.): *Borebancke* 1598 DL, *-banke* 1604 Cartmel R. *Bank* means " hill "; the first el. is doubtful.

Honeythwaite (in O.M.1846-51 more correctly **Unithwaite**) **Wood** (S.E. of Cartmel): *Unythawyte* 1537 LR. The first el. seems to be O.N. *únytr* or O.E. *unnyt* " useless, worthless."

Humphrey Head (a conspicuous headland in the S.): (terra de) *Hunfrid'heved, Hunfridesheved* 1199 ChR, *Hunfrideshefed* 1215 ib., *Umfrayhede* 1537 LR, *Oumfray head* 1577 Saxton, *Houmfret-, Hunnifrethead* 1592 DL. O.E. *Hūnfrið* pers. n. (later associated with *Humphrey*), and O.E. *hēafod* " head-land."

Kent's Bank (on Kent Sand): *Kentsbanke* 1491, *Kentisbanke* 1537 LR. " The bank of the river Kent."

Kirkhead (a headland E. of Humphrey Head): *Kirkhead* 1571, *Kirkitt ende* 1608 Cartmel R. The name seems to indicate that there was once a church at the place. Cf. *Kierkepol* 1199, *Kirkepol* 1215 ChR, which seems to have been the name of a neighbouring pool.

Outerthwaite: *Oolterthwait* 1612 Cartmel R, *Vtterthwait* 1600 RS XII. " The outer meadow or clearing." The place stands a good way from Cartmel, just where the moss begins.

Rosthwaite (near the Eea): *Rostwhait* 1609, *Rostatt* 1617 Cartmel R. O.N. *hross* " horse " and *thwaite*.

Templand: *Templond* 1491, *-lande* 1537 LR. The suggestion by J. Stockdale, Annales Caermoelenses 1872 (p. 592) that this is *T'hempland* " the hempland " seems very plausible. The definite article in Lanc. dialects is *t'*.

Wraysholme Tower: *Wrasome* 1431 FA, *Wroxsom*, *Wresom* 1598 DL, *Wraysholme* 1600 RS XII. The old peel is situated on a slight ridge in the old mossland. This renders it likely that the name has as second el. *holme* " an island." Close by are places called **Holme** (*The Holme* 1606 Cartmel R; on a slight elevation) and **Rougholme** (*Rougholme* 1589 DL). The first el. may then be O.E. *wrāse* " a lump, knot " or possibly the gen. of O.N. *(v)rá* " corner." But the early material is not conclusive. Wraysholme might also be *e.g.* the dat. pl. of O.E. *wrāse*. The name would then refer to the ridge mentioned and one or two small knolls close by.

2. **Lower Holker** (the S.W. part).

Holker (h.), **Holker Hall**: (pasture in) *Holkerre* 1276 LAR, *Holker* 1342, 1394 LF, 1332 LS, *Howker* 1577 Saxton; now [ho·kə]. The original Holker was no doubt near Holker Hall; the name came to be extended to the districts now called Lower and Upper Holker, the old Walton. The elements of the name are O.E. *holh* or O.N. *hol* adj. or sb. " hollow " and *carr* " fen," etc. (O.N. *kiarr*). The ground is low close to Holker Hall with many hollows and depressions.

Cark (v.): *Karke* 1491 LR, 1587 RW 179, *Carke* 1537 LR, *Nethercarke* 1626 RW 154. Cark is situated on the S. slope of a ridge, which at least a little way N. is rocky. The name is perhaps to be derived from the Brit. word appearing as O.W. *carrecc* " a cliff, rock," Welsh *carreg* " stone, rock "; cf. Ir. *carric* " a rock." The Celtic wórd is common in place-names. Another possibility is that Cark is an old name of the Eea. If so, the name may be compared with Welsh *carrog* " a brook, stream." Cark is on the Eea, and a good way N. there is, on one of the arms of the Eea, a hamlet High Cark (p. 199).

Cowpren Point (the S.W. point of the Cartmel peninsula): *Gowborn head* 1577 Saxton. Etymology doubtful. The guess that this is an O.N. *kauprann* " market booth " may be permitted.

Daughtarn: *Dawthorne* 1604 Cartmel R, *Dowthorn* 1623 RW 172. The place stands by a hill close to Cark railway station. The etymology of the name is doubtful. The second el. seems to be rather O.E. or O.N. *porn* than O.N. *tiǫrn* " tarn."

Flookborough (v.): *Flokeburg* 1246 LAR, *Flokesburgh* 1394 LF, *Flokeberew* 1395 FC, *Flokeburgh* 1508 LF, *Fluckburgh* 1537 LR. The place, now a fishing-village, was formerly a borough. The first el. of the name is probably the O.N. pers. n. *Flóki* (thus Wyld). Björkman, Namenkunde, seems to prefer derivation from O.E. *flōc* a kind of fish. According to VHL VIII. 270 flukes are caught at Flookborough.

Quarry Flat: *Quarelflate* 1537 LR. *Quarel* is an old form of the word *quarry*. On *flat see* p. 11.

Winder: *de Winderghe* 1225-45 LPD II. 192, *de Wynder* 1279 LF, *Chanon, Ravynse Wyndor* 1491, *Chanon Wynder, Ravenswynder* 1537 LR. The places are situated on slight elevations in the old marsh (Winder Moor), which is about

20ft. above sea-level. Winder is a compound of O.N. *vindr* or O.E. *wind* and *ergh* " a pasture " and " a hut on a pasture " ; cf. p. 10.. The name probably means " a hut for shelter against the wind." The same name occurs twice in SLo, and also in Cumb. and Wml. The el. *Ravens-* represents the gen. of the pers. n. *Raven* (O.N. *Hrafn*). A portion given to the canons of Cartmel got the distinctive name Chanon Winder.

3. **Upper Holker** (E. of the upper Eea). The E. half is hilly, while the W. part consists of low and flat country along the Leven.

Walton Hall : *Walletun* DB, *Waletona* 1190 CC, *de Walton* 1342 LF. Walton formerly no doubt included the whole of Holker. The place is situated fairly high at some distance from the Eea and Cartmel. The name represents O.E. *Walatūn* " the tūn of the Britons."

Backbarrow : *Bakbarowe Mill* 1537 LR, *Bak(e)barayfell* 1538 DL. The place stands near the Leven. Old Backbarrow is slightly further N. ; it is no doubt the original Backbarrow. I suppose the elements of the name are O.E. *bæc* or O.N. *bak* " back " and O.E. *beorh* or O.N. *berg* " hill." The name may mean " the hill with the backlike top " or the like. Such a name would well describe the ridge at the foot of which Old Backbarrow stands. The following passage from Leland (VII. 7), not referring to Backbarrow, may be worth quoting : " ther was a *coppe* in the hille as a bakke stonding up aboue the residue of the hille."

Bigland Hall : *Biglande* 1537 LR. " The barley-field " (O.N. *bygg* " barley ").

Frith : *the Frith, Frithhall* 1537 LR. O.E. *fyrhþ, gefyrhþe* " frith, wood."

Howbarrow (at the foot of a hill of 557ft.) : *Howbarray* 1591 RW 48, *Howebarrow* 1634 RW 11. Apparently O.N. *haugr* " mound " and O.N. *berg* or O.E. *beorh* " hill."

Mungeon (E. of Bigland Hall) : *Mungeon* 1625 Cartmel R, *Mungion* 1640 RW 21. Etymology obscure.

Speel Bank (at Speel Bank, a hill of 600ft.) : *Spilbanck* 1593, *Speelbanke* 1606 Cartmel R, *Spillbanke* 1593 RW 48. The first el. seems to be M.E. *spile* " play, sport." Cf. the common G. place-name Spielberg, earlier *Spiliberch*, etc. (Förstemann). The second el. is *bank* " a hill."

Waitham Moss (N.W. of Holker) : *Waythom moors* 1537 LR, *Waithome, Watham* 1591 DL. Probably O.N. *veiði-holmr* " an island where hunting is carried on." Cf. *Waytheholm'* 1189-99 Holme Cultram Chartulary (MS) p. 158, and Waitholme Moss in Yealand and Waitham in Angerton (pp. 189, 222).

4. **Broughton in Cartmel** (N. of Cartmel) : *Brocton* 1276 LAR, *Broghton* 1314, 1321, 1429 LF, 1332 LS. Field and Wood Broughton are situated on the two arms of the Eea, which gave the place its name, O.E. *Brōctun*. The township comprises part of the broad Eea valley and a hilly district to the E.

Aynesom (on the Eea) : *Aynson* 1491, *Ayneson* 1537 LR, *Aynsam* 1592 Cartmel R, *Aynsome* 1597 RW 107. No doubt O.E. *ānhūsum* or O.N. *einhúsum* " at the lonely houses." Cf. Ancoats, p. 35.

Grange (town) : *Grange* 1491 LR. Self-explaining.

Hampsfield (h.), **Hampsfield Hall :** *de Hamesfell* 1292-9 FC II., *-fell'* c 1300 FC, *Hamesfell* 1314 LF, *Hampesfell* 1537 LR, *Hamfeldhall* 1577 Saxton ; now [hamsfi·ld]. Hampsfield took its name from Hampsfell, now [hamsfel], a long

ridge (727ft.); Hampsfield is on the slope, Hampsfield Hall at the foot of the ridge. The elements of the name are the O.N. pers. n. *Hamr*, found also in Hampsthwaite, Yks. (Lindkvist, p. 110, Björkman, Namenkunde), and O.N. *fiall* " fell." The form *-field* is due to association with the word *field*.

Head House : *Headhouse* 1579 Cartmel R. The place is on a very conspicuous hill (560ft.) with a round cop. *Head* is O.E. *hēafod* in the sense " hill."

The High (on the high land N. of Grange) : *Theigh* 1596, *The Highe* 1604 RW 237, 172, *The Hee* 1604 Cartmel R. Dial. *high* sb. means " a height, hill."

Slack (in a long broad valley N. of Grange) : *Slacke* 1592 RW 139, 1601 DL; now [ðə slak]. O.N. *slakki* " valley." Near Slack is Eggerslack.

5. **Upper Allithwaite.** The township is N. of Broughton township. The district must formerly have been held together with Allithwaite. The old name of the district was Newton.

Newton, or **High Newton** (v.), and **Nether Newton** (h.) : *Neutun* DB, *Newton* 1537, *Over, Nether Newton* 1491 LR. " The new *tūn*." Newton is situated comparatively high and some way off from the main valley.

Lindale (h.) : *Lindale* 1246 LAR, *Lyndale* 1497 LF, 1537 LR. L. is situated in the deep valley of Lindale Beck, called *the Gill* in O.M. 1846-51, far from any of the old villages. The name cannot mean " flax division " (O.E. *līn* and *gedāl*). Its elements are O.E. *lind* " lime-tree " and *dale* " valley." There are numerous lime-trees in the upper part of the valley.

Buckcrag : *Buckcragg* 1576 Cartmel R. The place stands at a rocky hill, stated to bear a certain resemblance to a buck.

Castlehead : *Castlhead* 1592 Cartmel R, *Castleheade* 1638 RW 174. " Castle hill." Castlehead is on a little bluff close to the Winster. There was formerly a peel at the place, called Atterpile Castle (VHL VIII. 269).

6. **Staveley** (S. of Lake Windermere ; v.) : *de Stavelay* 1282 FC, *Staveley* 1491, 1537 LR. O.E. *Stæf-lēah* ; cf. p. 29.

Ayside (h.) : *Aysshed* 1491, *Aysett* 1537 LR, *Ayshead* 1573, 1592 Cartmel R, *Aysyde* 1591 DL, *Esyd* 1599 RW 268. The hamlet stands at the foot of a high ridge and on a stream called Ayside Pool, one of the head-streams of the Eea ; there are also hillocks close to the hamlet. The forms are too late to allow of a definite etymology. Wyld identifies the name with *de Aykesheued* 1279 LF, and that may be correct, but there is a place **Oak Head** near Ayside on a little hill, which may be meant ; cf. *Ackehead* a 1603 DL. The first el. of the name may be O.N. *á* " river " (cf. Eea) or O.N. *eik* " oak " ; the second, *set* " a shieling " or O.E. *hēafod* " hill."

High Cark : *Ouer Carke* 1606 Cartmel R, *Over Carke* 1623 RW 39. The place stands at one of the head-streams of the Eea, now called Muddy Pool, and close to a small, but rocky and prominent hill. Derivation of the name from the Brit. word found in O.W. *carrecc* " cliff, rock " is extremely plausible ; cf., however, Cark p. 197.

Fiddler Hall : *Fidler Hawe* 1589 DL, *Fidlerhawe* 1611 Cartmel R. Probably " the fiddler's hillock " (O.N. *haugr* " hill "). The place stands on a small hill.

Seattle : *Settyll* 1491, 1537 LR, *Seatle* 1593 Cartmel R ; now [se·tl]. Seattle stands on a fairly broad and flat ridge sloping gently towards the S. The name would seem to be identical with Settle, Yks. (*Setel* DB), *i.e.*, O.E. *setl* " abode,

dwelling." But the Mod. form to some extent tells against this. Also the form *Seitill* 1508-9 quoted in VHL VIII. 281 is noteworthy. Earlier material is needed.

Sow How (N.E. of Staveley, at a hill of 800ft.): *Sowhowe* 1598 DL, 1606 RW 233. First el. O.E. *sugu* or O.N. *sýr* (acc. *sú*) "sow."

7. **Cartmel Fell**: *Cartmelefell* 1537 LR, *Carpmanfell* 1577 Saxton. The district, as the name indicates, is hilly.

Birkett Houses: *Birkett Houses* 1665 RW 10. *Birket* is no doubt for *Birkhead*. The place is on a broad ridge.

Burblethwaite Hall (near the Winster): *Burbelthwayt* 1351 VHL VIII. 282. The name may be identical in origin with *Burbladthwait* 1204 FC II., *Burbladthwayt* c 1343 ib. (Burton in Lonsdale). *Burblad* looks like a plant-name, perhaps of the same meaning as *burblek* (Wml.), *i.e.*, Petasites vulgaris. But the first el. of Burblethwaite may be *burblek*.

Hartbarrow: *de Hertbergh* 1332 LS, *Hertbarrowe* 1537 DL. O.E. *heorot* or O.N. *hiǫrtr* "hart" and O.E. *beorh* or O.N. *berg* "hill."

Ludder Burn (on the slope of a hill and near a brook): *Litterburne* 1537 LR, *Ludderburne* 1619 RW 191. *Litter-* may be miswritten for *Luter-*; if so, I would identify the first el. with O.E. *hlūttor* "clear, pure." A different etymology is suggested in Scandinavians p. 91.

Rosthwaite: *Rossethwayte* 1537 LR. Cf. p. 197.

Rulbuth or **Rulbuts**: *Rulbuth* 1508 VHL VIII. 283, *Rullesburgh* 1537 LR. Apparently an O.N. pers. n. such as *Hrólfr* and *búð* "booth."

Thorfinsty Hall: *Thorfinsty* 1275 VHL VIII. 282, *Thorpanstye* 1537 LR, *Thorfensty* 1577 DL. The place is at the foot of the fells not far from the Leven. The elements of the name are O.N. *Þorfinnr* pers. n. and O.N. *stígr* or O.E. *stīg* "path." Cf. Brancepeth, Durh. ("the path of Brand") and similar names in Mawer.

FURNESS

Early forms: *Futhpernessa* c 1150 Richard of Hexham (MS 13 cent.), *ffudernesium* 1127 Ch, *Fudernesium* 1127-33 Ch (1398 PatR), *de Fodernesio*, *Fudernesio* 1127 FC II.; *ffurnesio* 1153-60, 1157-63 Ch (orig.); *furnesio* 1155, 1189-94 Ch (orig.); *Fornesio* 1158 Ch (orig.), *furneis* 1194-99 Ch (orig.), *Furneis* 1169ff. LPR, 1196 LF, 1212 LI, 1246 LAR, etc., *Furneys* 1295 ChR, *Furnais* 1246 LAR; *Furnes* 1170ff. LPR, 1252 ChR, etc., *Forness* 1246 LAR; *Fourneys* 1343 LF, *Fournes* 1336 FC; *Furneals* 1201 LPR, *Furnels* 1205 ib., *Fornell* 1246 LAR. Other variants might be added. Now [fɔ·nəs].

The second el. of the name is clearly *ness* "head-land," probably O.N. *nes*. The spellings in *-neis*, *-nels*, etc., are due to A.N. influence. The first el. is difficult. It is probable that the name was originally applied to some special point and later extended to the whole district, though it is true the southern part of the district may be described as a peninsula. The original Furness was probably the southernmost point, the present Rampside, for the first el. of the name Furness seems to be identical with that of Fouldray, the ancient name of Peel Island outside Rampside. Early forms of Fouldray are: *Fotherey* c 1327

FC II., *Fotheray* c 1400 FC, *Foderaye* 1537 LR, (the pyle of) *foudray* 1577 Saxton, *the Fouldra* 1577 Harr., *Fouldrey* 1586 Camden.

Wyld suggests as first el. of Furness O.E. *fōdor* " fodder." This may seem to be to some extent borne out by the early forms of Fouldray, though O.N. *fóðr* or O.E. *fōðor* should be substituted for O.E. *fōdor*. This etymology may be correct. But the early occurrence of forms in *u* is remarkable ; I have found no spellings of *u* for earlier *ō* in other Lanc. names until much later. Further, O.N. *fóðr* does not seem to have been used as a place-name element in Norway or Iceland. It seems probable to me that we have to start from a base with *u*. McClure's suggestion (p. 77f.) that *Fuder-* is identical with Gael. *Fothur*, a word considered to mean " wood," is perhaps not absolutely impossible, but at any rate not immediately convincing.

Starting from the supposition that the original form was *Futher-*, I suggest the following etymology. There are in Norway traces of a name *Fu(d)* applied to small islands, as *Fua* a skerry, *Fudeholmen* an islet ; cf. *Fuvig* (NG IX. 66). It is suggested that the name may be O.N. *fuð* (Norw. *fu*, Swed. dial. *fu, fo*, Scotch *fud*) " podex." Fouldray may have been originally called *Fuð*, and from it the neighbouring headland was called **Fuðarnes*. Later we must assume that the name of the island was extended to **Fuðarey*.[1] The isle has a rounded shape. Its surface is on the whole flat, but there is a long fairly deep depression running from S. to N.

It is easy to understand why the headland was named from Peel Island, and not from the larger Foulney. While Foulney rises only to 22ft. above sea-level and was hardly more than a sandbank a thousand years ago, Peel Island is 42ft. above sea-level. The reason why the cons. *ð* was lost in Furness, while it was retained in Fouldray, is probably that *Futher-nes* had the chief stress on the second element.

The Furness district falls into two parts. The southern part, called Low or Plain Furness (*Lowfurnes* 1546 DL, *Playne Furneys* 1582 ib.), is undulating, hills or ridges alternating with valleys, but no higher elevations than c 1,000ft. are reached. The northern part, Furness Fells or High Furness (*Montanis de Furnesio* 1196 LF, *Fournes-fell'* 1338 FC, *Heigh Furnes* 1584 DL), is a fell district, where elevations of over 2,500ft. are common.

DALTON PAR.

Dalton par. forms the S.W. part of the Furness peninsula. It is not divided into townships, but was formerly divided into four byrlaws or bierleys. It seems plausible that this is an old Scand. division, as the name *bierley* is a Scand. word (O.N. *býjarlǫg* " village law," possibly also " a law district ").

1. **Dalton** (town) : *Daltune* DB, *Daltonam* 1189-94 Ch (orig.), *Dalton* 1246 LAR, *Dalton in fournais* 1332 LS ; now [dɔ·tn, dɔltn]. The town is in a broad valley among hills ; hence the name.

2. **Yarlside** (the S.E. part, E. of Barrow-in-Furness) : *Yerleshed Cott* 1509, *Yerlyssyde cote* c 1525 Beck 304, 328, *Yerlesyde* (hamlet) 1537, *Yerlessyde*

[1] Cf. Nötterö (Norway) < *Njótarey*, a compound of *Niót* (g. *-ar*), an earlier name of the island, and *ey* (NG VI. 233).

(close) 1539 FC II. The name is clearly identical with Yarlside in Wml. (*Jerlesete* 1235 CWNS XIV. 394), the elements being O.N. *jarl* " earl " (or O.E. *eorl*) and *set* " a hill pasture." Yarlside is a fairly common hill-name in England ; cf. Scandinavians p. 32f. Yarlside seems to have been near Stank. The iron mines in the rather conspicuous hill E. of Park House S. of Furness Abbey are now called Yarlside Mines, and Yarlside Road is that between Dalton and Roose. Yarlside may have been on the hill mentioned. *Cote* in the earliest examples means " a sheepcote." In this division is Furness Abbey.

Crivelton : *Cliuerton* DB, *Criueltonam* 1155, 1158 Ch (orig.), *Crinelton* 1246 LAR, *Cryvelton* 1336 FC II., *Creviltona* 1400 FC. The name is now lost, and the situation of the place is unknown. No doubt it was near Newton. If the DB form is trustworthy, the base of the name may be an O.E. *clifwara tūn* " the village of the cliff-dwellers " ; cf. Cleworth p. 101. Newton is in a remote valley among hills. If *Crivel-* is the more original form, I have no definite suggestion to make.

Newton (S. of Dalton ; v.) : *Newtona* 1191-8 FC, *Neuton* 1190, 1336 FC. Newton and Crivelton were originally distinct places, as both are mentioned together in old sources. Later Crivelton was merged in Newton, and in FC I. 451 there is the express statement that *Crevylton* was the old name of Newton.

Fordbottle : *Fordebodele* DB, *fordebotle* 1155 Ch (orig.), *fortebothle* 1189-94 Ch (orig.), *Fordebotle* 1246 LAR. The name is lost. The place no doubt stood at a ford over the stream that runs past Roose. The elements of the name are O.E. *ford* and *bōtl* " house, dwelling."

Roose (N.E. of Barrow ; v.) : *Rosse* DB, *Ros* 1155, 1157-8, 1189-94 Ch (orig.), 1246 LAR, *Roos* 1336 FC II., *Ruse* FC I. 451, *Rwse* 1537 LR ; now [ru·z, ru·s]. Roose is an old Brit. name, identical with Welsh *rhos* " moor, heath, plain," Bret. *ros* " tertre en général recouvert de bruyères " (Loth), Ir. *ros* " promontory ; wood." The Brit. word is often used as a place-name. The long vowel in Roose is due to Brit. lengthening ; cf. Jones p. 72. Rhos in Pembrokeshire is stated in Owen's Pembrokeshire III. 268 to be called also *Roose*. The meaning of the word in the present case is probably " moor." The hill N.E. of Roose may well once have been a moor, *i.e.*, a hill covered with furze and heather. **Roosecote** (*Rusecote* 1509 Beck 304) means " the sheepcote belonging to Roose."

Billingcote (N.E. of Furness Abbey) : *Byllingecote* 1509 Beck 305, *Billingcote* 1588 RW 122. Another name is *byllynge* c 1525 Beck 325 ; cf. *Lytel-*, *Grete-byllyng* 1539 FC II. The place stands on the slope of a hill (304ft.), called The Billings (*Beacons-billing* 1843 Jopling). I suppose *Billing* is an old hill-name, identical with *Billinge* in Blackburn, and probably derived from O.E. *bill* " sword."

Holebeck : *Holebecke* 1597 RW 47. Old Holebeck stands E. of Roose on a small brook, which runs in a fairly deep valley. " The hollow brook," " the brook in the hollow."

Newtown (in the S. on low ground) : *Newtowne* 1537 LR.

Peaseholmes : *Pesholme* 1509 Beck 304. The place stands near the sea on a piece of ground rising over the surrounding land. O.E. *pisu* " pease " and *holm* " island."

Rampside (h.): *Rameshede* 1292 FC, *Ramesheved* 1336 FC II., *Rameshevede* 1400 FC, *Ramsyde* 1539 FC II.; now [ramsaid]. Rampside was originally the name of the southernmost point of the Furness peninsula. The first el. may be the pers. n. *Ram* found in Ramsbottom; if so, *head* means "headland." But I think it more likely that it is O.E. *ram* "ram," and that the name was given owing to a resemblance between the headland and a ram's head. The name then means "the ram's head."

Stank (h.): *Stanke* 1509 Beck 304, 1537 LR. Probably M.E. *stank* "a pond or pool," found from the 14th cent. (O.Fr. *estanc*). There are disused iron mines in the hamlet; the name may refer to an old mine-pit.

Waltoncote: *Walton Cote* 1509, *Waltoncot* c 1525 Beck 305, 327. No doubt named from an old village or homestead called Walton.

3. **Hawcoat** (the S.W. part; h.): *Hawcote* c 1535 Beck 326, 1537 LR, *Haycot* 1538 FC II., *Hay cote* 1577 Saxton; now [hɔ·kɔ·t]. *Haw-* is probably O.E. *haga* or O.N. *hagi* "enclosure"; *coat* means "sheepcote." Hawcoat is on fairly high ground (W. of Furness Abbey); this would to some extent support the theory that *Hietun* DB (O.E. *Hēatūn* "the high tūn") is an old name of Hawcoat.

Sowerby Hall: *Sourebi* DB, *Soureby* 1338 FC; now [sauərbi]. The place stands on low ground near Duddon Sands. O.N. *Saurbýr*; cf. Sowerby (Am.) p. 161.

Beacons Gill (in O.M. 1846-51; S. of Furness Abbey, E. of Newbarns): *Bechanesgile* 1190-1220 FC II., *Bekanesgill* FC I. 21. The valley in which Furness Abbey stands was formerly called Bekansgill. The elements of the name are O.N. *Bekan* (from Ir. *Beccán*) pers. n. and *gil* "a ravine." The name was applied to the whole valley. "Bekingill between Ramsyde and Sowthende" (1539 FC II. 594) was a fishery; Beck, p. lxv, quotes from a document of 1537 "Oystergarth athedd and Bekyngyll."

Bouth Wood (N.W. of Furness Abbey): *Bouth* 1509 Beck 304, *Bowthe Parke, Bowthowse* 1539 FC II. O.N. *búð* "booth."

Breast Mill Beck (near Furnesss Abbey): *Byrstmewekhowse* (for *Byrstmelbek-*) c 1535 Beck 327, *Bristmylbeck* 1526 West 98, *Byrsomelbek* 1535 ib. 102, *Burmelbeck, Byrfemelbeckhowse* 1539 FC II. The place is near Poaka Beck, which in O.M. 1846-51 is here called Breast Mill Beck. *Breast-mill* in Yks. dial. means "a water-mill of which the water goes in at the side or breast to turn the wheel" (EDD). Close by is Millwood: *Milnewood* 1338 FC.

Cocken: *de Cokayn* 14 cent. FC, *Cokayn* 1336 FC II., *Kokayn* 1336, 1400 FC; now [kɔkin, kɔkn]. Lindkvist, p. 193, derives the name from M.E. *Cokaygne*, name of an imaginary country, the abode of luxury and idleness, a French name. If it is true, as suggested by W. B. Kendall in the report of the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club, vol. XII., p. 40f., that the clearing of the Cocken land was accomplished by the monks of Furness Abbey, this derivation has much probability. The name is no doubt jocular.

Dane Ghyll (E. of Hawcoat in the valley of a stream): *Danegyll* c 1535 Beck 327, *Dangleflat, Dangylle* 1539 FC II. The second el. is O.N. *gil* "a ravine." The first is doubtful; O.N. *Danr* pers. n. or *Danir* "Danes"?

Hindpool: *Hyndpull* 1539 FC II. The place stands at a little bay called Hind Pool. O.E. *hind* the animal and *pōl, pull* "pool."

Rakes Moor (N.E. of Hawcoat, on high land): *Rakesmore* 1539 FC II. *Rake* (O.N. *rák*) means "a path; pasture-ground."

Robsawter (O.M. 1846-51): *Robsawter* 1539 FC II. The place was N. of Hawcoat. *Sawter* may be identical with Salter, p. 181. On loss of *l see* p. 22.

Salthouse: *Salthus* 1247 FC, *Salthous* 1336 FC II. "A house in which salt was made or stored."

Sinkfall: *Synkefall* 1539 FC II. I take the elements of the name to be a M.E. **senk* "hollow" (a Scand. word: cf. Norw. dial. *søkk, senk* f., Swed. dial. *säkk* f., *sänka* "hollow, little valley"), perhaps the source of E. *sink* "a basin where waters collect and form a bog," and *fall* "a clearing"; cf. p. 10. Sinkfall stands close to a depression in the ground.

Sandscale: *Landschale* (!) 1292 FC, *Sandescale* 1336 FC II. Sandscale stands on low ground near the Duddon Sands. The first el. of the name is obviously O.N. *sandr* (or pl. *sandar*) or Engl. *sand* "sandy beach." The second is O.N. *skáli* "hut."

To Hawcoat bierley belong the islands S. of the Furness peninsula.

Barrow: *Barrai* 1190, 1191-8 FC, *Barray* 1292 FC, 1336 FC II., *Insula de Oldebarrey, Barrahed, Barrahaw* 1537 LR, *Old barro Insula, Barrohead* 1577 Saxton; now [barə]. Barrow was originally the name of a small island, later called Old Barrow, and recently joined with the mainland. The island gave name to the town of Barrow-in-Furness, which is chiefly on the mainland. *Barrahed* 1537 is no doubt the point opposite Barrow island. *Barrahaw* may have as its second el. O.E. *haga* "enclosure."

Barrow probably represents a Scand. *Barrey*, whose second el. is O.N. *ey* "island." This name is evidenced elsewhere. Barra (*Barru* 11 cent. Johnston, Pl.N. of Scotland) is one of the southernmost of the Hebrides, and Barra Head is a promontory at the S. extremity of the Barra islands. From Barra may be derived the O.N. epithets *Barreyjarskáld* and (Alfdís hin) *barreyska* (Landnáma), usually referred to Barrey in the Shetlands (Finnur Jónsson, Aarb. 1907, pp. 177, 246). *Barreyjarfjǫrðr*, mentioned in a Saga, proves the existence of a Barrey in the Shetland group (Jakobsen, Aarb. 1901, p. 170); it may be the present Fair Isle. It is difficult to believe that the first el. of the name can be either O.N. *barr* "corn," in historical time an exclusively poetical word and not with certainty found in Norw. place-names, or O.N. *barr* "pine-needles." I am inclined to believe that it is the Celtic *barr* "top, summit" (Welsh *bar*, Ir. *barr*). The meaning "summit" is not suitable in the case of Barrow, but the Celtic word may also have had such a sense as "extreme point, headland"; cf. the meaning "source of a stream," found in Ir. place-names (Joyce, Irish Names of Places III. 130). Or the name may have been transferred to Barrow from one of the other Barreys.

Foulney: *Fowley* 1537 Beck lxv, *the Fola* 1577 Harr., *Foulney* 1577 Saxton, *Fouley, Fowley* 1667 CWNS X. 278; now [fo·lni]. The island formerly "bred innumerable fowl of divers kinds"; cf. the graphic description in a document of 1537 quoted in VHL VIII. 310. The name means "bird island" (O.N. *fugl* or O.E. *fugol* "bird," and O.N. *ey* or O.E. *ēg* "island"). *Fugley* is a well-known Scand. name. The change of *Fouley* to *Foulney* seems due to influence from *Walney*.

Peel Island was named from the peel castle on the island. On the old name *Fouldray*, etc., *see* p. 200.

Roa : *the Roa* 1577 Harr.; now [ro·ə]. Earlier forms are wanted. But very likely Roa is O.N. *Rauðey* " the red island " ; cf. *Roe* in the Shetlands (Jakobsen, Aarb. 1901, p. 171f.).

Walney : *Wagneia(m)* 1127, 1127-33 Ch, 1190 FC, *Wageneia* 1155, 1189-94 Ch (orig.), *Wagneya* 1200 ChR, *Wannegia* 1246 LAR, *Waghenay* 1336 FC II., *Wawenay* 1404 CR, *Waynow* 1537 LR, *Wanowe, Wayno* 1539 FC II., *the Wauay* 1577 Harr., *Walney* 1577 Saxton. I derive the name from an O.N. *Vǫgney*, the first el. being O.N. *vǫgn* " grampus, Orca Gladiator." The grampus, according to VHL I. 210, is still a visitor, even if a rare one, to Morecambe Bay. The name may have been given because grampuses used to be seen near the island. But it is also possible that the name was given in allusion to the shape of the island ; like the grampus, it is long and narrow.

Several minor places on Walney are mentioned in early sources.

Biggar : *Bigger* 1292 FC, *Bygger* 1537 LR, 1539 FC II. The first el. of the name seems to be O.N. *bygg* " barley." The second might be *ergh* " a pasture ; a hut " (cf. p. 10). The combination does not seem quite convincing, but it is possible some cultivation of barley may have been carried on at a place chiefly used for pasture. Or O.N. *geiri* or O.E. *gāra* " a triangular piece of land " may possibly be thought of.

Idlecote : *Idell cote* 1509 Beck 305, *Idelcote* 1539 FC II. W. B. Kendall, Report of the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club XIII. 47f., states that the sheepcote was erected on two common fields that had been left to lie idle. I cannot judge whether this is a trustworthy statement.

North Scale : *Northscale* 1247 FC, 1292 FC.

4. **Above Town** (N. of Dalton town).

The bierley is also called *Sanct Elen birlay* 1537 FC II. It was then named from St. Helen's chapel, N.W. of Dalton. Cf. *Sanct Elen doube* 1537 FC II. (*doube=dub* " a pool "), *Sayntellyngarth* 1539 ib. The bierley had two divisions :

Ireleth division (the W. part).

Ireleth (h.) : *Irlid* 1190 FC, (grangiam de) *Ireleyth* c 1200 FC, *Irelith* 1292 FC, *Irlythe* 1336 FC II., *Yerlethcote* 1539 FC II.; now [aiəleþ]. The pers. n. *Ire* (prob. Scand.; cf. Björkman, Namenkunde) or the gen. of O.N. *Irar* or O.E. *Iras* " Irishmen " and O.N. *hlíð* or O.E. *hlið* " slope." Ireleth stands on a hill-slope.

Killerwick : *Chiluestreuic* DB, *Kilverdiswic* 1190 FC, *-wik* 1191-8 FC, *Killerwyk* 1336 FC II, *Killerwith* 1509 Beck 305. The name is lost. The place seems to have been merged in Elliscales, near which it was presumably situated. The first el. of the name is the pers. n. *Kilvert*, which is apparently of Scand. origin (Björkman, Personennamen and Namenkunde), but of obscure history. The second el. must be O.E. *wīc*, perhaps in the sense " cattle-farm."

Askam (near the Duddon estuary) : ? *Askeham* 1535 DL. Perhaps, like Askham in Wml. (*Askum* 1232, Sedgefield), O.E. *æscum* or O.N. *askum* " at the ashes." But a base *Ask-holm* is equally possible. There seems no reason to believe that the form *Ascum*[1] quoted by Wyld from LC (1326) belongs here.[1]

[1] *Ascum* is here used as a surname. Sir John de Ascum was proctor of the rector of St. Michael's (Am.).

Dunnerholme : *Dunreholm* c 1220 FC, *Dunerholme, Donnerholme* 1252 FC I.316f. The place stands at a rocky eminence rising 60ft. above sea-level, on the low shore of the Duddon estuary. An el. *Dunner-* is found also in the name *Dunnerdale*, which very likely has as its first el. a form of the river-name *Duddon* ; *see* p. 223. As Dunnerholme is on the Duddon, the same etymology seems plausible for the first el. of Dunnerholme. But there is in early sources a third name with a first el. *Dunner-*, viz., *Dunnermersk* c 1245, *Dunnermersk* c 1270 FC II. (orig.). The place seems to have been in Martin ; if so, this *Dunner-* cannot be from Duddon. I have no definite suggestion to offer as regards this element. Possibly we may compare certain etymologically obscure Norw. names, *e.g.*, the now lost *Dunnarstaðir* (NG 3, p. 271). The O.E. pers. n. *Dunnere*, found once in The Battle of Maldon, does not seem to me a probable source.
Elliscales (N.W. of Dalton) : *Aylinescal* 1211-22 LPD II. 170, *Alinscalis, Alinscales* c 1230 FC, *Alescales* 1539 FC II. *See* further Lindkvist p. 192. The first el., clearly a pers. n., is identified by Lindkvist with M.E. *Ayline*<*Aylwine*, by Wyld with O.E. *Ælwine*. But the early loss of *w* is somewhat remarkable, and I am inclined to believe that it is rather O.F. *Alein*[1] (with reduction of *ei* to *i* in the unstressed syllable) or the corresponding Ir. *Ailéne*. The second el. is O.N. *skáli* " hut."
Goldmire (W. of Dalton, on a stream) : *Goldmyers* 1517 DL, *Goldemyre* 1539 FC II., (water-course of) *Goldmyre* 1538 FC II. *Gold-* may be O.E. *golde* the name of a yellow plant, perhaps also used of the marsh-marigold ; cf. Golborne, p. 99 ; *-mire* is O.N. *mýrr* " marsh."
Greenscoe : *Greneschow* 1338 FC, *Grenescogh* 1400 FC. O.N. *grœnn* " green," and *skógr* " wood."
Haume, High and Low (or, Green) : *Howehom* 1336, 1400 FC, *Greneham, Heyham* c 1535 Beck 325, *The Hygham, the Greneham* 1539 FC II., *Greenehawme* 1596 RW 178 ; now [a·m]. High Haume is high up on the slope of High Haume hill (510ft.) ; Low H. is on its lower slope. I suppose this is O.N. *haugum* " at the hills." Possibly *Hougun* DB, identified by Dr. Farrer with Millom, Cumb., refers to this place. There are several smaller hills near Haume. Another possibility is that the name is a compound of O.N. *haugr* " hill " and O.E. *hamm* " enclosure." But it is doubtful if the O.E. word was still in use in the district in the Scand. time.
Hagg : *Hagg* 1338, *Hagge* 1400 FC, *Hagspryng* 1537 Beck lxvi. E. dial. *hag* " an allotment of timber for felling, a certain portion of wood marked off to be cut " (EDD), from O.N. *hǫgg* " felling of trees."
Mousell (on Butts Beck) : *Moushil* 1271 FC, *Mousell* 1509 Beck 305, *Mowsell* 1539 FC II., *Moyselsprynge* 1537 Beck lxvi ; now [mo·zəl]. The place is at a hill. The elements of the name seem to be O.E. *mūs* " mouse " and *hyll* " hill." The modern pronunciation is remarkable. *Sprynge* 1537 is *spring* " a copse, grove . . . ; a plantation of young trees," etc. (NED).
Roanhead : *Ronheved* 1338 FC, *Ronhevede* 1400 FC, *Ronehede* 1539 FC II. ; now [rɔned]. The place is situated near Sandscale Haws, a spit of sand projecting into the Duddon estuary ; this may originally have been called Roanhead. If

[1] The form *Alaynscheles* quoted by Wyld from AD I. refers to a place in Durham. The date should be 1293-4 instead of 1206.

so, the second el. means " headland." But more likely the place was perhaps named from the slight hill near which it stands ; in this case *head* means " hill." The first el. is possibly M.E. *rone* " a brake or thicket " (NED).

Stewnor : *Stonenernbech* c 1190 FC II., p. 791, *Stonerbek* 1412 FC, *Stevenor*, *Stevener* 1603 RW 122, 168 ; now [stju·nə]. Stewnor Bank and S. Park are high up among the hills in the N. part of the division. Stewnor Beck may be the present Poaka Beck. I take *Stonenern-* to be miswritten for *Stoueneru-* (in LPD II. 166 it is actually spelt *Stonenerubech*) and to be identical with Steveney, Cumb. : *Stouenergam* 12 cent. RSB. The first el. is O.N. *stofn*, *stufn* (or O.E. *stofn*) " a stump, stem," the second being *ergh* " a hill pasture."

Thwaite Flat : *Wateflatt* c 1535 Beck 325, *Watflat* 1539 FC II. Cf. pp. 11, 19.

Lindal with Martin division (the E. part).

Martin (N. of Dalton, near Poaka Beck ; v.) : *Meretun* DB, 1185-1200 LPD II. 174, *Mertona* 1157-63 Ch (orig.), *Merton* 1190 FC, *Meretona* c 1200 FC II., *Parva Mertona* 1249 FC II. (orig.) ; now [ma·tn]. O.E. *Meretūn* " lake town." There are, or were, two or more tarns near Martin. In FC II. p. 753 we read (in an original document of c 1225) of " unam acram circa *Sepheí'ne* et unam rodam in capite *Tarne* " and of " lacum qui *Tarne* vocatur," and the same document mentions *Potfurlang* " the furlong at the pot or pool." *Sepheterne* clearly means " rush tarn," the elements being O.N. *sef* (Engl. dial. *seave*) " rush " and O.N. *tiǫrn* " tarn." There is a place **Tarn Flat** ¼ mile S. of Martin (: ? *Terneflat* 1332 FC).

Orgrave (old manor) : *Ouregraue* DB, *Oregraua* 1157-63 Ch (orig.), *Orgraf* 1190-1200 FC II., *Oregrave*, *Houegrave* 1235, *Oregrave* 1246 LF, (molendinum de) *Orgrave* 1247 FC II. (orig.). Orgrave has been merged in Lindal, but the name is preserved in Orgrave Mill Cottages on Poaka Beck near Tytup Hall. Early documents frequently mention iron mines in Orgrave and the neighbourhood, and Lindal is still a mining centre. This tells us that the name *Orgrave* is a compound of O.E. *ōra* " ore " and *græf* " grave " and means " ore-pit." I find that the correct explanation was given by Collingwood as early as 1902 (The Lake Counties, p. 66). The name gives the important information that iron mining must have been carried on in the district since before the Conquest. The original Orgrave may have been at Eure Pits S.W. of Lindal ; Eure is the form of *ore* to be expected in N. dialects ; cf. [fliuə(r)] " floor " N.Lanc. (E. D. Gr. p. 444).

Lindal (v.) : (grangia de) *Lindale* c 1220, (grangia de) *Lindal* c 1225 FC II., *Lindale* 1292 FC, *Lyndale* 1336 FC II. ; now [lindl]. The name, like Lindale in Cartmel, probably means " lime-tree valley." The village stands in a valley or hollow, but the name may also refer to the deep valley W. of the church. In FC I. 241 the name is explained as " the division or portion of the Common-land divided off for the purpose of growing *lin*, *line*, or flax." This etymology is founded on a passage in which mention is made of portions of Orgrave common field, among others " dim. rodam versus Lindale ad Raulith." But *versus* may mean " in the direction of," and the passage does not prove that Lindale was in Orgrave common field. The place is often called a grange, which shows that it did *not* belong to the common field.

Tytup Hall : *Tytope* 1537 FC II. ; now [taitəp]. Earlier material is wanted. The second el. may very well be O.E. *hop* in the sense " a valley." The place is in the valley of Poaka Beck. The first el. might be an O.E. pers. n. **Tȳta* ; cf. *Tytel.*

ALDINGHAM PAR.

The S.E. part of the Furness peninsula, on Morecambe Bay. Like Dalton, Aldingham is not divided into townships, but three subdivisions are recognized: Aldingham, Gleaston, and Leece with Dendron.

Aldingham was the principal seat of the lordship of **Muchland,** which embraced Aldingham and parts of Urswick par. (VHL VIII. 300ff.). The name Muchland appears late; the first quotation in VHL (*Michel-land*) dates from 1498; cf. *Micheland* 1514 Ind, *Michellande* 1533 FC, *Michell's Land* 1536 DL. The name is generally, and already in 1774 by West (p. 25), explained as Michael's land, the first lord of Muchland having been Michael le Fleming, who held it in 1127. This seems correct, only the late appearance of the name is curious.

1. **Aldingham** (on the sea; h.): *Aldingham* DB, 1212 LI, 1269 LAR, 1327 LS, *Aldingeham* 1292 PW, *Aldyngham* 1332 LS, 1336, 1389 LF, *Aldinghame* 1341 FC, *Audingham* 1587 RW 174. O.E. *Aldinga hām* "the hām of the *Aldingas* or descendants of *Alda*."

Hart Carrs (near Leece): *Hert* DB, *Hertcarr* 1418 CR, *Hert Park* 1536 DL. If the old name was *Hert*, we may compare *Heorot* the name of Hroðgār's hall in Beowulf, Hart the name of a parish in Durham (*Hert* 1130-5 YCh 671), Swine in Yks. (*Swine* DB, *Swyna* 1163-72 YCh 1362). But Hart in Durh. is perhaps not a safe analogy, as there are in the neighbourhood of the place Harton (*Heortedun* Sim. Durh.), and Hartlepool (*Heruteu* "Insula Cervi" in Bede). The name would seem to be O.E. *heorot* "hart." Names of animals used as place-names are occasionally found in Norway: *Hjorten* "the Hart" NG XIII. 353, *Hon* (<*Hundr* "dog") NG I. 43. The reason why places got names such as these is as a rule by no means apparent.

Baycliff (h.): *Bellecliue* 1212 LI, *Belecliue, -clyue* 1269 LAR, *Beelclyff, -hagges* 1418, *Beacliff* 1585 RW 105. The place stands on a slope c 100ft. above sea-level near Morecambe Bay. The second el. is clearly O.E. *clif* "a slope." The first is rather doubtful. The earliest quotation points to O.E. *Bella*, a known name. But if the form *Beelclyff* is trustworthy, it might be O.E. *bǣl* "fire, blaze."

Newbigging (at two slight elevations in very low surroundings): *Neubygging, Newebigginge* 1269 LAR. *Bigging* "building; hut" is a derivative of *big* vb. from O.N. *byggia* "to build; dwell."

Roosebeck (h.): *Rosbech* 1227 FC II., *Rosebec, -beke* 1269 LAR, *Rosebek* 1418 CR. The hamlet stands in the S. part of the parish, close to a brook, which forms the boundary against Dalton. This brook, which rises not far from Roose (in Dalton par.), must formerly have been called Roose Beck.

Scales (on a hill; h.): *Scales* 1269 LAR, 1418 CR, *del Scales* 1332 LS. O.N. *skáli* "a hut."

Seamill (on the sea): *Semilne, Semilln* 1269 LAR, *Sey Mill* 1536 DL.

Sea Wood (near the sea): *Marina Silva* 1282 CWNS XII. 234, *Le Sewod* 1418 CR, *Seywood Park* 1528 DL. Seawood Scar (in the sands outside Sea Wood) seems to be *le Whytescarre in Marina Silva* 1282 CWNS XII. 235. *Scar* is O.N. *sker* "skerry."

Sunbrick: *Swinebroc, Swynebrok* (no doubt for *-brek*) 1269 LAR, *Swynbreke* 1282 CWNS XII. 235, *Sonbrek* 1418 CR, *Swinebreake* 1584, *Sunbreke* 1583 RW

212, 216; now [sunbrik]. The place is in the N. part of the parish on the slope of a prominent ridge of 400ft. called Birkrig (*Byrkeryg* 1282 CWNS XII. 234). O.N. *svín-brekka* " slope where swine are kept."

Windhill (on a hill N. of Aldingham) : ? *Windul* 1180-90 FC II. (orig.), *Whynhill* 1418 CR, *Windle* 1605 Aldingham R. " Windy hill " ; cf. Windle in De. The form of 1418, however, may point to " whin hill."

2. **Gleaston** (W. of Aldingham) : *Glassertun* DB, *de Glestona* 13 cent. RSB, *Cleston, de Cleyston, de Clesdon* 1246 LAR, *Magna, Parua Gleston, Gleseton* 1269 LAR, *Gleston* 1389, 1450 LF, c 1540 Leland, *Glayston* 1577 Saxton, *Glaiston* 1577 Harr. ; now [gli·stn]. Gleaston hamlet stands on a brook at the foot of Beacon Hill (286ft.). Gleaston castle is a little way to the N.

It seems we have to assume as the first el. of the name a form *Gles-* or (in view of the DB orm and the mod. pronunciation rather) *Glēs-* from O.E. *Glǣs-*. The latter base would have to be derived from the root *glis-* in O.E. *glisian, glisnian*, etc., O.N. *glis* " gleam," etc. The base *Gles-* (or *Glēs-*) would belong to Germ. *glas-, glēs-* with much the same meaning ; cf. the Norw. place-names *Glesnes, Glæserud*, O.N. *glæsiligr* " shining " etc. (NG XI. 262). The el. *Gles-* might be an old name of the brook, which has clear water. Or a beacon fire might have been called *glēs* or the like ; cf. Beacon Hill. Or *Gles-* may refer to the situation of the place. The hamlet is in a sheltered position with hills to the W., N., and E., but with a free southern aspect " The light, sunny place " would be a suitable name. *Glesnes* in Norway is thought to have possibly got its name in allusion to its high free situation with a southern view. Or a meaning " glade, clearing " may be thought of. *Glesefeld* (in Linc.) 1291 TE may have the same first el. as Gleaston.

3. **Leece with Dendron** (S.W. of Aldingham).

Leece (v.) : *Lies* DB, *Les, Lees* 1269 LAR, *Lees* 1327, 1332 LS, *Leghis* 1341 FC, *Lece* 1577 Saxton ; now [li·s]. Apparently the plur. of O.E. *lēah* " lea, pasture," etc. With the DB spelling *Lies* may be compared the DB *Hieton*.

Dendron (h.) : ? *Dene* DB, *Denrun, Denrum* (printed *Deu-*) 1269 LAR, *Denrum* 1412 FC, *Deuron* 1418 CR, *Dendron* 1584 RW 58 ; now [dendərn]. If *Dene* DB belongs here, the original name may have been O.E. *denu* " valley," or in this case rather " hollow, level ground among hills." The second el. of Dendron seems to be O.E. or O.N. *rūm* " room," here perhaps " clearing " ; cf. p. 16. The same change of *-m* to *-n* is found in Dertren, p. 186.

URSWICK PAR.

A district N. and W. of Aldingham, E. of Dalton par. There is no division into townships.

Urswick (E. of Dalton town) : *Ursewica* c 1150 FC, *Hursewic* 1189 Ch, 1212 LI, *Wrsewik* 1190 FC, *Ursewic* 1194 Ind, c 1205 FC II. (orig.), 1212 LI, *Vrs(e)wich, vrs(e)wic* 1198-1208 Ch (orig.), *Urswyk* 1246 LAR, 1413 LF, *Ursewik* 1269 LAR, *Vrsewyk* 1327, *-wik* 1332 LS ; *Magna Urswic* 1180-90 FC II (orig.), *Great Urswyk* 1277 LAR ; *Parva Urswik* 1257 LAR, *Little Ursewyk* 1299 LI. There are two villages and old manors : Great (or Much) and Little Urswick. Great Urswick, which is no doubt the earlier settlement, stands round the upper end of a large

tarn. The earliest forms of the name point to early M.E. *Urse-* (rather than *Ures-*) as the first element. I believe this is the old name of the tarn, O.E. **Ursǣ* " the bison's lake " ; cf. Swed. *Ursjön* (Hellqvist, Svenska Sjönamn, p. 679f.). The second el. is O.E. *wīc* " village, homestead," etc.

Quernbarow Fields (still found in West's map 1774) : *Querneberg* 1227 LF, *Wharneborow* (*-barowe*) *Feld* 1539 FC II. The elements are O.E. *cweorn* or O.N. *kvern* " mill," etc., and O.E. *beorh* or O.N. *berg* " hill " ; cf. Quarlton, p. 46.

Bardsea (N. of Aldingham ; old manor, v.) : *Berretseige* DB, *Berdeseia(m)* 1155, 1158, 1189-94 Ch (orig.), *Bardeseia* 1202 LF, *Berdesey* 1246 LAR, *Berdeseye* 1269 LAR, 1348 LF, *Berdese* 1269 LAR ; now [ba·dzə, ba·dzi]. The village is on the slope of a hill. Below it is a flat triangular piece of ground on the seashore, which may formerly have been partly under water. At the E. end is a slight hill, called Wadhead Scar. The second el. of the name, O.E. *ēg* " island," etc., no doubt refers to this piece of land. The first el. is clearly a pers. n. If the DB form is to be trusted, it may be assumed to have been a dissyllabic name, perhaps O.E. *Beornred*. If it was monosyllabic, we may compare the O.E. *Beard* which seems to enter into Beardshaw, Bl.

Bolton (S. of Little Urswick ; old manor) : *Bodeltun* DB, *Botheltun* 1180-90 FC II. (orig.), *Bowolton* 1235 LF, *Boulton* 1299 LI, 1304 LF, *Bolton* c 1300 FC, 1432 LF. O.E. *Bōpltūn* ; cf. p. 8. The name is now preserved in Bolton Chapel (ruined) and Bolton Heads (a hill). There is no vil. or hamlet of the name ; Hawksfield farm is on or near its site.

Stainton (S.E. of Dalton town ; old manor, v.) : *Steintun* DB, *de Steynton* 1246 LAR, *Steynton, Staynton* 1269 LAR, *Stayntonam* 1276 FC ; now [stentn]. The name means " stone village," " the village with the stones." On the village green are numerous stones of various sizes, some huge blocks of remarkable shape. They are obviously erratic blocks, and some have deep cavities or channels formed by the action of running water. An inhabitant told me they are thought to have been washed up by the flood. The correct etymology was given by West 1774. The first el. of the name is O.N. *steinn* or O.E. *stān*, later Scandinavianized.

Adgarley (h. ; now in Stainton, which it adjoins) : *Eadgarlith* 1180-90 FC II. (orig.), *Adgareslith* 1212 LI, *Adgerlith, -lyth* c 1300 FC ; now [adga·li]. O.E. *Eadgar* pers. n., and O.E. *hlīð* or O.N. *hlíð* " slope." The place stands on a slope.

PENNINGTON PAR.

A district W. of Ulverston, N. of Urswick. The surface gradually rises till altitudes of 700 to 1,000ft. are reached in the N.

Pennington (v.) : *Pennigetun* DB, *Penig-, Penytona* 1157-63 Ch (orig.), *Peninton* 1187f. LPR, *Penigtvn* 1198-1208 Ch (orig.), *Peniton* 1202 LF, *Pennitona* 1201-6 LPD II. 161, *Penyngton* 1327, 1332 LS ; now [penitn]. The name seems identical with Pennington in Hants : ? *Pœnnigtun* 973 BCS 1297, *Penitone* DB. Its first el. is no doubt O.E. *peni(n)q* " penny." There were presumably fiscal reasons for such a name. Analogous examples are given by Johnston, Pl.N. of Scotland s.v. Peninnghame.

Cowran : *Coran* 1623 Pennington R, *Coren* 1666 RW 71; now [kaurən]. Perhaps " cow-house," from O.N. *kýr* (g. pl. *kúa*) or O.E. *cū* and O.N. *rann* " house."

Ellabarrow : *Ellerburghe* 1332 FC, *Ellerbarrowe* 1542 DL. O.E. *ellern* " elder " or O.N. *elri* " alders " and M.E. *bergh* " hill."

Ewe Dale (in the far N.): *Ulvedale, -bech* 1189-1209 LPD II. 166, *Ulvedale* (vacherie) 1352 FC, *Uldale* 1408 FC II. O.N. *Ulfadalr* " valley of the wolves." The identification of the early forms with Ewe Dale is not absolutely certain, but Ulvedale is stated to have been in the far N. of Pennington.

Holebiggerah : *Holbigwra* 1332 FC, *Hole Bigway* 1538 FC II.; now [(h)o·l bigre·]. Near this was *Bigwra* 1332 FC. *Bigwra* is O.N. *bygg* " barley " and *(v)rá* " corner," etc. The place is in a deep valley.

Kirkstead (near Lindale): *Kirkested* 1332 FC. " The site of the church." There must have been a church at the place.

Loppergarth (close to Pennington church): *Lopgarth* 1595 RW 107, *Loppergarth* 1642, *Laupergarth* 1643 Pennington R. First el. possibly dial. *louper* " jumper; vagabond," etc., from O.N. *hlaupari*.

Rathmoss : *Rathmosse* 1656 Pennington R. Near by is **Rathvale.** *Rath* is no doubt O.N. *rauðr* " red " or a derivative of it. The places are near the upper Levy Beck, formerly apparently *Rawthey*; cf. p. 191.

Walthwaite (on a hillside): *de Walthwayt* 1260-80 FC II., *Walthwaiteforthe, Walthwaitforde* 1332 FC; now [wɔ·lþət]. *Wal-* is probably O.N. *vǫllr* " pasture, meadow "; Norw. *vold*, Swed. *vall* are often used of a meadow at a shieling or of a shieling. The place is near a brook.

Whinfield (h.): *Quinfel'* 1329 FC, *Whinfell* 1587 RW 229. The place stands at a hill (308ft.). The elements of the name are M.E. *whin* " gorse " and O.N. *fiall* " fell."

ULVERSTON PAR.

This large parish forms a long, comparatively narrow strip of land, which reaches to the N. boundary of the county. It is bounded on the E. by the Leven estuary, the Crake, Coniston Water, and Yewdale Beck. The western boundary follows a chain of hills, which separate Ulverston from Kirkby Ireleth par. In the S. is some comparatively low land, but the ground rises quickly. In the N. are hills such as Coniston Old Man, Wetherlam, and others. The villages and homesteads are mostly in the E. part.

1. **Ulverston** (town): *Vlurestun* DB, *Oluestonam* 1127ff. Ch, *Olueston̄* 1155, 1189-94 Ch (orig.), *Ulveston* 1191-8 FC, 1246, 1273 LAR, *Olueston* 1196 LF; *Ulverston, Ulvereston, Uluerestune pul* 1180-4 Ch, *Ulverston* 1246 LAR, 1309 LF, etc., *Ulvereston* 1271 LAR, *Ulveriston* 1277 LAR, *Vluereston* 1332 LS; *Ulreston* 1246, 1336 LF, *Vllerston* 1327 LS; *U'ston* 1867 Morris. The early forms without *r* are no doubt chiefly due to omission of an abbreviation-mark for *er*. Partly Norman influence may be assumed. The first el. of the name is either the common O.E. pers. n. *Wulfhere*, with loss of *W* owing to Scand. influence, or O.N. *Ulfarr*, as suggested by Björkman, Personennamen. I am inclined to prefer the first alternative.

Conishead Priory (S.E. of Ulverston, on Leven Sands): *Cuningesheued* 1180-4

Ch, *Conigeshevede, Conyngeshevede* 1180-4 Ch (orig.), *Chunghishewid* 1194-9 Ch (orig.), *Cunningeshevet, -heved* 1208 FC, *Cuningesheued* 1235 LF, *Coningisheued* 1246 IPM, *Cuningesheued* 1246 LAR, *Kunisheved* 1245 LPD II. 192; now [kunized]. The present (modern) mansion stands at the foot of a short ridge or hill with fairly steep sides, on the N. slope of which is Big Head Wood. The second el. of the name, *head* (O.E. *hēafod*), means " hill " and refers to this hill. The first el. is O.N. **kunungr, konungr* " king," which has very likely replaced O.E. *cyning*; cf. Coniscliff, Durh.: *Ciningesclif* Chr. (E.), *Cunesclive* 1203 (Mawer).

Dragley Beck (h.): *Dracklebecke* 1596 RW 241; now [draglə bek]. Dragley appears as *Drakelow* c 1270 FC II. The hamlet stands on Levy Beck. *Drakelow* is no doubt identical with Drakelow in Derby: *æt Dracan hlawen* 942 (Johnston). It probably means " the hill or mound of the dragon." There may have been a legend about a dragon attached to the place.

Gascow: [*Gars*]*chownab* 1180-4 Ch, *Garthscoh, -lac* 1220-46 Ch, *Gartschou* 1272-8 LPD II. 193; now [gaskə]. The elements of the name are O.N. *garðr* " fence; enclosure " and *skógr* " wood." There is a small pointed hill behind the farm; this is the *nab* referred to in the earliest example (O.N. *nabbr, nabbi* " peak or knoll ").

Hasty Gill (a long valley N.W. of Ulverston, at the head of which a height of 700ft. is reached): *Hastigale* 1368 FC, *Hastagale* 1412 FC (Index). The second el. seems to be O.N. *geil* " narrow glen." The first el. is doubtful, especially as the early forms vary. If, as seems probable, *Hastigale* is the more correct form, we may think of O.N. *hástigi* " stallion " or **hástigr* " high path." But better material is wanted.

Roshead or **Rosside** (N.W. of Ulverston, in Hasty Gill): (villa de) *Reuesath, Ruesath* c 1270 FC II., *de Ressat* 1332 FC, *Rosset* a 1412 FC, *Rossett* 1537 LF, *Russett* 1552 LF. I believe the elements of this name are O.N. *Refr* pers. n. and *set, sat* " shieling "; cf. p. 16. The change of *e* to *o* is abnormal.

Swarthmoor Hall: *Swartemore* 1537 LR, *Swarthmore* 1537 FC II., *Swartmore* 1595 RW 216, *Swartmoor* 1867 Morris; now [swaˑþmuər]. Probably O.E. *sweart* " black " and *mōr*. The place was named from Swarth Moor, now drained, which gave name also to Swarthmoor village in Pennington.

Trinkeld (S.W. of Ulverston): *Hindekeld* 1180-4 Ch, *Trandekeld* 1319 LPR 357[1], (cursum fontis quae vocatur) *Trankelde* FC I. 424, *Trynkell* 1539 FC II., *Trenkelt* 1598 RW 216, *Trinkelt* 1615 RW 107; now [triŋkəld, triŋ keld]. O.N. *Prándr* (or rather *Prándi*; cf. Björkman, Namenkunde) pers. n. and *kelda* " spring " (thus in the main Wyld). A copious well rises at the place, and from it a rivulet runs eastward. The sound-development of the name is remarkable. The change of *a* to *i* is probably due to the fact that *a* was long. This was palatalized to [eˑ] and shortened early enough to take part in the change of [e] to [i] before *nk*. The regular *Tr-* instead of *Thr-* is due to the change of *pr* > *tr* found in parts of Lanc. and Wml. (Wright, E.D.Gr. § 313).

2. **Mansriggs** (N. of Ulverston; h.): *Manslarig* c 1520 VHL VIII. 356, *Manslarigges* 1539 FC II., *Mansriggs* 1577 Ind II. The district occupies some ridges and hills. The first el. of the name cannot be determined with the material available.

3. **Osmotherley** (N. of Ulverston): *Asemunderlawe* 1246 LAR, *de Asmundrelau* 1341 IN, *de Osmoundrelawe* 1332 LS, *Osmunderley* 1539 FC II., *Easmotherlei* 1588 RW 50; now [ɔzmuðəli]. *See* Lindkvist p. 4 and Wyld. *Asmundar*, the gen. of O.N. *Asmundr* (later anglicized to *Osmund-*), and O.E. *hlāw* " hill." The name is remarkable in so far as it contains a Scand. gen. form and an Engl. second el. We must assume that O.E. *hlāw* had been adopted by Scand. settlers. The loss of *n* and change of *d* to *ð* is found also in Osmotherley, Yks.

Broughton Beck (h.): *Broctunebec* c 1246, *Brochton-*, *Broghtunbec* c 1272 FC, the name of the brook on which the hamlet stands. The old name of the place was Broughton: *de Broghton* 1332 LS, *de Broghtona* 1333, *Broghtonam* a 1412 FC. O.E. *Brōctun*.

4. **Egton with Newland** (N.E. of Ulverston, on Leven Sands and the Crake).

Newland (the S. part): *Neulande* 1276 FC, *Neweland* 1418 CR. The place may originally have been a piece of newly cultivated land belonging to the townfield of Ulverston or Plumpton.

Egton (the N. part): *Egetona* 1248 LPD II. 171, *Egeton* 1262 ib. 175, *Egton* 1272 FC, *Eggeton* FC I. 413; now [ektn]. There is no hamlet called Egton. The place was very likely near the present hamlet of Penny Bridge, which was named from a family resident there. An early name of the ford that preceded the bridge was *Tunewat(h)* FC I. 348, 378, *i.e.*, " the village ford," probably " Egton village ford." Egton may be O.E. *Ecgan tūn*, as the earliest forms seem to suggest, or *ecg-tūn*, *i.e.*, " the tūn at the edge or hill-side." The hills slope sharply towards the Crake.

Greenodd (at the confluence of the Crake and the Leven; v.): *Green Odd* 1774 West (map). The name means " the green promontory." It need not be old, as *odd* (O.N. *oddi*) is still used in Lanc. dialects in the sense " a small point of land " (EDD).

Nettleslack (h.): *de Nettlisclak* 1264 FC II. (orig.), *Netylslake* 1544 DL. The place stands in a slight hollow or valley. The elements of the name are O.N. *netla* or O.E. *netele* " nettle " and O.N. *slakki* " valley."

Plumpton (E. of Ulverston, on the flat shore of the Leven): (landam de) *Plumbtun*, *Plumton* 1180-4 Ch, (Haya de) *Plumtun* 1276 FC, *Plunton Ho'* 1867 Morris. O.E. *plūme* " plum-tree " and *tūn*.

Scathwaite, High and Low (hamlets; in the higher W. part): *Scafthwait* 1246, 1272 FC, *Scafthauith* 1248 FC II., *Skathwayt* 1336 FC II., *Scait(w)hait* 1597 RW 168; now [skaþət]. Cf. also Lindkvist p. 121. Lindkvist suggests as first el. O.N. *skaf* " peeled bark used as fodder." More probable is perhaps the O.N. pers. n. *Skapti*, or Norw. *skapt* in the sense " lower spur jutting out from a hill."

Toppin Rays (on a hill): *Toppinraise* 1590, 1599 RW 184. Engl. dial. *toppin(g)* means " a hill." *Rays* is O.N. *hreysi* " cairn."

5. **Lowick** (N. of Egton with Newland and Osmotherley): *Lofwic* 1202 LF, *Lowyk* 1246 LAR, *Laufwik*, *-wic*, *-wyk*, *Louwyk*, *Lofwyk* FC I. 435ff., *Lewike* 1577 Harr.; now [lo·ik]. Lindkvist, p. 147, suggests as the elements of the name O.N. *lauf* " leaf, foliage " or a beck-name *Laufa* and O.N. *vík* " bend of a river." The existence of a beck-name *Laufa* may to some extent be corroborated by Harrison's statement that the brook which rises at Lowick chapel was called *the Lew*. But probably the name *Lew* is a back-formation from *Lewike*, and the

first alternative, *Laufvik* " leafy bend," seems to me preferable. *Laufvik* is a common name in Norway; cf. *e.g.* NG XI. 62. Lowick Bridge and Lowick Green are on the Crake, which makes several bends.

Groffa Crag : *Crophacrage* 1636 RW 76, *Bropha-cragg* 1662 RW 77; now [grɔfə krag]. The farm is on the slope of a rocky hill, called Groffa Scars. I imagine the name represents an O.N. *Gróf-haugr* (cf. Norw. *Grovhaugen* NG V. 113), the first el. being O.N. *gróf* " hole, hollow; brook." A quarry may have been at the place, or a natural hollow may be meant.

Hawkswell : *Hawkeswell* 1561, 1563 DL. O.N. *Haukr* pers. n. and O.E. *wella* " well, brook." A small brook runs past the farm.

Knapperthaw: *Knapthall* 1591f. RW 283, *Knapathow* 1674 ib. 32; now [napəþɔ·]. The farm stands at a ridge with a round knoll at one end. The first el. is an O.E. *cnæppede* " provided with a *cnæpp*." O.E. *cnæpp* means " top of a hill," dial. *knap* also " bump, knob." The second el. is no doubt O.N. *haugr* " hill." The name accurately describes the hill.

6. **Subberthwaite** (a hilly district in the W. part of the par.): *de Sulbythwayt* 1284 LAR, *Sulbithwayt* 1346 VHL VIII. 357, *Soelbythwayt* 1489 PatR, *Soberthwayt* 1538 FC II., *Sowberthwat* 1577 Saxton, *Soberthat* 1592 RW 32; now [subəþət]. The earliest forms point decisively to the first el. being a place-name in *-by*, no doubt identical with Soulby in Cumb. and Wml., and probably having as first el. the pers. n. *Suli* found in O.Dan. or possibly O.N. *súl* " pillar." We must assume that there was once a place called *Sulby* somewhere near Subberthwaite. The later forms seem to be due to association with M.E. *bergh* " hill." A plausible explanation is that a neighbouring hill had the name *Solberg*, identical with Sulber Hill in Yks. (*Solberge* DB, *Solberhe* FC) from O.N. *Sólbiarg* " sunny hill." This may have been the name of Lin Crag, at the foot of which Subberthwaite stands. *Sólbiarg*, now Solberg, is a common name in Norway, and is held to mean sometimes " sunny hill," sometimes " a hill situated in the west " (NG IX. 110, XI. 12).

Gawthwaite or **Goathwaite :** *Golderswatt* 1552 LF; cf. VHL VIII. 354. Second el. O.N. *þveit*; the first is doubtful.

Stennerley (High and Low): *de Stainnerlid* 1200-35 FC II., *de Stainerlith* 1251 LPD II. 175, *Staynerlyth* 1285 LAR, *de Staynerlyth* 1316 LI. Cf. Lindkvist p. 81. O.N. *Steinarr* pers. n. and *hlið* " slope, hill-side." The hamlets are on the slope of a hill reaching 788ft.

Tottlebank : *Totlbank* 1612 RW 283. The place stands at the foot of a hill of 700ft., close to Blawith Knott (812ft.). I believe *Tottle-* is M.E. *tōte-hill* " look-out hill." *Bank* means " hill."

7. **Blawith** (at the S. end of Coniston Water; h.): (foresta de) *Blawit* 1276, *Blawith* 1341 FC, *Blathe* 1600 RW 185; now [bla·ð, bla·þ]. O.N. *Blá-viðr* " the black wood "; cf. *Bláskogr* in Iceland and *Myrkviðr* in Norway with the same meaning. Blawith is an old forest district.

Birkrow : *Byrkerowe* 1564 DL, *Birkraye* 1640 RW 176. Second el. apparently O.N. *(v)rá* " corner," etc. **Bouldrey** or **Bouthrey Bridge** perhaps has the same second el.

Cockenshell : *de Cockanscales* 1284 LAR, *de Cokainscalis* 14 cent. FC, *Cokenscale* 1632 Torver R. *Cocken-* cannot be anything else than the place-name Cocken

(Dalton); cf. p. 203. The name would seem to show that the fells in High Furness were common land belonging to the townships in the south. The second el. is O.N. *skáli* " hut."

Houkler Hall : *Hoglerhowe* 1609 RW 284, *Houghler Hall* 1637 ib.; now [haukl ɔ·l]. The farm stands at Spout Crag (over 300ft.) W. of Blawith chapel. The name no doubt originally denoted the hill, the second el. being O.N. *haugr* " hill." The first el. is doubtful; it is very likely a compound containing *ergh* " a shieling."

Picthall : *Pickthowe* 1609 RW 175, *Pickthawe* 1644 RW 289; now [pikþɔ·l]. No doubt identical with *Pikedhowe* FC I. 203 (W. Yks.). " Pointed hill "; cf. Pike Law in Bl. The place stands at a small pointed hill, characterized also by pointed rocks on its sides.

Stable Harvey (in a valley near Coniston Water) : *de Stableheruy* 1332 LS. This must be " the stable of Harvey." *Harvey* is a French name.

Water Yeat (on a small brook) : *Wateryate myll* 1539 FC II., *Wotteryait* 1597 RW 3; now [wɔ·təjet]. *Yeat* is O.E. *geat* " gate."

8. **Torver** (W. of Coniston Water) : *Thoruergh* 1190-9 Ch, *Thorwerghe* 1202 LF, *Thorfergh* 1246 LF, *Torver(e)gh*, *Thoruergh* 1246 LAR, *Torweg* 1252 LAR, *Torueng* 1272-80, 1299-1320 LPD II. 193, *Torver* 1537 LR. The second el. is *ergh* " a shieling." The first is doubtful. If it began in *T-*, either O.N. *torf* " turf, peat " or the O.N. pers. n. *Torfi* or *Torfa* would yield a satisfactory etymology. If the name began in *Th-*, a Scand. name in *Þor-* must be the first el., *e.g.*, *Þurwif* (a woman's name; cf. Björkman) or *Þorolfr*, but neither seems to go well with the early forms.

Grassguards : *Gresgards* 1599 Torver R. O.N. *gresgarðr* " grass enclosure."

Hoathwaite : *Holtwayt* 1272-80 LPD II. 193. The place is on a brook in a deep valley. Lindkvist's suggestion that the first el. is O.E. or O.N. *hol* " hollow " seems thus very plausible.

9. **Church Coniston** (at the N. end of Coniston Water; v.) : *Coningestoñ* 1157-63 Ch (orig.), *Koningeston* 1196 LF, *Coningeston* 1257 LAR, *Kunyngston* 1336 FC II.; now [kunistn]. O.N. **Kunungstún* "the king's tūn." The name might be an O.N. adaptation of O.E. *Cyningestūn*, but is more probably Scandinavian and possibly preserves the memory of a small Scandinavian mountain kingdom. A Norwegian " kingdom " was not a large district. A sea-king might command quite a small fleet. There is no intrinsic improbability in the suggestion that Coniston with adjoining districts formed a Viking kingdom. Its extent may be indicated by the names Thurston Water for Coniston Water and part of the Crake, and Cunsey on Lake Windermere. Thurston Water was named from one Thurstan, an early owner. The southern boundary of his possessions was possibly the point where Thurston Water changed its name to Crake (cf. p. 192). Thurstan may have been the founder or one of the early kings of the kingdom. Cunsey is very likely O.N. *Kunungs-á* and may have been named from the same king as Coniston. If so, his kingdom must have comprised at least part of the land between Coniston Water and Lake Windermere. But, of course, Coniston may have belonged to some larger Scandinavian kingdom.

Little Arrow : *Little Array* 1610, *Little Harrow* 1671 RW 112. Probably *ergh* " a shieling."

Haws Bank : *Howhousebancke* 1645 Coniston R. *Howhouse* has as first el. O.N. *haugr* " hill." Bank means " hill."

Tilberthwaite : *Tildesburgthwait* 1196 LF, c 1200 FC, *Tilburthwait* a 1412 FC ; now [tilbəþət]. Tilberthwaite farms stand 2½ miles N. of Coniston in a valley. The first el. is a lost place-name *tillesburc* 1157-63 Ch (orig.), which contains a pers. n., O.E. *Tilli*, as in Tilbury (Lindkvist), or perhaps rather one identical with that in Tildesley, De. The el. *burg* suggests that there was once a fort at the place. There are possibly traces of one at Low Tilberthwaite.

COLTON PAR.

The district between the Crake and the S. part of Coniston Water on the W. and the Leven and the S. part of Windermere on the E. It is mostly hilly except in the southernmost part and along Colton Beck and Rusland Pool. It consists to a great extent of fell country and forest land. Colton till 1676 belonged to Hawkshead. There is no division into townships, but the customary division into hamlets may be in the main followed.

(*a*) **Colton** (the S.W. part ; h.) : *Coleton* 1202 LF, *de Colton* 1332 LS, *Colton* 1336 FC II., *Coltona* 1400 FC ; now [kəltn, ko·ltn]. Colton h., with the church, stands on Colton Beck. The earliest form points to a first el. with *l*, not *ll*, and probably dissyllabic. I suppose it is O.E. *Cola* pers. n. *Cola* is not found very early (929 Wilts, etc.), and is looked upon by Björkman as probably Scandinavian, while Redin thinks it is at any rate not genuinely English. As *Koli* is rare at least in O.N. and O.Dan. (while *Kolr* is common), and Collingbourne is a place-name in Wilts, where we do not expect to find Scand. names in very early times, I think Scand. origin improbable, and see no reason why O.E. *Cola*, like O.H.G. *Colo*, should not be a native name. Derivation from a brook-name is in itself possible ; *Kola* is a common Norw. name of streams, meaning " the coal-black one." But such a sense at least does not suit Colton Beck. A third possibility is that the first el. is O.N. *kola* " charcoal burning." On Scand. names apparently containing this word *see* Lidén, NoB IV. 117ff.

Bandrake Head : *banryghed* c 1535 Beck 329, *Banryghed* 1539 FC II. The place stands at the S. end of a ridge now called *the Rigg*. *Banrig*, obviously the original name of this ridge, no doubt stands for *Bandrig*, *band* being *band* " a ridge of a hill ; a long ridge-like hill," a word common in the Lake District and probably from O.N. *band* " band, tie," in Norw. place-names also used of " a long narrow mountain." Cf. Scandinavians, p. 17f.

Haybridge (on Rusland Pool) : *Haybryge* c 1535 Beck 329, *Haybryg* 1537 LR. *Hay-* may be O.E. *haga* or O.N. *hagi* " enclosure."

Bouth (h.) : *Bouthe* 1336 FC II, 1400 FC, 1577 Saxton, *Bowth* 1577 Harr. ; now [bauð]. O.N. *búð* " booth, hut." Bouth was no doubt originally a dairy-farm belonging to Colton.

Hulleter : *Hullater* 1538 FC II, 1648 RW 226. The place is on the slope of a hill called Hulleter Scar. Cf. Latterbarrow, p. 194.

Kirkthwaite : *Kyrkwythe* c 1535 Beck 329, *Kyrkthwayte* 1537 LR. The place stands a good way from Colton church. There must be some special reason why the thwaite was named from the church.

Legbarrow Point (at the confluence of the Crake and the Leven): *Legbarro* 1577 Saxton. The second el. is M.E. *bergh* " hill." The wood-clad point is not very high, but rather prominent. The name may be identical with the first el. of Legburthwaite, Cumb., which is of doubtful origin.

Ravensty: *the Ravenstie* 1509 Beck 303, *the Ravenstye* 1537 FC II. Apparently O.N. *Hrafns stígr* " Hrafn's path." The name is lost. Manor courts were held at the Ravensty, which seems to have formed a boundary within Furness Fells; cf. West p. 154, Beck p. 303.

Sales: *Saylys* c 1535 Beck 329, *Sayles* 1537 LR, 1539 FC II.; now [se·lz]. Perhaps the plur. of O.N. *seyla* (Norw. *seyla* " mire, pool, puddle ") ; cf. *Seyla*, the name of a place in Iceland. But the place is in a high situation; Sales Bank reaches 559ft.

Tottlebank: *totyle banke* c 1535 Beck 329, *Totilbanke* 1537 FC II. Cf. the same name p. 214. There is a prominent hill at the place.

Whitestock Hall: *Whitstockhowe* 1597 RW 52. Presumably " the hill with white stock or tree-trunk."

(*b*) **Haverthwaite** (between Rusland Pool and the Leven): *Haverthwayt* 1336 FC II., 1539 ib.; now [havəþət]. O.N. *hafri* " oats " and *thwaite*. The village is on a slight hill close to the Leven.

Abbot's Reading: *Abbot Ridding* 1661 RW 238. On *ridding* " clearing," *see* p. 16.

(*c*) **Finsthwaite** (at the S. end of Lake Windermere; v.): *Fynnesthwayt* 1336, *Lower, Outer Fynswyth* 1539 FC II. " Finn's thwaite." *Finnr* is a well-known O.N. name.

Newby Bridge (on the Leven): *New bridge* 1577 Saxton, *Newbridge* 1577 Harr., *Newbybridge* 1659 Hawkshead R. The original name would seem to have been New Bridge. If the name Newby Bridge is original, Newby is probably a family name.

Stot Park: *Stot parke* c 1535 Beck 329, *Stotparke* 1537 LR. M.E. *stot* means " a bullock " and " a horse." The usual meaning of the word in Northern dialects is " young bull or ox." *Park* means " paddock, enclosure."

(*d*) **Rusland** (on Rusland Pool; v.): *Rolesland* 1336 FC II., *-e* 1400 FC, *Rwselande* 1537 LR; now [ruzlən(d)]. The first el. is apparently a pers. n. representing *e.g.* O.N. *Hróaldr* or *Hrólfr*. Rusland Pool is a stream with a very slow course. Cf. on *pool* " a stream," p. 15.

(*e*) **Nibthwaite** (E. of the Crake; High and Low Nibthwaite villages are near the river): [*Thornebuthwait* 1202 LF, *Tornbetheweit* 1207, *Thornubythuieitht, -thueith* 1208 LF], *Neubethayt* 1246 LAR, *Neburthwait* 1336 FC, *Neburthwayt* 1336 FC II., *Neburthwaite* 1400 FC, *Nybthwayt* 1537 LR, *Nybthwayte, Nybthwaytgrange* 1539 FC II.; now [nibþət]. The variation in the early forms renders a definite etymology difficult. The bracketed forms are usually held to refer to Nibthwaite. The place called *Thornebuthwait* must have been situated in the neighbourhood of Nibthwaite, and the identification is plausible. If so, *Thor* is no doubt a distinctive addition, there being two Nibthwaites, either the pers. n. *Thor* or *thorn* " thornbush." But, as pointed out in VHL VIII. 363, there is mentioned in a deed of 1522 a place *Furnebuthetwayt* in Blawith. This may be a later form of *Thornebuthwait*. Nibthwaite may have as first el. a compound of the adj.

new (O.N. *nýr*) and O.N. *býr* or *búð*. A base *Newbūththwait* is perhaps the most plausible. The forms in *Nebur-* seem to be due to association with the word *neighbour*. The change of *New-* to *Ne-* may be due to the following labial; cf. *safe* from *sauf*, etc., and [nibikən] for Newbigging, Cumb.

Arklid (on a slope near the Crake): *Arkeredyn* 1573 DL. The second el. may be *ridding* " clearing " with change of *r* to *l* owing to dissimilation.

Hill Park: *Hell parke* c 1535 Beck 329, *Hellpark* 1539 FC II., *Helparke* 1537 FC II. The regular *e* in the early forms shows that the first el. cannot be O.E. *hyll*. O.N. *hella* " stone, flat hill," etc., or *hellir* " cave, hole," or *hialli* " a ledge, a terrace " may be thought of.

(*f*) **Bethecar Moor** (a hilly district reaching over 1,000ft., E. of Coniston Water): *Bothaker* 1509 Beck 304, *bethokar* c 1535 ib. 329, *Betaker* 1537 LR, *Betacre*, *Bettaker* 1539 FC II.; now [beþəkə]. High and Low Bethecar are high up on the hill side. Neither O.E. *æcer* " field " nor O.N. *kiarr* " carr " seems probable as second el. The places are no doubt old shielings, and I suppose the second el. is *ergh* " a shieling," the first being the Gael. pers. n. *Beathag*, earlier *Bethoc* (McBain, p. 412). Cf. Bedrule (Jedburgh): *Rulebethok* 1280 Johnston, Pl.N. of Scotland.

Ickenthwaite: *Yccornewayt* c 1535 Beck 329, *Ykhornthwayt* 1537 LR, *Eccornthwayt*, *Yckorntwayte* 1538f. FC II. O.N. *ikorni* " squirrel " and *þveit*.

Parkamoor: *Parkamore* c 1535 Beck 329, 1539 FC II. The place is in a high situation. The name apparently means " the enclosure on the moor."

HAWKSHEAD PAR.

A district W. of Lake Windermere. Most of it is fell country, but there are stretches of level ground on Esthwaite Water in the centre, and on Lake Windermere and Coniston Water. Hawkshead, till 1578, was a chapelry under Dalton.

1. **Hawkshead and Monk Coniston with Skelwith** (the N. part).

Hawkshead (town): *Hovkesete* 1198-1208 Ch (orig.), *Haukesset* c 1220 FC, *Haukeset*, *Hoxeta* 13 cent. FC, *Haukesheved* 1336 FC II.; now [hɔ·ksed, hɔ·ksəd]. O.N. *Haukr* pers. n. and *set*, *sat* " shieling." Hawkshead was originally no doubt a dairy-farm under Coniston. **Hawkshed Field:** *Hawkershed feylde* c 1535 Beck.

Hawkshead Hill (h.): *Hyll* c 1535 Beck 329.

Birkwray (in a valley): *Byrkwray* 1600 RS XII.; now [bə·k re·]. O.N. *birki* " birches " and (*v*)*rá* " corner," etc.

Esthwaite: *Estwyth* 1539 FC II., *Easthwaite* 1670 RW 243; now [estwət]. The first el. may be the adj. *east* or O.N. *eski* " ash-trees." Earlier forms are wanted; the form *Estwayt* of 1326 given by Wyld refers to a place in Notts. Esthwaite Water is called *Estwater* 1537 Beck lxv, *the Mere of Hawkshed Estwater* 1539 FC II. This may seem to point to the adj. *east* as the first el. of Esthwaite, but *Estwater* might be a contraction of *Esthwaite Water*.

Fieldhead (N. of Hawkshead town): *ffeyldehed* c 1535 Beck 329, *Feldhed* 1539 FC II. Probably " the upper end of Hawkshead townfield." Cf. **Waterhead** (*Waterhed* 1537 LR) at the N. end of Coniston Water.

Hannakin: *Anykinsyke* 1659, 1683, *Han(n)ikin sicke* 1678f. Hawkshead R. Perhaps the pers. n. *Hankin* (or a diminutive of *Ann*) mistaken (in combinations like those above) for a place-name.

Monk Coniston (a district N.E. of Coniston Water, adjoining Church Coniston): *Monke Coneston* 1568 DL. The district belonged to the monks of Furness.

Brantwood: ? *Brentwode* 1356 FC. The place is on a steep slope. The first el. may be M.E. *brant, brent* "steep." But *brent* "burnt" is possible.

Skelwith: *Schelwath* 1246 LAR, *de Skelwath* 1332 LS, *Skelwyth* 1537 LR; now [skeliþ]. The original Skelwith was no doubt where the present Skelwith Bridge over the Brathay is, an excellent place for a ford. The second el. of the name is O.N. *vað* "ford." The first might be O.N. *skiól* "hut." But I believe it is an old name of Skelwith Force, a waterfall just above the bridge. O.N. *skiallr* means "loud, resounding." From it Norw. river-names seem to have been formed. Magnus Olsen, NG·XI. 557, thinks the name Skjeldalen contains a river-name *Skiǫll* "the loud one." A waterfall might well have been called *Skiallr*. I believe *Skel-* goes back to such a name. The roar of the waterfall is heard from a considerable distance; it must have been a valuable help to wayfarers in locating the ford.

Arnside: *Ernesyde* 1537 FC II., *Arnesyd* c 1535 Beck 329, *Arneside* 1577 Saxton. High Arnside is on the slope of a hill (1,056ft.). The elements of the name are no doubt an O.N. pers. n. (*e.g., Arni*) and *set, sat* "shieling."

2. **Claife** (on Lake Windermere): *de Clayf* 1272-80 LPD II. 193, *de Clayfe* 1316 LI, *Clayf* 1336 FC II., 1400 FC; now [kle·f]. O.N. *kleif* "steep hill-side up which there is a path." The name no doubt refers to Claife Heights, which reach over 800ft.

Colthouse (h.): *Colthowse* c 1535 Beck 329, *Coutehouse* 1596 RW 243; now [kɔlthaus]. Self-explaining.

Lonethwaite (h.): *Lonethwayt* 1537 LR, *-e* 1539 FC II., *Lounthwaite* 1613 RW 45; now [lo·nþət]. Perhaps identical with Lownthwaite in Cumb., whose first el. may be dial. *loun* from O.N. *logn* "calm" (Lindkvist 117). Or the first el. may be *lone*, a sideform of *lane*.

Satterhow: *Satterhow* 1588 RW 44, *-e* 1597 Hawkshead R. Really the name of a hill. First el. very likely O.N. *sætr* "shieling" (Collingwood, Saga Book of the Viking Club II. 146). Second el. O.N. *haugr* "hill."

Sawrey, Far and Near (villages): *Sourer* 1336 FC II., 1400 FC, *Sawrayes* c 1535 Beck 329, *Soray Extra, Infra* 1539 FC II., *ffarr Sawrey* 1657, *Narr Sawrey* 1656 Hawkshead R; now [sɔ·rə]. O.N. *saurar*, the plur. of *saurr* "mud, dirt" (Lindkvist, p. 162). Near Sawrey is near Esthwaite Water, while Far Sawrey is on a brook.

Tock How (on the slope of Latterbarrow): *Tockhowe* 1597 RW 45. The first el. may be O.N. *Tóki* or O.E. *Tocca* pers. n.

Wray, High Wray: *Wraye* c 1535 Beck 329, 1537 LR; *the Heywray* 1619 RW 23; now [re·, hai re·]. Cf. *Lowrey* 1656 Hawkshead R. O.N. *(v)rá* "corner," etc. The places are in a remote situation near the brook that empties Blelham Tarn.

3. **Satterthwaite** (the S. part; h.): *Saterthwayt* 1336 FC II., *Saterthwayte, -whayte* 1539 FC II.; now [satəþət]. First el. as in Satterhow.

Cunsey, High and Low: *Concey myll* 1537 Beck lxv, *Consay* 1593, *Consey nabb* 1649 Hawkshead R. The places are on low ground near Lake Windermere, Low Cunsey on Cunsey beck. The most probable etymology is O.N. *Kunungsá*,

the name being originally that of the beck. But the second el. may be O.N. *ey* " island," here " water-meadow " or the like. Cf. Coniston, p. 215.

Force Forge, Force Mill (on Rusland Pool) : *Forse Forge* 1668 RW 103, *Force Myln* 1537 DL. Dial. *force* " waterfall " from O.N. *fors*. The part of Rusland Pool where the places are is called Force Beck, and *Fosse* is the name of Rusland Pool in Saxton's map of 1577 and in Harr. 1577.

Graythwaite : *Graythwayt* 1336 FC II., 1537 LR. Lindkvist p. 109 suggests as first el. O.N. *grár* or O.E. *grǣg* " gray." But it is remarkable that *Grathwait* is found in Bolton-le-Sands. " The grey thwaite " does not seem a very plausible name. Perhaps the first el. is rather a pers. n., derived from the adj. *grár*. O.Swed. and O.Dan. *Grā* seem to occur, and O.N. *grái* is well evidenced as a by-name ; cf. Finnur Jonsson, Aarb. 1907, p. 259. Or we might think of O.N. *greiðr* " ready, free " as the first el. of Graythwaite. This adj. is used as an epithet to *leið* " road."

Grizedale (on Grizedale Beck ; h.) : *Grysdale* 1336 FC II., 1537 LR. The first el. is O.N. *gríss* " pig," less probably *Gríss* pers. n.

KIRKBY IRELETH PAR.

This large parish occupies the N.W. part of the Furness district, being bounded on the W. and N. by the Duddon, on the E. by a chain of high hills. Most of it is fell country, but there is some level land in the S. part on the rivers Duddon, Lickle, and Steers Pool.

1. **Kirkby Ireleth** (the S.E. part) : *Kirkebi* 1191-8 FC, *Kirchabi* 1175-1200 LPD II. 178, *Kirkeby* 1227 LF, 1292 FC, *Kirkebi Irlid* 1180-99 Ch (orig.), *Kirkeby Irelith* 1278 LAR, *Kirkeby Irlith* 1332 LS ; now [kəˑbi]. O.N. *Kirkiubýr* " church village." The church is at Beckside, which seems to be the original Kirkby. The old name was, of course, Kirkby, *Ireleth*, the name of the adjoining part of Dalton, being added for distinction from Kirkby Lonsdale and others.

Gerleuuorde DB has been identified with Kirkby Ireleth. This is purely conjectural. *Gerle-* is identical or cognate with the first el. of *Yarlside*, and represents a form of O.E. *eorl* or O.N. *jarl*. The second el. is O.E. *worþ* " enclosure."

There are five customary divisions, from S. to N. : Low and Middle Quarters, Heathwaite, Woodland, besides Kirkby Moor in the east.

Ashlack Hall (Heathwaite) : *de Eskeslac* 1270-80 FC II. (orig.), 1284 LAR, *de Esselac* 1325 FC II. (orig.). O.N. *eski* " ash-trees " and *slakki* " valley." The place is in a valley.

Beanthwaite (Middle Quarter) : *Benetwhat* 1582, *Beanethat* 1605 RW 274 ; now [biˑnþət]. " The clearing where beans are grown."

Dove Bank, Dove Ford (Middle Quarter) : *Donefoard* 1636 RW 112 ; now [duv bank, duf foˑd]. Dove Ford is not far from Grizebeck, while Dove Bank is on the slope of a hill. *Dove* may be *dove* the name of the bird, but it may also be an old name of the brook that gave name to Grizebeck, identical with Dove in Derby and Staffs. (*an dufan* 951 BCS 890), and Yks., and probably of Brit. origin (Prim. Celt. **dubo-* " black "). The brook has clear water, but a dark bottom.

Grizebeck (Middle Quarter; on a brook; h.): (piscariam de) *Grisebek* 13 cent. FC; now [graizbek]. First el. O.N. *gríss* " pig," less likely *Gríss* pers. n.
Haverigg Holme (Woodland): *Haverrigge* 13 cent. FC. The place stands near Steers Pool below a ridge. The elements of the name are O.N. *hafri* " oats " and *hryggr* " ridge." *Holme* seems to mean " water-meadow " or the like.
Heathwaite: *Heittheuuot* 1273 PatR (Lindkvist, p. 110). Better material is wanted. The early form seems to point to O.N. *hey* or O.E. *hēg* " hay " as the first el.
High Mere Beck (Low Quarter): *Merbecke* 1615 RW 172. The place stands on a brook which forms the boundary between Kirkby Ireleth and Dalton, and is called *Merebek* 1252 FC, *Merebeck* 1422 FC II. The name means " boundary brook " (O.E. *gemǣre* " boundary ").
Raisthwaite (Woodland): *Reisthuathec* (!) 1319 Dugdale VI. 556, *Raisthwayt* 1538 FC II.; now [re·stət]. First el. O.N. *hreysi* " cairn."
Row Ridding (Woodland): *Row Ridding* 1649 RW 176; now [rau ridn]. " Rough clearing."
Soutergate (Low Quarter; h.): *de Soutergate* 1332 LS, *Sowtergate* c 1535 Beck 328; now [sautəge·t]. O.E. *sūtere* or O.N. *sútari* " bootmaker " and O.N. *gata* " road."
Troughton Hall (Woodland): *de Troughtona* 1422 FC I. 685, *Troughton Hall* 1599 RW 195. O.E. *trog* " trough," later also " valley," and *tūn*. Troughton Hall is in the valley of Steers Pool. If Troughton is a name of old standing in the district, it is of considerable interest, names in *-tūn* being rare in this part of Furness. Bartholomew gives no other Troughton.
Woodland: *Kirkeby wodelands* 1544 DL, *Wodland chap.* 1577 Saxton.
2. **Angerton Moss** (between Kirkby or Steers Pool and the Duddon; extra-parochial): *Angertuna* c 1300, (pastura de) *Angertona* 1293, (Mussa) *Angertona*, (mariscum de) *Angertuna* c 1300 FC, (marsh of) *Angerton* 1299 LI, *Angertonmosse* 1336 FC II.; now [aŋətn]. The township occupies a small area of flat mossland, only partially reclaimed.

The name Angerton is curious. Names in *-tūn* usually denote old villages or homesteads, but the Angerton district must in early times have been practically uninhabitable and used only to some small extent for pasture. One explanation may be that Angerton once belonged to and took its name from some place in the neighbourhood called Angerton. No such place is known to have existed; also *Angerton* is used alone of the district. The present Angerton farm in Broughton, situated at a slight elevation reaching over 50ft. above sea-level just outside the boundary of Angerton Moss, is hardly an old settlement. I am inclined to believe that there was once a village or homestead in the district, which disappeared at an early period, being destroyed by the inroad of the sea or, more probably, by a flood of Steers Pool or the Duddon. Such a catastrophe is not without parallels in the history of Lancashire. Cf. Cheetham's Lancashire p. 8f., Hird's Lancashire Stories II. 360ff.

Angerton Moss is situated on the estuary of the Duddon, that is, on a deep bay. It is therefore possible that *Anger-* is O.N. *angr* " bay." The O.N. word is common in place-names, but is not in living use in historic time. However, the name Angry Head in the Shetland Islands (Jakobsen, Aarböger 1901, p. 74)

seems to show that it was still used in the Viking Age. Another possibility is that *Anger-* is the el. *anger* found in Angram, Bl., etc., and which seems to be a lost O.E. *anger* " pasture," etc., identical with G. *anger* " meadow," etc. As the name seems to be very old, the second alternative is perhaps preferable.

Waitham Hill (on a slight hill). Now [we·ðəm]. Cf. Waitham, p. 198.

Whelpshead Crag (a rock S. of Angerton farm) : (rupem de) *Quelpesatecrag* c 1300 FC. Whelpshead appears as *Welpesat* 1235 LF. The place must have been a shieling in the moss. The second el. of the name is *set, sat* " a shieling, a pasture." The first is identical with that of Whelpside (on the Mint, Wml.), and of *Whelpesatte-* in *Quelpesatehoues* 1280, *Whelpesattehowe* 1285 IPM (Yks.), which have no doubt the same second el. as Whelpshead. Cf. also Whelpo in Cumb. (*Quesphow* 1285, *Whelphou* 1336 ; Sedgefield). *Whelp-* seems to be O.N. *Hvelpr* (also *Hvelpi* NG IV. 190) pers. n., originally a nickname (*hvelpr* " a whelp "). It is remarkable that *Whelp* is so common in England and particularly that it occurs thrice combined with *set*. Possibly some names contain the name of the animal. Also O.E. *hwelp*, like the corresponding G. word, may have been used as a pers. name.

3. **Broughton**[1] (between Steers Pool and the Duddon, N. of Angerton Moss ; town) : *Brocton* 1196, 1235 LF, *Broghtona* c 1300 FC, *Broghton* 1378 LF ; now [brɔ·tn]. O.E. *Brōctūn*. A small brook runs through the town. The township occupies several ridges and some level land in the river valleys.

Appletreeworth. No early forms found. If this is an old name in *-worth*, it is rather remarkable, as names in *-worth* are very rare in Furness.

Aulthurstside : *Oulehurst* 1618 RW 206, *Aulhirst* 1638 RW 167. This is one of the two names in *-hurst* found in the Furness district. The first el. is doubtful.

Baskell (on the slope of a ridge) : *Bascall* 1592 DL, *Baskell* 1609 RW 9. The second el. is no doubt O.N. *skáli* " a hut." The first is doubtful.

Bleansley, Lower and Upper (on the slope of a ridge W. of the Lickle) : *Blengeslit* 1292 VHL VIII. 404, *Bleansle* 1570, 1593 RW 102 ; now [bli·nzli]. First el. apparently O.N. *Blœingr* pers. n., second O.N. *hlíð* or O.E. *hlið* " slope."

Borderiggs : *de Borderigges* 1330 LI, *Bordriggs* 1587 RW 10, *Bordridge* 1597 RW 12 ; now [bɔrdərig, bɔ·drigz]. The place stands E. of Broughton between two ridges. The first el. of the name seems to be O.E. *bord* " board ; shield," perhaps referring to the flat upper surface of the ridges.

Bracelet (near the top of a ridge) : *Bracelet* 1614 RW 7, *Breuslot* 1660, *Braslet* 1663 Torver R ; now [bre·slət]. The second el. is probably dial. *sleet* " a flat meadow, a level moor " (≮O.N. *slétta*). The first might be O.N. *breiðr* " broad."

Hawthwaite (on the top of a ridge reaching 300ft.) : *Hauthwayt* 1509-47 DL ; now [ɔ·þət]. First el. O.N. *haugr* " hill."

Rosthwaite (h.) : *Rosthwait, -bank* 13 cent. FC. Cf. the same name p. 197.

4. **Dunnerdale with Seathwaite** (a district E. and S. of the Duddon, chiefly fell country).

[1] *Borch* in DB is held by the editor of VHL to be a corrupt form of Broughton. This may be correct. But probably *Borch* represents O.E. *Burh* or O.N. *Borg*. This might, of course, have been an earlier name of Broughton. But in my opinion *Borch* refers to the same place as *Borgerha* 1196 LF. This latter is to be sought a good way N. of Broughton. Mr. Collingwood is no doubt right in locating Borgerha at Castle How on the W. bank of the Duddon. *Borgerha* may be O.N. *Borgar-á* or a combination of O.N. *borg* and *ergh* " a shieling."

Dunnerdale (the S. part) : *de Dunerdale* 1293 LI, *Dunerdale, Donerdale* 1300 LF, *Donesdale* a 1412 FC, *Dunerdall* c 1550 RW 221. Dunnerdale does not now denote the Duddon valley but the district E. of the river. I believe the name meant originally " the Duddon valley," and has as first el. a Scand. gen. form of the name *Duddon*. This name occurs in an early source as *Duthen*, which I take to be a Scandinavianized form. The Scand. form may have been **Duðn*, gen. *Duðnar*. This latter became *Dunner-* in the same way as *Wathenpol* (1291) became *Wampole* (1362), now Wampool in Cumb. Cf. also *Tanshelf* (thus 1257) from O.E. *Taddenesscylfe* (Goodall). In favour of this suggestion it may be pointed out that names in *dale* very often have a river name as first el. ; cf. Lonsdale, Roeburndale, Wyresdale in Lancashire. The form *Dunnersdale* 1522 DL is too late to be adduced against the suggestion offered.

Scrithwaite : *Skraithwaite* 1615 RW 221, *Scrythwaite* 1786 Yates ; now [skraiþət]. The first el. is no doubt O.N. *skriða* " a landslip on a hillside, a black streak on a mountain-side from old slips," the source of dial. Engl. *scree* " the débris or shale which collects on a steep mountain-side," etc. (EDD). Scrithwaite stands on a slope.

Sella : *Sellaye* 1584 RW 223, *Sellowe* 1624 RW 59. The place stands at a round hill on the bank of the Duddon. The elements may be O.N. *sel* " hut on a shieling," and *haugr* " hill."

Stonestar : *Stonescarre* 1584 RW 221, *Stonester* 1786 Yates ; now [sto·n stɛ·r]. The place stands on the Duddon at the foot of a steep, rocky hill. The second el. of the name is O.N. *sker*, whence Engl. dial. *scar* " a precipice ; a cliff ; a steep, bare bank."

Seathwaite (the N. part) : *Seathwhot* 1592 RW 47, *Seathwhat* 1598 RW 88, *Seathut* Waugh. " The clearing by the lake " (O.N. *sær* and *þveit*). The place was named from Seathwaite Tarn, which is high up among the fells (1,210ft. above sea-level). There is not now any farm at the tarn.

Troutal (on the Duddon) : *Trutehil* 1157-63 Ch (orig.). In the early example the name designates a pool in the Duddon : " de sicut aqua descendit de Wraineshals in Trutehil et inde per Dudenam vsque mare." The second el. is O.N. *hylr* " a pool," the first apparently being O.E. *truht* " a trout." But, of course, the first el. might be the pers. n. *Trute* (apparently of Goidelic origin) found in Troutbeck, Cumb. ; cf. Sedgefield.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

In this chapter an attempt will be made to draw some conclusions from place-names as regards early Lancashire, especially its history.

I. BRITONS IN LANCASHIRE

There is one direct testimony to the survival of a British population in Lancashire after the Anglian immigration. According to Hist. St. Cuthbert (Sim. Durh., Surtees Soc. LI 141) Ecgfrith, King of Northumbria (670-685), gave Cartmel " et omnes Britannos cum eo " to St. Cuthbert. There is no definite reason to doubt the substantial correctness of this statement. If it is correct, it tells us that in the Cartmel district a British population lived on, in a subject position, after the Anglian invasion.

In the same direction point place-names containing an English or a Scandinavian word for " Briton." Here belongs first of all the name Walton from O.E. *Wala-tūn*, no doubt " the *tūn* of the Britons." There are four Waltons in Lancashire : Walton-on-the Hill (De), Walton-le-Dale (Bl), Ulnes Walton (Le), and Walton near Cartmel. To these may be added Waltoncote, near Dalton-in-Furness. These names, of course, do not prove that a British element was recognized l o n g after the invasion.

Of greater importance are names containing Scand. *Bretar*. These names are few. A certain case is Birkby, near Cartmel. Here probably belong Brettargh (Woolton, De) and Bretteroum (Bolton-le-Sands). At least the first two cannot well be older than the tenth century.[1]

It is interesting to note that Birkby and Walton, near Cartmel, are situated fairly high and at some distance from the broad Eea valley. The names seem to tell us that the Britons had to give up the best land and settle in more remote parts.

The Britons who gave name to the Waltons and Birkby may be supposed to have been landholders and freemen. Their status may have been that of the Wealas mentioned in Ine's laws, whose wergeld was half that of the freeborn Englishman.

It should be added that names such as Walton, Birkby do not testify to a considerable British element. They rather suggest that British villages and homesteads were exceptions.

Better information than by direct testimonies is offered by place-names. The British element in Lancashire place-names, though not very considerable, is by no means negligible.

River-names in Lancashire, as in other parts of England, are, to a great extent, British. No safe conclusions can be drawn from such as to the survival for any

[1] An interesting name is *Brettestret*, found in WhC p. 318, as the name of the Roman road that runs past Downham ; cf. *Brettestreet* 13 cent. VHL vi. 365 (in Clitheroe), referring to the same road. The identical name is found in Westmorland : *Brestrett, Brethstrette, -strede* 1220-47 (15 cent. copy) CWNS x. 436ff., the name of a road near Martindale. A Roman road, now called High Street, runs close to Martindale Common. Apparently Roman roads were in some places held to be of British origin. In fact, Geoffrey of Monmouth says the British roads were first made by King Belinus (Windisch, Das keltische Britannien, p. 163). The first element of these names is O.E. *Brettas* " Britons."

length of time of a British element. The same remark applies to names of places which had acquired some importance already in pre-English time, as Manchester or to that of a prominent hill such as Pendle. Of most value are such names as seem to have denoted ordinary British settlements, hamlets or homesteads. Yet also names of insignificant streams may be used as evidence.

The British (or probably British) names[1] are not evenly distributed. To some extent groups of such names may be pointed out.

In the south-east, in the hilly district east and north-east of Manchester, we find Alt, Chadderton, Hanging Chadder, Glodwick, Werneth, also the stream-names Beal, Irk, Tame. These names seem to suggest a British population driven up among the hills.

Another cluster of British names is found north-west of Manchester, in the Eccles and Manchester districts: Cheetham (Cheetwood), Eccles, Pendleton (Pendlebury), perhaps Worsley. Further north are Croichlow, Chatterton.

In Blackburn hundred British names are few and scattered. Certain examples are Colne (an old stream-name), Eccleshill, Ightenhill, Mellor (an old hill-name). Rossendale very likely contains an old British stream-name. Alkincoats, Dinckley, Winkley are etymologically obscure.

In West Derby hundred a comparatively large group of British names is found in the old Newton hundred, south of Wigan. The old name of the district, Makerfield, seems to contain a British word. Here belong: Culcheth, Haydock, Kenyon, possibly Brynn (Winwick par.), Ince, Pemberton, Wigan (Wigan par.). To these may be added the now lost *Roskit* 1199-1222 CC 695, *Rosket* 1531 VHL iv. 119 (Aspull, Wigan). In the CC passage *Roskit* is used of a brook, but it was no doubt originally the name of a locality, as it is in the example of 1531. The name may be identified with le Rongoet in Brittany (*Rosquoet* nemus 1270 Loth 229), a compound of *ros* " hill overgrown with heather, etc.," and *koat* " wood " (cf. Cheetham p. 33). Near this district, though in Leigh par., is Chaddock, and Eccleston and Penketh (Prescot par.) are not far off. Glazebrook and Sankey are streams in this district.

The rather considerable number of British names in the eastern part of West Derby hundred seems to tell us that in this district a British population was left in undisturbed possession for a comparatively long time. As the district is not separated by natural boundaries from the surrounding ones, the inference is plausible that it was in the old days chiefly an inaccessible forest district. At the time of the Domesday survey Newton hundred was still largely forest (VHL i. 257).

In the rest of West Derby hundred there are only two or three British names: Ince Blundell (Sefton), Haskayne and ? Maghull (both in Halsall).

Only a few examples occur in Leyland hundred: Charnock, Eccleston, Heskin, Penwortham. It is worthy of notice that Charnock, Heskin, and Pen-

[1] As British names are reckoned also such as contain British elements. I do not here take into consideration elements of possibly British origin found in living use in M.E. and Mn.E. dialects, such as *crag* (cf. p. 9) or *cumb*, or British pers. names in common use in O.E. time, as *Cædmon, Ceadwealla.*

wortham are near each other, and that Cokerdene and Wymott Brook are streams not far west of Eccleston.

Amounderness hundred yields a better harvest. Here we find the interesting name Treales. Near this place are Eccleston, Preese, Preesall, also Inskip and Tulketh ; Savick Brook runs near Tulketh. These names seem to imply that a British population lived on in the interior of the Fylde and was merged gradually in the Anglian population.

No certainly British names have been found in Lonsdale proper. Also streams have English or Scandinavian names ; British are only names of rivers, as Lune, Cocker, Conder, Keer, Kent.

In Lonsdale North of the Sands, especially the Cartmel part, we might expect to find a considerable number of British names. In Cartmel, however, the only examples are the two Carks and Blenket. In Furness we only find (besides river-names such as Crake, Leven, Roose) the stream-name Dulas,[1] perhaps Croglinhurst, and the now lost *Glanscalan* (*Glensalan*) 1170-84 Ch, the name of a valley. *Glan* may be identical with Welsh *glyn* " valley " (for *a* instead of *y* cf. *Canon* for Welsh *Cynon* in Survey of Denbigh 1334). The second element may be compared with that of Welsh Bodscallan : *Bodscathlan* Rec. Carn. ; it may be Welsh *ysgallen* " thistle." But the name may also be Goidelic. Cf. MIr. *glend* " valley " and *scálán* " a hut " (Marstrander, p. 34f.).

It is quite possible some names of Furness hills or hill-tops found only in modern sources may date back to British times, such as Dow Crags (cf. Welsh *du* " black "), or Carrs (cf. Collingwood, Book of Coniston, p. 23), which might be O.E. *carr* " rock," derived by Förster, p. 126, from a British source. But so long as no early forms are on record no conclusions can be based on such names.

However, a Welsh immigration into Lancashire[2] is known to have taken place in early post-Conquest times, and the possibility must be discussed whether any of the British names in Lancashire may have been introduced as a consequence of it. To Robert Banastre, who had received, about 1165, a grant of lands in Blackburn (Walton, Mellor, Eccleshill, Darwen, etc.), was granted by Henry II. Prestatyn in Flintshire. From this he was driven out by Owen Gwynedd in 1167, and he then brought his people into Lancashire, where he obtained a grant of land in Makerfield. The Welsh are called Banastre's Welshmen or le Westroys (as late as 1278, VHL i. 369). In Lancashire documents from about 1200 Welsh

[1] *Duleshope* (*-hoppe*) ? 930 YCh 1, the name of a stream in or on the boundary of Amounderness, may contain the same stream-name. But the stream fell into the Hodder, and must have risen not very far from the source of the Cocker. Perhaps it is the present Langden Brook, which runs a little S. of the boundary between Lancashire and Yorkshire, and falls into the Hodder not far from Dunsop Bridge. Possibly Dunsop is identical with *Duleshope*. If so, *Dules-* may be miswritten for *Dunes-*. Cf. also YCh I, p. 4.

[2] It may not be out of place to point out here that there seems to have been a not inconsiderable emigration from Lancashire into Wales in the Middle Ages. In the Survey of Denbigh 1334 the number of people with surnames taken from Lancashire places is quite remarkable. From the Index I enumerate *e.g. Billyng'*, *Blakeburne*, *Cliderowe*, *Dedesbury*, *Dukworth*, *Grenolf'*, *Hodeshale*, *Lathum*, *Plesynton'*, *Rachedale*, *Radeclive*, *Reved*, *Ribchestre*, *Rommesbothem*, *Romworth*, *Rossindale*, *Scheresworth'*, *Stalemynne*, *Symoundston'*, *Twyselton'*, *Whalley*. Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, one of the chief tenants in Lancashire, was granted in 1282 or 1283 the lordship of Denbigh (Introd. to Survey, p. xi.). This accounts for the emigration in question.

personal names[1] are frequently found, obviously borne by these Welsh. Later they disappear. The Welsh names are chiefly found in documents referring to south Lancashire, but they are not restricted to Newton hundred.

In my opinion it is extremely doubtful if any of the British names dealt with can have been introduced by Banastre's Welshmen. These names mostly denote old manors, and it is improbable that such (*e.g.*, Wigan, Kenyon) should have been renamed owing to late Welsh influence, for these Welsh cannot after all have been so very numerous. Some names, *e.g.*, Ince Blundell, Eccles, Haydock, have been found too early, while others are shown by their forms (*e.g.*, Chaddock, Culcheth, Penketh, Eccleston) to be early loans. It is quite conceivable that these Welsh may have left behind some place-names, but I cannot point out any plausible example.

II. ANGLIANS IN LANCASHIRE

1. Mercians or Northumbrians in Lancashire

While it seems to be generally held by scholars that Lancashire north of the Ribble was annexed early to Northumbria and received a Northumbrian population, there is not the same consensus of opinion as regards the nationality of the Anglians in the land between the Ribble and the Mersey. Some scholars[2] hold that the Ribble of old has formed the boundary between Northumbrians and Mercians. On the other hand Professor Tait, VHL ii. pp. 2, 175ff., is inclined to think that this district was Northumbrian down to 923, when it was annexed to Mercia by Æthelstan, and had till then a Northumbrian population and dialect.[3] The place-name material throws some light on this question.

[1] Some of the Welsh names found in early Lancashire sources may be worth pointing out. Most of those here given were no doubt introduced by Banastre's Welshmen. Some of the names are very corrupt and difficult to explain.

Algareth (son of Yorwerth de Hulton) 1246 LAR 68 (Cf. O.W. *Elguoret*, *-guaret* LL, O.Bret. *Aluuoret*. But cf. next name).—*Angaret* 1246 LAR 74 (? cf. Welsh *Anaraud* Cartae Glam. 364, O.Bret. *Anauuoret*).—*Arkem* 1199 LPR 106 (cf. O.W. *Arcon*, *Arcom* LL).—*Blethin* (de Aughton) 1235 LF I. 63 (O.W. *Bledgint*, Welsh *Bleddyn* ; cf. Förster p. 179).—*Cadigan* (de Heton, Salf.) 1246 LAR 98 (M.W. *Cadwgan*, O.W. *Catgu(o)caun*).—*Cuuin* (son of Maddok, Makerfield) 1246 LAR 81 (cf. M.Bret. *Cuuan* Loth 201, Welsh *cu* " dear "<*cum*).—*Edeneuec* 1246 LAR 67 (for *-neuet* ; cf. *Eidniuet* LL, *Edenaveth* 1268 Cartae Glam. 693).—*Einion* (de Aughton) VHL iii. 296 (Welsh *Einion*).—*Grifin* (de Rudyng, De) 1246 LAR 117 (early Welsh *Griffin*).—*Ythayn* 1246 LAR 116 (cf. *Judon*, *Idon* LL, *Ithan*, *Ithon* Rec. Carn.).—*Idthel* 1199 LPR 106, *Ythel* (de Hulton) 1246 LAR 116, (domum) *Ythel* 1259-68 CC 505 (O.W. *Judhail*, Welsh *Ithel*).—*Jago* (gen. *Jagornis*) 1199 LPR 106 (O.W. *Jaco*, Welsh *Jago*. Jago the Priest had sons Josured, Idthel, Osbertus, Arkem, Maddoc, Morgan, Philippus).—*Kenwrek* (Simonstone, Bl) 1246 LAR 26, *Kenewreg* (Rainford, De) ib. 18 (Welsh *Kenewrec* Cartae Glam. 230).—*Lewel* (*Maddock* son of) 1246 LAR 16 (probably for *Lewelin*<O.W. *Liuelin*, now *Llewelyn*).—*Maddok* (de Blakeburn) 1246 LAR 91, *Maddok le Walays* (Makerfield) ib. 81 (Welsh *Madog*).—*Meurik le Seriaunt* 1262 LAR 301 (Welsh *Meurig*, O.W. *Mouric*).—*Morgan* 1199 LPR 106 (Welsh *Morgan*).—*Wervill*, *Warvill* (Bl) 1246 LAR 91f. (Welsh *Weruill*, *Gwervill*, etc. Rec. Carn.).—*Wyun* (his son) ib. 92 (*Wian* 1205 Cartae Glam. 297).—*Wrenou* (Makerfield) 1246 LAR 119 (O.W. *Guronui*, Welsh *Gronwy*).—*Yorwerth* : *Jorveth* de Hulton 1199 ChR (*Yarwet* 1246 LAR 68, *Yarferth* 1212 LI 65), *Yarwerth* de Litherland 1246 LAR 78 (Welsh *Iorwerth*).

[2] Cf. Oman, England Before the Norman Conquest, p. 253f., Brandl, Zur Geographie der altenglischen Dialekte, p. 27.

[3] Cf., however, p. 232 *infra*.

The place-names reveal some important dialectal differences between South and North Lancashire, which reach far back. As usual in the case of dialectal differences, a perfectly neat boundary line cannot always be drawn, as there is some overlapping in the border districts. Some dialect characteristics of South Lancashire are occasionally met with in Amounderness.[1] On the part of Blackburn north of the Ribble *see* p. 232. Some dialect characteristics, as the change $\bar{a}>\bar{o}$, or $a>o$ before *l*, are too late to be taken into consideration.

(*a*) The *i*- mutation of *a* before *l* + a consonant is usually *a* south of the Ribble (p. 21). This is the regular West Midland development. The Northumbrian development is *e*, and this is usually found north of the Ribble. For a few isolated exceptions, cf. p. 21. This distinction must have developed in O.E. (and probably not late O.E.) time.

(*b*) O.E. *c* before *æ* (*ea*) is regularly palatalized in the West Midlands, but remains as *k* in southern Northumbria (Yks., etc.). In Lancashire south of the Ribble palatalization has taken place: Manchester, Chadderton, Chadwick, Chatburn, Chat Moss, etc. The same development is found in Blackburn north of the Ribble; Ribchester, Chaigley, Chadswell. In the rest of Lancashire north of the Ribble we find *k*: Lancaster, perhaps Cadley; cf. *Cadiave-hustude* (Tarnacre) 1200-17 CC 248, *Cadmanwell* 1451 CC, *fontem Cademair* (!) c 1200 CC (Bolton-le-Sands). The development south of the Ribble is typically Mercian.

Here we may also mention the peculiar palatalized form of O.E. *æcer* found in Cliviger and in *Goldacher* (Garston) WhC 572. This form has been found outside Lancashire only in Alsager, Ches. The similar palatalized form of *acorn* (*atchern*, etc.) has been evidenced in Lanc., Ches., Shrops., and Staffs. dialects, while in M.E. times it seems to occur also in a Norfolk source (Anglia-Beiblatt xxxii. 156ff.).

(*c*) O.E. *a* before nasals frequently appears as *o*, which, however, as a rule becomes *a* later on, except in the West Midland dialects, where *o* is often found to this day (Morsbach, Me. Gr., p. 120ff., Luick, Hist. Gr. § 367). This is not quite a safe criterion, because in O.E. *o* was common in all dialects, also in Northumbrian. The common northern *lone* for *lane* seems due to this change. However, as in M.E. and Mn.E. time *o* is chiefly found in the West Midlands, its frequent occurrence in early forms of South Lancashire place-names points to the South Lancashire dialects having been West Midland ones. Examples of *o* are found in early forms of Ramsbottom Sa, Cronkshaw, Ramsgreave Bl, Cranshaw De; cf. *Cronkeford* (Brettargh) WhC 806. For the dialects north of the Ribble the material is scanty. It is significant, however, that the following names never show any *o*-forms: Hambleton (Am.), Cant, Cantsfield, Rampside (Lo). *Cronemosse* (Lancaster) LI II. 172, however, forms an exception. *Cronescheshaibroc* 1211-40 CC 227 (Dilworth) is in Blackburn north of the Ribble.

The conclusion seems warranted that the dialects of South Lancashire bear a West Midland stamp, and that some dialect characteristics go back to O.E. time.

It is difficult, in the present state of English place-name study, to establish

[1] This may very well be due to this district having been partly repopulated, after the Conquest, from South Lancashire. At the time of the Domesday survey only 16 of its 62 vills were inhabited; the rest were waste. Cf. Collingwood, *Scandinavian Britain*, p. 179.

any name-types that may be said to be distinctly West Midland or distinctly Northumbrian. No safe conclusions can be drawn from names such as Adlington, Anderton, found in Cheshire and South Lancashire. More important is the fact that the South Lancashire Lostock (found thrice) has a counterpart only in Cheshire, or that O.E. *fælging*, besides in S. Lancashire, has been exemplified, so far as I know, only in Staffs. and Worcs. (cf. p. 10). These may perhaps be looked upon as Mercian names. Another distinctive name-element is possibly *waver* in Wavertree and Wharton. This element does not seem to occur in the North, while it is well evidenced in the Midlands; cf. p. 112. To the examples adduced there we may add Waverton, Ches. (*Wavretone* DB). Waverton, Cumb., is on the Waver, whose name is found as *Wafyr* 11 cent. RSB 527 (Gospatric's Ch.); we may compare the O.E. river-name *Wæfer* 957 BCS 1001 (Som.). But the etymology of the element is obscure.

Of most importance for our purpose are names containing O.E. *bold*: Newbold Sa, Bold De, Parbold Le. The form *bold* has been found only very rarely in northern counties (Newbald, E. Rid. Yks., Bold, Scotland); it does not occur in N. Lancashire. In the West Midlands it is the regular form: Bold, Shr.; Newbold, Ches., Derby, Notts., Staffs., Leics. (3), Northants., Worcs., Warw. (5); Wychbold, Worcs. The common occurrence of the form in South Lancashire seems to indicate a Mercian colonization.

When once the Old English personal names have been carefully studied,[1] it will probably be possible to make a distinction to some extent between Mercian and Northumbrian names. At present safe conclusions can hardly be drawn from them. There are, however, certain personal names occurring in place-names which may to some extent corroborate the conclusions arrived at.

O.E. *Ceadda* (in Chadwick, Chadsworth Sa, perhaps Chadswell, Chaigley Bl N. of the Ribble) is common in the West Midlands[2] (*e.g.*, Chaddesley, Worc., Chadsmoor, Staffs., Chaddesden, Derby, Chadkirk, Ches.); cf. also Chadshunt, Warw., Chadwick, Warw., Worcs., with O.E. *Ceadela* (? or to some extent *Ceadwalla*) as first element. The only place-name possibly containing this name found in old Northumbrian districts is Cadley, Am. The fairly common occurrence of Ceadda in S. Lancashire is noteworthy.

O.E. *Plēsa* (in Pleasington, Pleseley) is rare. *Ploesa* is the name of a Mercian dux (O.E.T. p. 457). The name may be the first element of Pleasley (Notts.), for which I have no early references, and enters into the lost name *Plesinchou* (Ess.) DB (cf. also Round, *Commune of London* 12), possibly also into *Plestuna* DB (Norf.).

Tota occurs in two Lancashire names: Todmorden, Tottington Sa. Tottle-

[1] An excellent beginning has been made by Redin. However, he does not deal with the names found in place-names, the material most important for our purpose.

[2] The popularity of the name Chad in the West Midlands is due to the fame of St. Chad (†672), bishop of Lichfield. St. Chad seems to have been probably a Northumbrian by birth (Bede iii. 23). If so, the name must have been used in Northumbria, but it does not seem to have been nearly as popular there as it was in Mercia.

Place-names with *Ceadda* (*Ceadela*) as first el. are found also in other Midland and in Southern counties. Cf. Gevenich, Die englische palatalisierung p. 63ff., Förster, Keltisches Wortgut, p. 180ff. But some examples probably contain the name *Cedd* (as Chedworth, Chediston).

worth seems to contain a derivative of it, and *Tetta* in Tetlow may be a related name. Tot(t)a, Tetta are at least extremely rare in place-names in the North; Todburn, Nhb. and *Totele* DB (Yks.) are at most doubtful examples. They are fairly common in the Midlands and the South: Tottington, Nrf., Toynton, Linc. (*Totintune* DB), Totton, Hants., Tostock, Suff. (*Totestoc* DB), Totnor, Heref., Totternho, Beds., Totley, Derby (*Totingelei* DB), Totham, Ess. (*Toteham* DB), Tottenham, Midds., etc.; Tettenhall, Staffs., Tetworth, Hunts. *Totta* is the name of a Mercian in BCS 32, *Tota* that of a South Saxon O.E.T. p. 168. But *Totta* is found once in the Liber Vitae (O.E.T. p. 163).

The following names, which I have not found in the North, may also be mentioned. They are all rare. *Bædd* (in Bastwell), found in Warw., Worcs. (cf. p. 74), also in Badsay, Heref. (Bannister). *Bæll* (in Borsden), found in Cambr. and Som. (cf. p. 43). *Duc* (in Duxbury), found in Cambr. (cf. p. 129), perhaps also in Duckington, Ches. *Goldgifu* (in Goldshaw Booth), found in Worcs. (cf. p. 80). *Gydda* (in Gidlow), found in Devon and Berks., also no doubt in Gidding, Hunts., Gedding, Suff.

But there are, south of the Ribble, certain names which point rather to colonization from the North (Yorkshire).

(*a*) There is one certain name in *-ing* (Melling), and Billinge may be another. Names in *-ing* (O.E. *-ingas*) do not occur in the majority of West Midland counties: Derby, Cheshire, Hereford, Stafford, Shropshire; Dinting, in Derby, is probably not a case in point. There are isolated examples only in Notts. (Gedling, Hickling, Meering) and Leicester (Peatling). The occurrence of Melling (and Billinge) in South Lancashire is, therefore, in the highest degree remarkable. These names cannot have been given by Mercians. But there are several names in *-ing* in Yorkshire, and in N. Lancashire we find at least Melling and Staining. The S. Lancashire *-ings* are thus easily explained if we may assume a Northumbrian colonization. The fact that Melling is found both south and north of the Ribble is of special significance.

(*b*) O.E. *bōþl* often appears in the North of England as *bōtl*: Bootle, Cumb., -bottle Nhb. and Durh. (common; cf. Mawer), Fordbottle in Furness. The form *bōtl* does not occur in the West Midlands, but there are three instances of Newbottle in Northants. In S. Lancashire we find Bootle, near Liverpool.

Bolton (a compound of *bōþl* and *tūn*) is an extremely common name in Yks., and occurs in Scotland, Nhb., Cumb. (3), Wml., as well as in N. Lancashire (two different). In the Midlands and South the name is absent. It is, therefore, remarkable that there are two Boltons in Salford hundred. These typically northern names seem inexplicable if South Lancashire was colonized only by Mercians.

The conclusion is that the place-nomenclature of South Lancashire shows Mercian as well as Northumbrian characteristics. The Mercian ones are especially certain dialectal peculiarities that must date far back, while the Northumbrian ones consist of certain unmistakable name-types. We must assume that both Mercians and Northumbrians took part in the colonization of the district south of the Ribble.

The land between the Ribble and the Mersey, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (A), belonged in 923 to Northumbria, from which it was in that year wrested by King Edward. The statement of the Chronicle is corroborated by one in Chr. E., which tells us that Whalley, in 798, was in Northumberland. It would, therefore, seem easy to explain the Northumbrian names in the district. The dialect and place-names, till the Conquest in 923, might have been Northumbrian, the Mercian characteristics being due to later Mercian influence. I cannot accept this conclusion. We must assume that by 923 the greater part of Lancashire was inhabited by an English population, and it is very difficult to believe that after 923 a very considerable immigration of Mercians and a recolonization of the district south of the Ribble took place. This would be a necessary assumption, if we are to explain the Mercian character of the early dialect, unless the district was already inhabited by a Mercian population at the time of the Conquest. Such forms as Chatburn, Ribchester (found in the northernmost part of the district), cannot be due simply to influence exercised on the dialects of the newly-conquered district by those of Mercia. My own opinion is that the land between the Ribble and the Mersey had a Mercian population before 923. The history of the district, I think, is about as follows:

It is known that in 613 or 616 (cf. Plummer's Bede ii. p. 77) Æthelfrith, King of Northumbria (593-617), made a raid to Chester and defeated the Britons there.

It is very probable that Lancashire was conquered at this time, or had already been added to Northumbria before. This is the opinion of Oman.[1] According to him the land between the Ribble and the Mersey afterwards (either at Æthelfrith's death in 617 or at least in 633) returned into British possession and was later colonized from the Trent valley.[2] I am not sure this is correct. I believe the district was to some extent colonized by Northumbrians, and to this colonization are due such names as Bootle, Bolton, Melling. The last-mentioned name points to early colonization.[3] I do not think it can be much later than 600. Had the district returned to the Britons such names would probably have disappeared.

At some time a Mercian colonization must have taken place, and to a great extent superseded the earlier Northumbrian. It seems plausible that this Mercian recolonization of South Lancashire was contemporaneous with that of parts of the West Riding carried out by Penda (626-655). The Mercians invaded Northumbria in 633, and seem to have recolonized parts of the West Riding (cf. Brandl, *op. cit.* p. 14f.). Brandl draws attention to the important fact that

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 252ff. Cf. Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, p. 139f., Tait, VHL ii. p. 2.

[2] There is no definite reason to suppose that the land between the Ribble and the Mersey again became British either after Æthelfrith's death or as a result of the victory gained by Cadwallon of Gwynedd and Penda over Edwin at Hatfield in 633. After the battle Cadwallon marched on York and later further north; he was defeated and killed by the Northumbrians in the very next year (Oman, p. 277f.). It does not seem probable, anyhow, that Cadwallon himself ever marched into South Lancashire.

[3] A study of Engl. place-names in *-ing* has brought me to the conviction that names in *-ing* (<O.E. *-ingas*) belong to a very early stratum. I hope soon to be able to publish my results.

the dialect of the Leeds district[1] in the tenth century seems to have been Mercian. In the early Tribal Hidage, Elmet (in the West Riding) seems to be included among Mercian districts[2] (EHR xxvii, 626, 634).

We do not know if the land between the Ribble and the Mersey was invaded at the same time as the West Riding, but such a hypothesis is in itself plausible, and it would give a very satisfactory explanation of the relation between the Northumbrian and Mercian elements in the Lancashire place-nomenclature.[3] When, in or after 655, the Northumbrians recaptured the West Riding, the land between the Ribble and the Mersey may have again become a Northumbrian dependency, but, if so, its population was then preponderatingly Mercian. Of course, it is not necessary that the district became Northumbrian so soon, but at least in 798 it must have been so.

Brandl, *op. cit.* p. 27, lays stress upon the fact that the land between the Ribble and the Mersey was placed in the diocese of Lichfield, a Mercian diocese, and takes it to prove that the Ribble of old formed the boundary between Mercians and Northumbrians.

The districts north of the Ribble, at least Lonsdale proper and Amounderness, were probably conquered by Northumbrians before the land south of the Ribble, *i.e.*, in the sixth century. The statement concerning Cartmel quoted p. 224, if trustworthy, shows that the Cartmel district was in Northumbrian possession as early as the time of Ecgfrith (670-685). There is every reason to believe that the Lune valley and parts of Amounderness became English some time before. In this connection I want to draw attention to a circumstance which seems to render it extremely probable that at least parts of the present Lancashire were firmly in Northumbrian possession early in the seventh century. Æthelfrith's successor, Eadwine, is known to have conquered Man and Anglesey (Bede, H. E. ii. 9). Such conquests seem to imply that the opposite coast of England was in Northumbrian hands.

Certain place-names suggest very early colonization of the districts in question. On names in *-ing see* p. 231. Some names in Lonsdale contain elements hardly or extremely rarely found as living words in historic times, and not, to my knowledge, evidenced in other Northern English place-names. Cf. Heysham, Hest, Slyne.

That the old dialect of this district was Northumbrian in character has already been pointed out, and also that certain name-types are obviously Northumbrian. I will here only draw attention to the names Elston and Elswick (Am.), which contain the typically Northumbrian form *Eðel-* for *Æðel-*.

A few words must be added on the history of Blackburn hundred north of the Ribble. This district is in Domesday reckoned to Amounderness, but was

[1] The interlinear gloss to St. Matthew (MS Rushworth), written by Farman, priest of Harewood N.E. of Leeds in the West Riding, is in a Mercian dialect (cf. Luick, *Hist. Gr.* § 24). For traces of Mercian dialect in the place-names of the West Riding *see* my Contributions to the History of O.E. dialects, p. 63.

[2] Pointed out to me by Prof. Tait.

[3] Cf. also Professor Tait, VHL II. 179[27], who thinks it just possible that some Mercian characteristics of South Lancashire may be older than the annexation in the 10th century. "It is conceivable that the land between Ribble and Mersey was Mercian for a time in the seventh century."

annexed, early in the twelfth century, to Blackburn (VHL vi. 230). The resulting closer relations with Blackburn cannot explain the agreement of the dialect of the annexed district with that of Blackburn, as revealed in place-names.[1] Such forms as Chaigley, Chadswell, cannot have developed in the twelfth century. There must have been intimate relations between the district in question and Blackburn before the Norman Conquest. This is very plausible in view of the contiguity of the districts. I do not think there is any reason to suppose that Blackburn north of the Ribble is old Mercian territory.

Blackburn north of the Ribble to this day is a remote and secluded district. The local dialect, for instance, seems very well preserved in it. The district is separated on the north and north-west from Amounderness by the crescent-shaped ridge of Longridge. It is intersected by a number of streams and deep valleys, which must have made communication in an easterly-westerly direction difficult.[2] The Ribble runs in wide curves, and its valley would not form a satisfactory channel of communication. No Roman road is known to have run north of the Ribble east of Ribchester. That which ran from near Preston into Yorkshire crossed the Ribble at Ribchester and followed the southern bank of the river. But communication across the Ribble with its numerous fords was easy. There is every reason to suppose that the inhabitants of this district would come into closer contact with their neighbours in Blackburn than with their kinsmen in the Fylde. This would account for the Mercian character of their dialect.

The name Ribchester is interesting. We really expect the form *-caster*, and *Ribelcastre* DB may, but need not, contain this form. *Ribchester* would be the form of the name south of the Ribble. It is easy to understand that this form was victorious, as the place came to belong to Blackburn.

2. Early Place-Names and the Distribution of the Anglian Population

A study of place-names may throw some light on the spread of the population in early times. For this purpose, of course, only such names are of value as may be supposed to be old ones. In the case of Lancashire names, extremely few of which have been found in O.E. sources, it is difficult to establish what names belong to the earlier strata of names. However, we may take it for granted that on the whole the early mediæval townships belong to the earliest settlements, and that the names found attached to such represent the earliest name-types of the district. Unfortunately, Domesday gives very unsatisfactory information as regards some hundreds, while it is very full as regards others. However, as a rule, the Domesday manors correspond nearly to the townships of the Subsidy Rolls of 1327 and 1332,[3] and where Domesday fails us we may base our investigations on these. No doubt we must reckon with the possibility that some early fourteenth-century townships have sprung up after the Conquest.

[1] It may be added here that the element *rod* " clearing," which I have otherwise not found N. of the Ribble, occurs in this district : *Braderode, Flaxerode* (Thornley) 1202 LF.

[2] During a few days' stay in Ribchester in the summer of 1921, in which I made excursions on foot east and west, I had the experience that this is to some extent true to this day.

[3] Occasional slight variations between LS 1327 and 1332 are usually not taken notice of.

SALFORD HUNDRED

Domesday mentions very few Salford names. We must, therefore, consult the Subsidy Rolls. These give 42 names of townships, to which should be added Newton, the rectory manor of Manchester. Of these 43 names four are Scandinavian or contain Scandinavian elements (Flix-, Tur-, Urmston, Oldham), and Castleton is clearly late, having a French first element. Of the remaining 38 names exactly half (19) have as second element *tūn*: Ashton; Chorl-, Hea-, New-, Withington (Manchester); Bar-, Clif-, Pendleton (Eccles); Hea-, Hul-, Westhoughton (Dean); Bol-, Rivington (Bolton); Chadder-, Cromp-, Pilking-, Royton (Prestwich); Middleton; Tottington (Bury). Clearly the chief type of names of townships is in this district the name in *-tūn*.

Of the other names a considerable percentage have as second element, or consist of, a designation for a village or homestead or the like, or (in a few cases) a word meaning a " clearing " or the like. We find *burh* in Bury, Pendlebury, *ceaster* in Manchester, *hām* in Cheetham, *stoc* in Lostock, *wīc* in Prestwich, *worp* in Edgeworth (Bolton), Butterworth, Hundersfield (Rochdale), Rumworth (Dean); further *land* in Spotland, *rod* in Blackrod. Only a few contain a word denoting a topographical feature: *lēah* (Worsley), *clif* (Radcliffe), *ford* (Sal-, Stretford), *wælla* (Halliwell), *wudu* (Harwood); there is also Reddish (O.E. *dīc*). No doubt some of these are comparatively late. The old manor of Rochdale (in the earliest sources *Recedham*, etc.) has been replaced by Castleton, Butterworth, Hundersfield, Spotland, which are no doubt later settlements than Rochdale.

A look at the map shows that the places which gave names to townships are as a rule situated in the comparatively level country on the N. bank of the Mersey, or in or near the valleys of its chief tributaries, especially the Irwell. Exceptions are (at least partly) to be explained by special circumstances. The fertile and easily accessible river valleys would no doubt be first taken possession of. But the Roman roads were an extremely important means of communication, and the invaders would to some extent follow them. It is significant that we find Pendleton, Hulton, Westhoughton on the line of the Roman road from Manchester to Wigan. Chadderton, Crompton, and Royton, which are in a somewhat higher situation than the old Salford townships generally, are near the Roman road which led from Manchester through Oldham into Yorkshire. Edgeworth is in a similar situation, but stands on the Roman road running from Manchester over (or near) Broughton, Prestwich, Radcliffe, Blackburn, to Ribchester. Tottington is nearer this road than the Irwell. Rivington is in a very remote situation, but it is on the upper Yarrow, and was very likely connected originally with the Leyland settlements. It is near Adlington in Leyland. It should also be noticed that on the border of Rivington (in Heath Charnock) is a place called Street, which renders it likely that there was once a Roman road in the district.

As the *tūns* form such a large percentage of old township names it is a reasonable supposition that other names in *tūn* are also comparatively old names. The places with names in *tūn* are all in the southern level district or in the river

valleys. Most of these have later risen to townships. Most are in Manchester or Eccles parishes. They are: Taunton (Ashton); Brough-, Chorl-, Clay-, Den-, Gor-, Haugh-, Moston (Manchester); Bol-, Dumpling-, Little Hough-, Mon-, Swin-, Winton (Eccles); Wharton (Dean); Alkring-, Foxden-, Heaton (Prestwich); Chatter-, Elton, Edenfield (Bury); Balderstone (Rochdale). The number of *tūns* in this district is really remarkable.

The elements *burh, hām, wīc* likewise occur in some other than old township names: Didsbury (near Manchester); Irlam, Thornham; Ard-, Bes-, Gothers-, Whittleswick (all four near Manchester), Chadwick (near Rochdale). All are in the level southern district or in or near river valleys. Some at least of these are probably old settlements.

The element *worþ* we found in four names of early townships. But, as pointed out, it seems doubtful if all really belong to a very early stratum (cf. also p. 20f.). Very likely the *worths* are fairly old settlements, but hardly as a rule so old as the *tūns* and *hāms*, etc.

I am inclined to believe that the *tūns, hāms, burhs*, and *wīcs* mark fairly accurately the earliest district colonized by the Anglians, which, of course, does not mean that all these names date from the seventh century. If so, the northern boundary of the district would be indicated by such names as Tottington, Chatterton, Edenfield (N. of Bury), Rochdale (earlier Recedham). In the district south of this line names of old types are fairly evenly distributed, except in parts rendered uninviting by forest, hills, or moss-lands.

BLACKBURN HUNDRED

Blackburn and Whalley parishes are best dealt with separately. For the district north of the Ribble *see* under Amounderness.

Of the 24 townships into which Blackburn par. is now divided, 19 were recognized in 1327 and 1332; Eccleshill and Dinckley formed townships with Mellor and Wilpshire respectively. Of the 21 names eight end in *tūn*, two in *burh*, one in *scīr* (Wilpshire); three (Over and Nether Darwen, Blackburn) are old river names; Mellor is an old British name. There remain: Dinckley (O.E. *lēah*), Cuerdale (prob. O.E. *halh*), Livesey (prob. O.E. *ēg* "island"), Eccleshill, Great and Little Harwood. Again, names in *tūn* are numerous. The places with names in *tūn* and *burh* are in or near the broad Ribble valley (Walton, Samlesbury, Balderston, Osbaldeston, Clayton-le-Dale, Salesbury, Billington), or the valley of some other important river (Witton and Pleasington in the Darwen valley, Rishton near the broad Calder valley). The earliest settlements, as might have been expected, seem to have been along the Ribble and its tributaries. It may be added that Darwen, Eccleshill, Blackburn are on the Roman road from Manchester to Ribchester. There are no names in *tūn, burh*, etc., except those mentioned.

Whalley par. now consists of 47 townships, many of which are of recent origin and correspond to old vaccaries. In 1327 and 1332 only 27 were recognized. As Henthorn and Coldcoats formed a township with Mitton, Extwistle one with Briercliffe, there are 30 names to be dealt with. Of these only six end

in *tūn*, two in *hām*,[1] two in *cot* (Coldcoats, Huncoat), one in *æcer* (Cliviger). There are, further, Church and Colne (an old river-name). The rest have as second element, or consist of, a topographical term: *lēah* (Burn-, Mear-, Whalley), *burna* (Chatburn), *clif* (Briercliffe), *denu* (Hasling-, Marsden), *dūn* (Downham), *hēafod* (Read), *hrycg* (Foulridge), *stān* (Simonstone), *twisla* (Ex-, Oswaldtwistle), *þorn* (Hen-, Worsthorn), *wælla* (Wiswell). Clitheroe may have a Scandinavian second element.

The difference between Whalley and Blackburn or especially Salford township names is striking. The usual element *tūn* is here comparatively rare, while names in *lēah*, *burna*, *denu*, etc., preponderate. The difference may very well be due to later colonization[2] of parts of Whalley than of Salford or Blackburn. Further examination shows that Mitton, Pendleton, Twiston, Worston are near the Ribble (and a Roman road), while Clayton-le-Moors, Hapton, Altham, Padiham, are near the lower Calder. Huncoat and Church are in the western part near a tributary of the lower Calder. No *tūns* or *hāms* are found on the upper Calder or its tributaries. Names of townships in these remoter parts are such as Cliviger, Worsthorn, Foulridge, etc. There are three *tūns*, besides old township names: Accrington, Clifton, Moreton. Accrington is near Church, Clifton and Moreton on the Calder. The now lost Hoghton was in Altham.

The conclusion must be that the colonization of Whalley parish began in the Ribble and lower Calder valleys, and from there spread further up the Calder and its tributaries. The place-nomenclature of the latter districts seems to be of a fairly late type.

WEST DERBY HUNDRED

The surface of this hundred shows comparatively little variety. There are no fell districts, but there were formerly mossy or low-lying parts, which were uninhabitable or uninviting. The division into townships has not changed considerably from 1327 (1332) to modern times. We had better follow the older division into three hundreds.

In **Warrington hundred** the division into townships recognized in 1332 is still kept up with the exception that Poulton was not reckoned as a township, while Glazebrook and Rixton were separate townships and Penketh formed a joint township with Sankey. To the present Widnes corresponded Appleton. Prescot, the rectory manor, is omitted in LS.

Of 26 names 11 end in *tūn* (Warrington, Rixton, Woolston, Burton[wood]; Atherton, Pennington; Appleton, Cron-, Eccles-, Dit-, Sutton), one in *cot* (Prescot), one in *bold* (Bold). Of the remaining 13 two are old river-names (Glazebrook, Sankey), one is Celtic (Penketh). There are four names in *lēah* (West Leigh, Ast-, Tyldesley; Cuerdley), two in *ford* (Bed-, Rainford), two in *hyll* (Rainhill, Windle), one in *stān* (Whiston), while Parr is obscure. The common occurrence of *lēah* in Leigh is remarkable. The names may indicate that

[1] Yet Altham may contain O.E. *hamm*.

[2] This does not imply that names in *-burn*, *-ford*, *-ley*, *-wood*, etc., are necessarily late. On the contrary, many such names are very old. But the common occurrence of names containing topographical terms like these rather suggests late colonization. Cf. Round, *Commune of London*, p. 2f.

Leigh was formerly a forest district. Further names in *tūn* are Poulton (Warrington), ? Etherston (Leigh), Den-, Upton, Eltonhead (Prescot). The *tūns* are chiefly in the southern part.

The townships of Newton hundred recognized in 1327 and 1332 are on the whole the same as the present ones. Yet Kenyon is given with Lowton, and Winstanley is coupled with Billinge. To Houghton, Middleton, and Arbury corresponds, in 1327, Middleton-cum-Houghton; in 1332, Middleton-cum-Arbury. Of the present Wigan townships Dalton and Upholland are in Domesday reckoned to West Derby proper.

Of the 24 names of townships five seem to be pre-English, while one is Scandinavian (Hulme). Of the remaining 18 there are six ending in *tūn* (Ash-, Hough-, Low-, Middle-, Newton; Pemberton), one in *burh* (Arbury[1]), one in *hām* (Abram), one in *wīc* (Winwick), one in *worþ* (Southworth). There are, further, Croft, Haigh, and the old river-name Golborne. Billinge may be a hill-name or an O.E. name in *-ingas*. We further find *lēah* in Hind-, Winstanley, *hyll* in Aspul, Orrell.

All the *tūns* are old township names. The only Wigan *tūn* (Pemberton) is near the Douglas. It may be added that in Wigan par. are two old township names in *hyll* and two in *lēah*, while in Winwick are five *tūns* and no *hylls* or *lēahs*. But the material is too scanty for any definite conclusions to be drawn.

West Derby hundred proper is more difficult to judge of, because here Scandinavian names begin to crop up. Even several names of old townships are Scandinavian. The names discussed *infra* are those found in the Subsidy Rolls of 1327 and 1332 and in Domesday. The differences between DB manors and LS townships are not very considerable. In DB are missing Garston, Hale; Everton; Aintree; Ormskirk, Bickerstaffe, Burscough, Scarisbrick; Crossens. On the other hand, DB includes the following names not in LS: Wibaldeslei; Smithdown, Toxteth; Uplitherland; Barton; Martin; Argarmeles. It will be seen that many of these (especially those not in DB) are Scandinavian.

The 30 English (or probably English) names are of the usual types. There are 11 names in *tūn*: Dalton (Wigan), Allerton, Woolton (Childwall); Huyton; Walton; ? Everton, Thornton (Sefton), Barton (Halsall), Aughton; Harleton, Martin (Ormskirk). Interesting names of old types are Bootle, Melling. There is one name in *acre* (Linacre),[2] two in *land* (Down-, Upholland), one in *geat* (Lydiate). Ince is British, and Speke is somewhat obscure. The rest have as second element, or consist of, a topographical term: *halh* (Halsall, Maghull; Hale), *lēah* (Wibaldeslei; Knowsley), *brōc* (Tarbock), *dūn* (Smithdown), *pōl* (Liverpool), *stān* (Garston), *trēo* (Wavertree), *wælla* (Childwall). There are no names in *burh*,[3] *hām*, *wīc*. The only common name-type is *-tūn*. Further *tūns* are the now lost Alton (Ormskirk), Netherton (Sefton).

English names are most common in the two southern parishes (Childwall and Huyton) and in Halsall, where English names preponderate, while Scandinavian names are at least equally common in Walton and Sefton, and pre-

[1] But Arbury was very probably named from a pre-English fort.
[2] But this may quite well be Scandinavian. Cf. *Linacradal* in Iceland (*Landnámabók*).
[3] Burscough may have as first el. an O.E. place-name Burh.

ponderate in Ormskirk, Formby, North Meols. It is particularly remarkable that Halsall, which is a long narrow strip between Ormskirk and Formby—Altcar—Sefton, is almost purely English in its early place-nomenclature. In explanation it is to be pointed out that the north-western part of West Derby hundred is low-lying, partly mossy, and was probably to a great extent uninhabitable at the time of the Anglian immigration. But Halsall is on higher land, partly on a ridge, partly on the western slope of the rising country west of Ormskirk. This district must have been taken possession of by Anglians early,[1] while the districts to the west were not on the whole colonized until after the Scandinavian invasion. But it is not so obvious why the Ormskirk district is chiefly Scandinavian. Part of it was no doubt mossland, while part may have been forest. Also, some old English names may have been supplanted by Scandinavian ones.

Of minor names not very many are English, except in Childwall and Huyton. We may mention: Fazakerley, Newsham, Simonswood, Spellow (Walton); Renacres, Shurlacres, Waddicar (Halsall); Orrell, Ford (Sefton); Aspinwall, Blythe, Gorsuch, Tawdbridge, Westhead, Wirples Moss, Wolmoor (Ormskirk). Of course, many late names are purely English.

LEYLAND HUNDRED

Few Leyland names are in Domesday. The townships now recognized were so in 1332, with the exception that in some cases two modern townships formed a joint township (Standish-cum-Langtree, etc.). Of early names of townships two may be pre-English (cf. p. 225), while five are, or may be, Scandinavian (cf. p. 251). Of the 33 probably English names 14 have names in *tūn*: Adling-, Ander-, Sheving-, Worthington (Standish), Clay-, Eux-, Hogh-, Wheelton (Leyland), Faring-, Hut-, Longton (Penwortham), Eccles-, Wrightington (Eccleston), Ulnes Walton (Croston). There are two names in *ham* (Bispham, Penwortham), one in *burh* (Duxbury), one in *bold* (Parbold), one in *wīc* (Howick); one in *land* (Leyland), one in *worþ* (Roddlesworth); further, Hoole. There are five names in *hyll* (Coppull, Welch Whittle, Whittle-le-Woods, Withnell; Brindle), one in *lēah* (Chorley; also Mawdesley with a French first element); further, Standish, Heapey, Rufford, Langtree.

All the places alluded to, with the exception of Rufford, are situated east (most a good distance east) of the Douglas. The country west of the Douglas, and a large district east of it, are very low-lying and partly mossy. These parts were probably not to any considerable extent colonized until after the Scandinavian invasion. Rufford stands in a low situation (mostly c 20ft. above sea-level). It is probably a late settlement; the name does not tell against this. Near the Douglas on its eastern side is Mawdesley; the name is obviously late. Hoole (close to the lower Douglas and mostly on low ground, yet over the 25-feet level) would seem to be fairly late, at least to judge by its name.

The old Anglian settlements are those on the slowly rising ground east of the lower Douglas and near the Ribble. In the easternmost part there is hilly

[1] It is noteworthy that two possibly Brit. names in West Derby proper are in Halsall.

country; here names in *tūn* are rare (Hoghton, Wheelton). The early English settlements may be said to comprise the present Standish, Chorley, Leyland, Eccleston, and Penwortham parishes, while the old Croston parish (inclusive of Rufford, Tarleton, Hesketh, and probably Hoole parishes) represents later colonization. On Croston cf., however, also p. 251. In Leyland par. are found two more *tūns*: Ollerton, Burton (Brook).

AMOUNDERNESS HUNDRED

(Inclusive of Blackburn north of the Ribble)

The Domesday manors in Blackburn north of the Ribble are: Aighton, Ribchester, Chipping, Dilworth, Wheatley. LS 1332 further mentions Dutton, Thornley. The *tūns* are near the Ribble. Names in *lēah* and *hurst* are common in this district. *See* material.

In Amounderness proper the place-nomenclature is to a great extent Scandinavian, but names of townships and early manors are preponderatingly English. Not in DB, but in LS 1332, are Als-, Els-, Ribble-, Thistleton, Bilsborrow, Hothersall, Wesham, Brockholes, and some Scandinavian names. Instead of Hardhorn and Newton, DB has the old name Staining. In DB are given Burn, Mythop, Rossall, which are not in LS.

Among 46 (certainly or probably) English names of old manors or townships those in *tūn* predominate. They are 25: Alston (Ribchester), Ash-, Bar-, Brough-, Els-, Haigh-, Pres-, Ribbleton (Preston), Clif-, Eccles-, Freckle-, Hamble-, New-, Plump-, Single-, Thistle-, War-, Weeton (Kirkham), Layton (Bispham), Mar-, New-, Poul-, Thornton (Poulton), Plumpton (St. Michael's), Forton (Cockerham). Other elements are: *hām* in Whittingham, Kirkham, Bispham; *-ing* in Staining (Poulton); *burh* in Bilsborrow (Garstang); *wīc* in Fishwick (Preston), Salwick (Kirkham), Elswick (St. Michael's); *hūs* in Newsham (Preston), Wesham (Kirkham); *ærn* in Hardhorn (Poulton). The rest are Crimbles (Cockerham); Lea (Preston); Catterall (Garstang); Hothersall (Ribchester); Brockholes (Preston); Greenhalgh (O.E. *holh*), Mythop (Kirkham); Lytham; Burn (Poulton). Rossall is obscure. The normal type of old township names is clearly *-tūn*. The number of names containing other O.E. words for "village" or "homestead" is noteworthy, as is the rare occurrence of *lēah* and the absence of *worþ*.

The English names are not evenly distributed. The vast majority are in the Fylde, the flat country in the west, and on the Ribble. In the eastern portion of Kirkham par., for instance, is only Whittingham, and it is not in a high situation. Near this place is Middleton (not in DB). But even in the western portion there are tracts in which old English names are absent or rare. The south-western part, Lytham par., was formerly to a great extent marsh, and the majority of settlements are here fairly late. North of the lower Wyre the only English names of an old type are Hambleton and Ashton (St. Michael's). The district is low-lying and was apparently only to a small extent inhabitable at the time of the Anglian invasion. Most names of townships in the last-mentioned district are Scandinavian. That is also the case with the townships to the east,

where the ground rises. The old English settlements in Amounderness hundred seem to have been made only or chiefly in the southern half. Scandinavian names are common all over the district. Minor names of English origin are not very numerous except in Preston parish. We may mention Cottam, Ingol (Preston); Cadley, Fulwood, Hyde (Lancaster); Ashley, Beesley, Longley, Comberhalgh; Bradkirk, Compton, Cowburn, Corner Row (Kirkham), Heigham, Rowall, Winmarleigh (Garstang), Cleveley (Cockerham).

LONSDALE SOUTH OF THE SANDS

The full Domesday list of manors forms a sufficient basis for an examination of the early name-material.

The most common second element is *tūn*, found in 15 English names: Ash-, Hea-, Hut-, Middle-, New-, Over-, Poulton (Lancaster), Halton; New-, Whittington; Wennington; Bolton; Hut-, Warton; Dalton. There are four names in *hām*: Cocker-, Gressing-, Heys-, Tatham; further, Melling; Borwick; Lancaster; Burrow; Tunstall; Neuhuse; Yealand; Cantsfield. Others are: Ellel (O.E. *halh*); Ald-, Oxcliffe; Carn-, Scotforth; Stapleton Terne, Thurnham; Bare; Hillham; Slyne. The number of *tūns* is striking. Possibly Caton and Farleton should be added. Names in *tūn* not in DB are: Aughton (Halton), Hilderston, Leighton (Warton), Addington (Bolton), Hutton (Melling).

The places enumerated are nearly all in the open country near the sea or in the river valleys, especially the Lune valley. Places in the more remote hilly districts to a very great extent have Scandinavian names. An exception is formed by the Over Wyresdale district, where a good many English names occur.

To judge by place-names the old English settlements in this district would seem to have been extensive and populous.

LONSDALE NORTH OF THE SANDS

Cartmel parish.—Domesday mentions two places with English names, Newton and Walton. LS 1332 adds Broughton. All three places are in or near the broad Eea valley, to which the early Anglian settlements were probably restricted. The southernmost part of Cartmel was formerly uninhabitable marshland, as was probably the low country on the shore of the Leven. To the west and east of the Eea valley are hilly districts, where extensive settlements were impossible.

English names of an old stamp are exceedingly rare in this district. We may mention Humphrey Head, Staveley (near Lake Windermere), Seattle; also Ludder Burn (if Ludder- is O.E. *hlūttor* "clear," which seems to have gone out of use early).

The Furness district is well represented in Domesday.

A good many probably English names are found. Several *tūns* are among DB manors: Crivel-, Dalton, Martin (Dalton), Gleaston (Aldingham); Bolton, perhaps Stainton (Urswick); Pennington; ? Ulverston; also the now lost

Heaton, Suntun. There are, further, Aldingham; Fordbottle, the lost Gerleworde, Orgrave (Dalton); Leece, Dendron, Hart (Aldingham), Bardsea (Urswick), also Warte (lost; perhaps O.E. *waroð* "shore"). Names in *tūn* not found in DB are Newton, Waltoncote (Dalton), Broughton, Egton, Plumpton (Ulverston); ? Colton; Broughton, ? Angerton (Kirkby Ireleth). There must have been a Plumpton in Dalton (*Plunton* c 1535 Beck, *Plimton* 1535 West 101). I suspect *Suntun* in DB is a mistake for *Pluntun*. More doubtful are Hutton and Troughton in Broughton. Urswick is in LS 1327, 1332.

The material tells us there were Anglian settlements, partly at least villages, especially along the east coast and the Crake (Egton is on the Crake, a good way north), along the river that runs past Dalton (here are several old manors), and on the lower Duddon. If Hutton and Troughton may be trusted, Anglian settlements would seem to have been made rather far north.

But the places dealt with so far on the whole belong to Low Furness. Extremely few old English names can be pointed out in High Furness. The only really safe case is Tilberthwaite, north of Coniston, which contains an O.E. name in *burh*. Names such as Brantwood, Fieldhead, are not conclusive. But Tilberthwaite cannot well have been the only Anglian settlement in northern Furness in pre-Scandinavian days. I suppose there was some Anglian colonization of which there is no record.

In Low Furness are a few other English names that may be supposed to be old, *e.g.*, Adgarley, Baycliff, Dragley, Mousell, Rampside.

It is a curious fact that so many old Furness manors have disappeared after the time of Domesday. The explanation is perhaps to be sought in the fact that the greater part of the district was handed over to the monks of Furness Abbey. The monks seem to have let out the land to small holders; this must have led to the disappearance of some old manors. Further, the monks are known to have devoted much energy to reclaiming waste land; as a result old manors would in some cases be supplanted by new, more valuable settlements. The mining industry may also account for important changes in the original distribution of land.

III. SCANDINAVIANS IN LANCASHIRE

Place-names wholly or partly Scandinavian abound in Lancashire. Before proceeding to draw conclusions from these names a few introductory remarks are necessary.

We must distinguish between Scandinavian names in a stricter sense, *i.e.*, names given by people speaking a Scandinavian tongue, and names containing Scandinavian elements. The former point to Scandinavian immigration. Names containing or consisting of elements that are well evidenced in M.E. or Mn.E. dialects, especially hybrids, need not do so. Such elements may have been introduced from neighbouring Scandinavian districts. Many names of this kind are probably quite late. Of course, if names containing elements of this description are numerous in a district there is a strong presumption in favour of direct Scandinavian influence. It is not always easy to distinguish between the two types of names. As a rule those consisting of two Scandinavian elements,

especially such as are not known to have been used in M.E. or Mn.E. dialects, may be looked upon as probably Scandinavian in the stricter sense.

The chief interest attaches to really Scandinavian names. As regards these the following circumstance, which, I believe, is sometimes overlooked, should be borne in mind. In old days place-names were not as a rule given deliberately by the owners of places; they arose spontaneously, so to speak. They were no doubt as a rule given by neighbours, not by owners.[1] It follows that if a Scandinavian name in the stricter sense is found in a district, we may as a rule conclude that the population of the neighbourhood was to a considerable extent Scandinavian. A homestead founded by a single settler or family in an English district would as a rule get an English name, though it might contain the owner's Scandinavian name; the name would be given by English people. I do not think, therefore, that an isolated Scandinavian place-name points, as a rule, to the immigration of an individual or an individual family. It indicates a Scandinavian neighbourhood, which may, of course, have been quite small.

It follows from what has been said that we must be cautious in drawing conclusions from personal names found in place-names. A single immigrant may quite well have had his name attached to a place-name. Further, fashion has always played an important part in the field of personal names. Scandinavian names were no doubt to some extent adopted by English people, and need not always prove Scandinavian immigration.

It is not always possible to distinguish neatly between English and Scandinavian place-names. Some name-elements may just as well be English as Scandinavian, and do not allow of safe conclusions (*e.g.*, *beorh—berg*, *haga—hagi*). But we must also reckon with the possibility that English names have been

[1] I do not deny that deliberate naming of places took place occasionally in the Viking age. There are a few cases in the Landnámabók which point in this direction. Thus it is said (p. 11) that Orlygr, in accordance with a vow, called a bay in Iceland *Patrekseſiǫrðr* after bishop Patrick. One Asbiǫrn hallowed his land-nám to Thor and called it *þors mǫrk* (ib. p. 105). Eirikr the Red gave the island found by him the name Greenland, because he thought people would be more anxious to go there if it had an attractive name (ib. 35). There are a few other similar cases. But it is by no means certain that all such stories should be taken to be literally true. The Landnámabók was composed at least two centuries after the events.

Occasional statements such as the one on p. 40, that Steinolfr let "bœ gera ok kalladi Saurbœ; þui at þar var myrlent miok" and the like should not always be taken literally. In some such cases the two versions of Landnáma do not agree. Thus Hauksbók says (p. 60): "Ingimundr fann a vatni einu beru ok ij hvna med henni; þat kalladi hann Hunavatn." The corresponding passage in Sturlubók is: "Ingimundr fann beru ok huna tvo hvita aa Hunavatni." On p. 4 Hauksbók says: "Gardar—lofadi miok landit ok kalladi Gardars hólm," while Sturlubók simply remarks: "Epttir þad var landit kallat Gardars holmr" (p. 130).

The names found in Landnáma are just such as we should expect to have arisen spontaneously. They are such as Kalmanstunga (named after one Kalman), Kylansholum (from Kylan), Svinadalr (so called because lost pigs were found there), etc. If names had been given to a great extent deliberately, we should expect to find that emigrants often used the names of their old homes in Norway. I have not noticed a single case of this kind in Landnáma.

Even in present-day England names arise spontaneously. Many farms are now called not by their officially recognized names, but by that of their tenants, "(Mr.) Johnson's," etc. I have come across cases where the old name of a farm seemed to be unknown to people in the neighbourhood.

remodelled by Scandinavians, and that Scandinavian names have been Anglicized. Exchange of an English for a Scandinavian name is a well-known phenomenon, exemplified, *e.g.*, in the case of Derby (earlier Norðworðig), Whitby (earlier Streoneshalh). Certain cases of this kind are not found in Lancashire; probable examples are, however, the Kirkbys. But substitution of a Scand. element for an English one has in all probability taken place in Bradkirk, Kirkham, Mythop, Staining, very likely in Stainton, Stainall. Early *-heim* for *-ham* belongs here.

Anglicizing of Scandinavian names no doubt took place, especially after the Scandinavian language had ceased to be spoken in Lancashire. Fairthwaite (Lo) is *Fagher-* in the earliest instances; Engl. *fair* has replaced the Scand. *fagr*. So it is quite plausible that Fairsnape originally contained Scand. *fagr*. Hawkshead (Bolton-le-Sands) in the earliest forms has as second element O.N. *hǫfuð*, later exchanged for *head*. Very probable cases in point are Medlar, Sholver. On *-water* for a probable earlier O.N. *-vatn*, *see* p. 192. I have no doubt some other names which look like hybrids were originally purely Scandinavian formations.

1. Danish or Norse Names

The Scandinavian element in Lancashire is generally held to be chiefly West Scandinavian (Norwegian); cf. Scandinavians, p. 8, with references. Yet also a Danish immigration is sometimes assumed to have taken place. The place-names throw some light on this question.

In Scandinavians, p. 8ff., I discuss briefly name-elements that may be used as criteria. As Norse test-words I mention *búð* "booth," *gil* "gill," *skáli* "hut"; as Danish ones, *bōth* "booth," and to some extent *porp*. As regards *būth*, however, it should be remembered that Northern English *ō* at a fairly early date developed to a sound often written *u*, *ou*. In early Lancashire place-names *ō* and *ū* seem to be kept well apart, and early spellings such as *Buth*, *Bouth* point to O.N. *búð*. Similar spellings in late sources are not trustworthy.

Gil does not seem to occur in early Danish or in Danish dialects, while it is common in Norwegian. But Steenstrup, Stednavne, p. 96, says *gil* "a ravine" occurs in the common Danish names Gilbjerg, Gilbakke, Gilhöj; cf. also Kok, Danske Folkesprog i Sönderjylland 1867, who mentions Gilbjerg (or Gildberg), Gilbro. If this is correct, it is doubtful if *gil* is a safe criterion. However, no early forms of the Danish names have been adduced, and I do not consider it certain that Gil- is really *gil* "a ravine."[1] In Sweden *gil* is somewhat better evidenced, but apparently only in the northern and middle parts. On the whole, it seems to me at least that *gil* points rather to Norse than to Danish origin, especially as the word has not been evidenced in Danish or Swedish dialects in early or late times.

Skáli seems to be exclusively West Scandinavian. Kok's suggestion (*op. cit.*)

[1] The fact that *gil* seems evidenced only as a first element rather indicates that it is not *gil* "a ravine." The earliest forms I have found (*Gildberg* 1499 De ældste danske Archiv-registraturer ii, *Giilldbierg* 1529 Erslev and Mollerup, Fredrik I.'s Danske Registranter) do not point to *gil*. Forms such as *Gilbierre* 1580, *Gilbierg* 1583 Kronens Sköder i. are too late to be trustworthy. *Gilbierg* is also spelt *Gildbierg*. Trap, Kongeriget Danmark[1] II. 885, gives the form *Giilhφi* (with long *i*). *Gil-* (*Gild-*) may be *gild* adj. "excellent," *gilde* "guild" or a pers. n. *Gil*, *Gildi* (Nielsen).

that the corresponding Danish word is found in Skalby, Skalberg is surely not correct.

To the elements pointing to Norse origin the following may be added:

Breck (Warbreck, etc.) goes back to O.N. *brekka* < **brinka*. The assimilation (*nk* > *kk*) in the dissyllable *brekka* is considered to be a West Scandinavian phenomenon (cf. *e.g.*, Noreen, Geschichte der nordischen Sprachen § 131). The O.Swed. form is *brinka*, *brækka* being found only in dialects nearly related to Norwegian. Assimilation is found, it is true, in some Swed. dialects, also in the originally Danish ones of Halland and Scania. But the assimilated form has not, to my knowledge, been found in Denmark, either in dialects or in place-names. As regards Scania it should be noticed that, so far as I can find out, *brækka* occurs only in the north-western parts,[1] those adjoining Halland. I believe the form has spread from Vestrogothia, which adjoins Halland, and whose dialects are related to Norwegian.

M.E. *slakke* valley < O.N. *slakki* seems distinctly West Scandinavian. The corresponding Danish word is *slank* "hollow." It may be added that Engl. *bank*, corresponding to O.N. *bakki*, Dan. *banke*, is not a criterion of Danish origin; the assimilation *nk* > *kk* took place so late that early loans from Old Norse would still have *nk*.

The common element *ergh* "a shieling" (O.N. *erg*<O.Ir. *airge*) may perhaps be looked upon as a criterion of Norse colonization, as most of the Scandinavian settlers in Ireland and Scotland were probably Norwegians.

An additional Danish test-word is *hulm* "holm," while *holm* may be Norse or Danish. The O.N. form is *holmr* (*holmi*). *Hulmber* (*hulmi*) is well evidenced in Sweden, *e.g.*, in the place-name *orbohulm* 1287 (cf. Söderwall), and in personal names, as *Hulmo* 1298, *Hulmgerus* 1251, etc. (Lundgren-Brate). The form is found in Danish in the personal names *Hulmfrith* (Blandinger udgivne av Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund I. 72) and *Hulmgyær* in *Hulmgyærthorp* (Nielsen). It is common in Danish place-names in Normandy, as *Torhulmum* 1030, *Turhulm* 1068, *Chetelhulmus* 1042 (Fabricius, Danske Minder i Normandiet, p. 303ff.). The form *hulm* occurs occasionally in English place-names, as Hulme, Norf. (cf. *infra*); also in Anglo-Lat. *hulmus* in Prompt. Parvulorum c 1440. It might be objected that *hulmr* may have been an old Norse side-form of *holmr*, which disappeared just as did the *u*-forms in Sweden and Denmark. But *a*-mutation of *u* to *o* was carried out much more regularly in West than in East Scandinavian (Noreen, *op. cit.* § 31). In a great many words we find E.Scand. *u* as against W.Scand. *o*. And the early sources of West Scandinavian languages are much fuller than those of East Scandinavian. The absence of W.Scand. *hulmr*, *hulmi* must prove that the forms were lost early in W.Scand. dialects.

Conclusions may sometimes be drawn from personal names. On the whole, East and West Scandinavian personal names agree very closely, but there are some exceptions. Examples will be pointed out *infra*.

In this place I will only deal briefly with names containing the element *þōr*, *þūr*. O.N. names always show the form *þōr*, with the exception of *þuriðr*,

[1] Cf. Rietz (who gives *brikka* from a Scanian dial.), Billing, Sv. Landsmålen x. 2, p. 116 (who gives *brækka* "hill" from a N.W. Scanian dial.), and Falkman (who gives a place-name Bräcke, earlier *Brakke*, *Brækæ*, *Brecke*, N.W. Scania).

whose *u* may be due to the following *i*. In Danish and Swedish *Pūr* is common, as in *Thure*, etc.; *Pūr* consequently would seem to be a criterion of E.Scand. origin. In Lancashire we find *Pūr* in Turton, Thurston Water, etc. I do not think this is a safe criterion. The history of the element *Pōr*, *Pūr* is a vexed question (cf. *e.g.*, Noreen, *op. cit.* § 31, Kock, Svensk Ljudhistoria § 817, Lindroth, NoB iv. 161ff., Finnur Jónsson, Norsk-islandske kultur- og sprogforhold, p. 301ff.); *Pūr* and *Pōr* go back to earlier *Punr-* (and *Ponr-* ?), with loss of *n* and lengthening of the vowel. Whatever may be the relations between *Pōr* and *Pūr*, both were possible developments in East and West Scandinavian, and the practically regular W. Scand. *Pōr* is due to generalization. In early West Scandinavian *Pūr* must have been used to some extent. *Tur-* actually occurs in O.N. names found in Irish sources (Marstrander, p. 65). Another explanation is also possible. Probably *Pōr* developed out of *Punr-*. The *n* was lost; *ū* was nasalized and later became *ō*. As shown by such forms as O.E. *Anlaf*, O.Ir. *Tomrair* (from early forms of O.N. *Óláfr*, *Þórir*), nasalized vowels must have been spoken in the Scand. languages of the Viking age (cf. also Finnur Jónsson, *l. c.* p. 225), and a form *Pūr* may have been in use at the time of the Scandinavian immigration into Lancashire. Such a form might have given by adaptation O.E. *Pūr*. O.N. *Pūr* might have been preserved in Thurston Water, etc., just as an early form of *Óláfr* was retained in Anglezark.[1]

In Thurland, found only in late sources, *Thur-* may be a late development of *Thōr-*.

2. Danes in Lancashire

As the Danish test-words are few, it is not quite easy to establish to what extent the Scandinavian colonization of Lancashire may have been carried out by Danes. The rare occurrence of the element *thorpe* rather indicates that the Danish share cannot have been considerable. But conclusions founded on the absence of a certain name-element are precarious. We must make it our object to find out if there is anything at all in the place-names that points to a Danish immigration.

We can then hardly fail to be struck by the remarkable fact that while Scandinavian place-names are comparatively rare in Salford hundred generally, there are several in the southernmost part, and that here *hulm* is frequent. There are in Flixton parish two townships, Flixton and Urmston, both with names containing Danish personal names. The pers. name *Flik* has only been found in Danish, and *Urm* is distinctly East Scandinavian (cf. p. 37).

The form *hulm* is found in Davyhulme (earlier Hulm) about 1 m. north of Flixton, in Hulme (now in Manchester), Levenshulme, further in the field-name Oldham, in Withington, east of Flixton (*Aldehulm* c 1200 CC 731). It is also found in Hulme (Reddish), but this may originally have been Hulme Hall, named from a family. Kirkmanshulme is a doubtful instance; the early forms regularly have *-holm*. As regards Oldham (Prestwich) and Wolstenholme (Rochdale), forms in *-hulm* are too rare to be taken into consideration. Besides in the cases mentioned, *hulm* occurs also in Hulme (Winwick), a good way west of Flixton.

[1] The preservation of the O.N. name in such an early form as *Anlaf* proves that the place-name (*Anlaves-ergh*) must have been adopted by English people at a very early date.

Other Scandinavian names in this district are rare. We may mention *Derboth* (Barton-upon-Irwell) 1277 LAR, not far from Flixton; *both* is O.Dan. *bōth*.

The considerable number of distinctly Danish names is unparalleled in the rest of Lancashire. We must conclude that there was once a Danish colony on the northern bank of the Mersey, in the district south and south-west of Manchester. It is impossible to establish the extent of this colony. That it embraced Flixton parish seems evident. But names such as Hulme need not prove that it comprised the whole of the district where these are found. The form *hulm* may have been introduced into the English dialects of the neighbouring country from the Danish language of the colony. Very likely it embraced only the low-lying country between the Mersey and the lower Irwell. This district may have been sparsely inhabited before the time of the Danish immigration. It was isolated at least on three sides from the surrounding country; so here a small Danish colony would have a good chance of retaining its independence.

No Danish colonization has hitherto, so far as I am aware, been proved to have taken place in South Lancashire. But such colonization is quite plausible. The present Lancashire probably belonged to the Danelaw. Even South Lancashire was carucated; its hundreds were sometimes called wapentakes, and Domesday tells us that the thegns of Derby paid their customary dues in ores instead of shillings. The holders of manors in Newton and Warrington hundr. are called *drengs*.[1] Mr. Collingwood, Scandinavian Britain, reckons Lancashire to the Danelaw (*see* map). It does not follow that a Danish colonization ever took place, but the place-names adduced prove that such was the case. The small Danish settlement south of Manchester was no doubt connected with Scand. colonies in Cheshire and Staffordshire. This is indicated by the fact that *hulm* is a common element in Cheshire and occurs in Stafford.[2]

It might be suggested that the Danish colony alluded to was part of a larger settlement in South Lancashire, and that Edward in 923 wrested Manchester from Danes. There is nothing in the place-nomenclature that justifies such a theory. We should not expect the Danish names to be restricted to such a small area if there had been a considerable Danish settlement round Manchester.

But if a Danish colony once existed south of Manchester, it would not be surprising if we could point out another or others in South Lancashire. However, there are no obvious traces of any other. The isolated Hulme in Winwick just

[1] These Scand. features are probably not due to Norse influence, as the Norse do not seem to have extended their settlements beyond the coast districts.

[2] The Cheshire hulmes are all east of the Weaver, most in the north-east part of the county.

Cheadle Hulme (S. of Manchester, not far from the Mersey): *Hulm* 1363, etc., Ormerod iii. 636, *Chedulholme* 1528 ib. 634.—**Hulme Walfield** (E. of Northwich): *Hulm juxta Wallefeld* 1307, *Hulm Wallefeld* 1339 Ormerod iii. 70.—**Hulme House** (Over Alderley, W. of Macclesfield): *Ulm* 12 cent. Ormerod iii. 579, 583.—**Hulme Hall** (Allostock, E. of Northwich): cf. Ormerod iii. 15.—**Church Hulme** (E. of Middlewich).—**Kettleshulme** (N.E. of Macclesfield): *Kettleshulme* 1520 Ormerod iii. 658. First el. the Scand. pers. n. (O.Dan., O.N.) *Ketill*.

The only Staffordshire name in *hulme* is: **Hulme** (near Stoke-upon-Trent, N.Staffs.): *in Hulmo* 1225 AP. Scand. names seem to be rare in Staffs. Duignan mentions Swinscoe, Thorpe Constantine, and the hybrid Thursfield.

mentioned does not allow of safe conclusions. It is just possible that the name Derby (near Liverpool) preserves the memory of a Danish colony. The name, which is not quite easy to explain, might be a replica of the more famous Derby in Derbyshire. If so, it is probably Danish. This suggestion receives some slight support from Toxteth, the name of a neighbouring place. *Toki*, its first element, is a chiefly Danish name. It was introduced into Norway and Iceland from Denmark, where it was common from the earliest times (Lind). The names Derby and Toxteth may point to an old Danish settlement on the lower Mersey. But, of course, West Derby may have got its name independently of the other Derby, and even if the Scandinavian colonies in West Derby hundred were founded by Norsemen some Danes may well have been among these.

There is one more district in which we may expect to find Danes, viz., the Lune valley. In the neighbouring Kendal district (Wml.) are no less than five names in *thorpe*, an unusually large number in the north-west of England. Kendal may have belonged to the Danelaw (Scandinavians, p. 5f.). The thorpes certainly indicate Danish colonization. If this is right, there is good reason to believe that the Danes also penetrated into the Lune valley; in fact, they could hardly reach Kendal without crossing it. Now there are two evidently old settlements in the Lune valley with names that look Danish: Hornby and Thirnby. Hornby is not actually on the Lune, but on the Wenning near its junction with the Lune. The first elements of Hornby and Thirnby are personal names which are evidenced only in East Scandinavian sources. These names do not allow of definite conclusions, and no other names in the district are distinctly East Scandinavian. *Cracanethorp* (Caton) CC 840 is too isolated to carry weight. All that can be said is that there is *a priori* a certain probability that there were once Danish settlements in the Lune valley, and that Hornby and Thirnby are very likely old Danish names. The majority of Scandinavian place-names in the district are no doubt Norwegian.

As regards the rest of Lancashire there is nothing in the place-nomenclature that gives a right to assume a Danish colonization on a scale similar to that in the Flixton district. All we can do is to point out a few names in *both*, and isolated instances of *thorpe*.

Examples of *both* are found especially in Blackburn and the northern part of Salford. The word is found in names of vaccaries; it seems to have been the technical term for a vaccary, at least in Blackburn. Examples are: Dunnishbooth, *Bothestudeyerdh*, *Brendebotheker* WhC 658 (Rochdale), Oozebooth (Blackburn par.), Goldshaw Booth, Hawbooth, etc. (Whalley par.), *Laddebothesike* (Wigan, De) CC 611. No doubt more examples could be adduced. Examples like these carry no weight. The only one that might be a really Scand. name is Oozebooth. But *Ulf* was in use in Lancashire in post-Conquest time, and Oozebooth may be a late name. The word *booth* is widely spread in dialects and well evidenced in M.E. literature. Its occurrence in a few place-names, mostly hybrids, does not prove a Danish immigration. The word may have been introduced into Lancashire dialects from Yorkshire.[1]

The names in *thorpe* are too rare to be of importance as evidence; *porp* is

[1] An early Yks. example is *botham* (acc.) c 1220 Pontefract Chartulary, p. 140 (clearly used as a common noun).

occasionally used in Norwegian place-names, and some isolated examples of it do not seriously tell in favour of Danish immigration.

Of course, it is quite plausible that some Danish immigrants have found their way from Yorkshire into eastern Lancashire. There were Danes in the West Riding. Names in *-thorpe* are fairly frequent in the district near the Lancashire border. *See* Collingwood, Anglians, p. 44. Gawthorpe (Habergham Eaves) might have been named after Gawthorpe near Dewsbury (*Gouke*thorpe 1274; cf. Lindkvist p. 141).

3. Norsemen in Lancashire

The results of our investigations concerning a possible Danish element in the Lancashire place-names have proved rather meagre. On the other hand, even a cursory examination of the material tells us that the West Scandinavian test-words are common in various parts of the county. *Gill, scale,* and *slack* are widely spread; so is *ergh. Breck* is common all along the coast, while *būth* is found only in Lonsdale. There can be no doubt that the Scandinavians in Lancashire must have been predominatingly Norsemen, Norwegians. Consequently the probability is that names which may be West Scandinavian are such rather than East Scandinavian. In the following survey only such names are considered as are or may be West Scandinavian.

SALFORD HUNDRED

Scand. names, in a stricter sense, are few. Certain (or fairly certain) cases are Anglezark (Bolton), Sholver (near Oldham), Gawksholme (Rochdale), Brandlesome (Bury; first el. a W.Scand. pers. n.), perhaps Turton (Bolton), Boysnope (Eccles). The places in question are mostly in the hilly parts in the north or east.

There are, further, a number of names containing Scand. elements, mostly hybrids. The Scand. elements are words that are in dialectal use in M.E. or Mn.E. time, at least in the north, as *bank, car, gate* " road," *holm, mire, scale, slack.* Most are found in the hilly districts of Rochdale, Bury, and Oldham, some in Eccles. A few examples will suffice: Schofield, Roughbank, Wolstenholme, *le Schorebonk, le Roughslak* WhC 658, 698 (Rochdale), Summerseat, Hall Carr, Scout (Bury), Gamelsley, Folescales (Bolton), Oldham, Scowcroft (Oldham), Slack, *Hulfkeliscroft* CC 680, *Walthewyscroft* (first el. *Walthef*, a distinctly W. Scand. pers. n.) WhC 918 (Eccles). Some more similar names might be added. Only Oldham and Turton are the names of early townships.

Far-reaching conclusions cannot be drawn from this material. Some Scandinavian immigration has no doubt taken place, especially into the northern districts and Eccles, where there was plenty of unreclaimed land to be had. The Norse seem to have come from the north (perhaps from Leyland; names such as Anglezark, Turton may mark the approximate route) and from Norse colonies in Yorkshire (cf. Collingwood, *op. cit.* p. 45ff.; Goodall p. 179).

BLACKBURN HUNDRED

In the western half, Blackburn par., there are hardly any Scand. names in the stricter sense. Belsetenab may be one; so may Myerscough, if it is an old name. The rest are a few hybrids containing the well-known elements *bank, car, gate, holm*, etc., or pers. names. They are distributed fairly evenly and offer no particular interest. Examples are Blacksnape, Dunscar, Feniscowles, Martholme (a late name), *Cronekiskar* WhC 101 (Blackburn), *Darnalkar* ib. 969, *le Whiteker* ib. 1010, *Lyolfesik* ib. 1030 (first el. an O.N. pers. n.), *Swaynesmore* ib. 1027 (Billington), *Scholecroft, Stiholme* CC 518f. (Cuerdale), *Redecar, Elvynkar* 1200-8 DD (Rishton). Examples of names in *-car, -gate, -holm* are found in VHL vi. (*passim*). No definite conclusions can be drawn from this material as regards a Scandinavian immigration.

In Whalley par. the Scand. element is more marked, but Scand. names in the stricter sense are few. Barnside may be one. Ravensholme, Snelleshou, at least seem to consist of two Scand. elements. Hay Slacks, Sparth, also *Algotholme* 1475 CCR (Gr. Marsden; first el. O.N. *Algautr*; cf. Björkman, Personennamen, and Lind), may be cases in point. But not one of these is really quite conclusive.

The Scand. elements in hybrids are mostly the same as those mentioned under Salford, but some new ones crop up, as *eng, gill, how* (O.N. *haugr*). Such names are found all over the parish without being particularly common anywhere. *How* occurs in several names of hills, as Blacko, Gerna, Noyna, etc. Other hill-names containing Scand. elements are Boulsworth, Stank Top; cf. Brownbrinks. In the material are further mentioned, *e.g.*, Holme, Filly Close, Moor Isles; Icornhurst; Ayneslack; Scholefield; Gambleside; Ormerod. Cf. also *le Britholm, Meneenge* (Altham) WhC 303ff., *Woluetscoles* (Clitheroe) ib. 1111. Many examples are found in the Clitheroe Court Rolls, as *le Halflatt* (Chatburn), *Bredde Yngs* (ib.), *Brodholme, the Hagg* (Colne). Isolated examples of this kind will be found in VHL vi.

The Scand. names as a rule denote minor places, or such as have risen into some importance lately. The only exception is Clitheroe; yet it is not absolutely impossible that *-how* (O.N. *haugr*) may have replaced O.E. *hōh*. We must conclude that some Scandinavian settlements were made in this district. The Scandinavians no doubt came from the Craven district and the Upper Ribble valley. In these districts are numerous Scand. place-names, not only minor names, but also names of villages and townships. Close to the border of Whalley parish are *e.g.* Earby, Newby, and a little farther off Bracewell, Carleton, Hellifield, Gargrave, Rathmell, Stainforth.[1] Near the border of Whalley is a Hesketh (S.W. of Bracewell). In these districts are numerous names in *gill* (Cor-, How-, Ray-, Wycongill),[2] *scale* (High Scale, W. of Hellifield, Scaleber, near Settle), and at least one *ergh* (Battrix); also *thwaite* occurs.[3] This West Yorkshire district

[1] For early forms cf. Moorman.

[2] *Wykingile* 1302 PD.

[3] Cf. *Hothwait, Mourethwait* late 12th cent. (Bolton-by-Bowland), *Gase-, Selgile* c 1200, *Musegile* c 1240 (Rimington) PD; *Elkegile, Querenstaingile* 1211-32 Kirkstall C 202, *Gradalehals, Thirnesetegilebroc* 1232-40 ib. 203f. (Bowland).

must have been colonized to a great extent by Norsemen. These probably poured in from the Lune valley along the Wenning, on which are places with such names as Lawkland, Newby, and into the Ribble valley,[1] along which they spread southwards. This explains why Scand. elements are fairly common in the place-names of Whalley, but rare in Blackburn parish.

WEST DERBY HUNDRED

In the old Warrington hundred are no Scandinavian names in the stricter sense, but there are a few names containing Scand. elements, as Scholes, Ridgate, Hopecarr; cf. *le Cartegate* (Cronton) WhC 817. Interesting names are Laffog (if the first element is O.N. *lǫg*) and Lunt, which gives us an example of O.N. *lundr*. The material hardly proves that a Scand. immigration into this district ever took place.

In the old Newton hundred are found a few names with Scand. elements, such as Scholefield, Scholes. *Turssekar* (Hindley) CC 649 seems to contain two Scand. words (O.N. *purs* " giant " and *kiarr*).

In West Derby hundred proper Scand. names are very common. Here they frequently appear as names of townships and villages. On the relation between Engl. and Scand. names cf. p. 237. The following Domesday manors (at least probably) have Scand. names: Roby (Huyton); Derby, Kirkby, Kirkdale, Toxteth (Walton); Sefton, Crosby, Litherland (Sefton); Altcar; Uplitherland (Aughton); Lathom, Skelmersdale (Ormskirk, which has a Scand. name itself); Formby, Mele, prob. Ainsdale (Formby); Argarmeles, Otegrimele (North Meols). LS 1327, 1332 add Aintree (Sefton), Bickerstaffe, Burscough, Scarisbrick (Ormskirk), Crossens (North Meols). To 30 Anglian names of townships or DB manors correspond some 21 Scand. ones. Two or three of these, of course, are somewhat doubtful.

Minor names are to a great extent Scandinavian or partly so. I here draw attention chiefly to names Scandinavian in the stricter sense. In Childwall par., where all names of early townships are English, we find Aigburth, Brettargh, Thingwall. In Dalton (Wigan) is Laithwaite. In Walton are *e.g.* Aynesargh, Ingoe, Warbreck. In Halsall are *e.g.* Cunscough, Eggergate, Harker, also Gettern, the name of a now drained mere (? O.N. *gedda* " pike," and *tiǫrn* " tarn "), *Murscoh* CC 634, *Ruthwait* ib. 537, *Sandwath* ib. 532. In Ormskirk are Greetby, Tarlscough, also Nathelarghe (with *ergh* " shieling " as second el.; cf. Scandinavians, p. 80). Numerous Ainsdale names in CC 568-94 are Scandinavian. We find names in *-hou*, as *Bleshoudale, Keshou*; *mel* (O.N. *melr*), as *Quitemeledale*; *skarth*, as *Winscarthlithe*; *slet* (O.N. *slétta*), as *Elreslete*; further, *e.g., Lathebot, Stardale* (O.N. *stǫrr* " sedge "), *Wra*. On the interesting names *Scartherwlmer, Starhourauen, Gilanre-, Melcanerhou*, also *Oddisherhe*, which show Goidelic influence, I refer to Scandinavians, pp. 46, 71, 81. In Ravensmeols is *Stangerhau* WhC 527 (O.N. *stangarhaugr*).

[1] Cf. *Birkwith, Mosdalebek, Solberhe* (now Sulber), *Caldkelde* 1400 FC i. 200ff., *Thueregile, Erdoffgile* 1190 FC ii. 334 (Selside, on the upper Ribble); *Bla-, Crokebec* 1400 FC i. 202, *Threfotherscales* 1165-77 FC ii. 296 (Newby, near the Wenning); *Ellerbech, Mosdalebech* FC ii. 326 (Souther Scales); *Ulvesgile* 1200-16 FC ii. 363 (Flasby, N.W. of Skipton).

It is obvious that a considerable, systematic Scandinavian colonization took place in the district of West Derby hundred proper, especially its northern part. Scand. names are most numerous in the low-lying districts near the sea, which had not till then been to a considerable extent inhabited.

LEYLAND HUNDRED

Scandinavian names are numerous in the low-lying western parts, those adjoining the strongly Scandinavianized parts of West Derby. Also the names of old townships are (at least partly) Scandinavian; Becconsall, Hesketh, Croston, Tarleton, probably Bretherton. As regards Croston, however, its situation is not so low that it may not have been an old English settlement. The name may have replaced an old English one.

Of other Scand. names may be mentioned: *Elremure*, *Siverthesarge*, *Thorp* (Bretherton) CC 475ff., Sollom (Tarleton); cf. also *Burnildesgate* (O.N. *Brynhildr* pers. n.) CC 464 (Tarleton).

In the rest of Leyland names of old townships are English, but there are some Scand. names in the stricter sense: Blainscough, Ellerbeck (stream), Roscoe (Standish), Brinscall, perhaps Snubsnape (Leyland), Ulvedale (Penwortham), Sarscow (Eccleston). Several names contain Scand. elements, also some not found in the districts hitherto discussed: Crook (Standish, Leyland), *Crocfeld*, *Crocland* (Hoole) CC 451ff., *Lairburnsik*, *Lairclade* (O.N. *leir* "clay") CC 409, 426 (Hutton). Others are: Asland; Limbrick (Standish); Gunnolf's Moors, *Scalecroft* CC 499 (Leyland), *Harekar* CC 411, *Rokar* CC 394 (Penwortham), Walmer (Hoole).

There must have been a Scandinavian colony at least in the western part of the hundred. But it very likely comprised parts of the old Anglian territory. The name Gunnolf's Moors, which designated a large inland district, refers to an early owner who, to judge by the name, must have been a Scandinavian chieftain.

AMOUNDERNESS HUNDRED

In the part later annexed to Blackburn (cf. p. 232f.) Scandinavian names are rare. Distinctly Scandinavian is Leagram. Partly Scandinavian are Daviscoles, Elmridge.

In Amounderness proper the frequency of Scand. names varies. Preston parish is predominatingly English. In the rest of the district Scand. names abound. In some parts names of old manors and townships are, to a great extent, Scandinavian.

DB manors or LS townships with (at least partly) Scandinavian names are: Grimsargh (Preston); Aschebi (Lancaster); Goosnargh, Threlfall, Bryning (earlier Birstath Bryning), Kellamergh, Larbrick, Medlar, Ribby, Westby, Wrea (Kirkham); Norbreck, Warbreck (Bispham); Carleton (Poulton); Hackinsall, Preesall, Staynall, Stalmine (Lancaster); Rawcliffe, Sowerby (St. Michael's); Claughton, Garstang. Scandinavian and English townships are

found side by side. In Kirkham and Bispham are several composite townships with names formed of one Scandinavian and one English name, as Westby with Plumpton, Medlar with Wesham, Li. Eccleston with Larbrick, Bispham with Norbreck, Layton with Warbreck.

A great many minor names, especially in the northern part, are Scandinavian or partly so. A few interesting names found in early sources are here given ; for the rest I refer to the material.

Preston : *Clakerkelde* (Tulketh) CC 216, *Hegergarthe* (Cottam) CC 225.

Kirkham : *le Blenesgile* (first el. obscure) CC 230 (Whittingham) ; *Avenamis*, *Dounanesbrec* (first el. *Dunán*, a Goidelic pers. n.) CC 202 (Newton) ; *Baunebrec* (O.N. *baun* " bean "), *Flitteholm* CC 194ff. (Warton) ; *Aykescof* (O.N. *eikiskógr* " oak wood ") CC 201 (Preese) ; *Gaseflosland* (O.N. *gás* " goose " and perhaps M.E. *flosh* " pool," found Gaw. 1430) CC 190 (L. Eccleston), *Watfoth* (O.N. *vátr* " wet ") CC 166 (Greenhalgh).

Poulton : *Helrecar* (O.N. *elri* " alders "), *le Smithieflat*, *le Sortebuttes* (*Sorte-* app. from a side-form of O.N. *svartr* " black ") CC 148ff.

Lancaster par. (Stalmine, etc.) : *Arghole* (*argh* " a shieling " and *hol*) CC 125, *Cockesholm* CC 95, *Cumbelhou* (O.N. *kumbl* " a memorial ") FC ii. 246, *Harekar* CC 97, *Keldebrech* FC ii. 240, *Mourhulles* (O.N. *maurr* " ant " ; for *hulles* cf. Moor Isles, p. 82) CC 106, *Staynbrige* CC 99, *Stanreys* (second el. O.N. *hreysi* " cairn ") CC 124, *Yarlesmyre* (O.N. *jarl* " earl " and *mýrr* " mire ") LC 372, *terram Ithunæ* (O.N. *Iðunn* pers. n.) CC 124 (Stalmine with Staynall). *Colecros* CC 67, *Kirkegate* ib. 68, *Midelare* CC 77, *Nab* FC ii. 234, *Serholm* CC 80, *Vlvegraregate* (for *Ulvegrave-* " wolf-pit ") CC 82 (Preesall with Hackinsall).

St. Michael's : *Kirkeflat* CC 181, *Serlescales* (O.N. *Sørli* pers. n.) CC 178.

Garstang : *Stanrays* CC 265 (Bilsborrow) ; *Calder-*, *Cros-*, *Timbergate* CC 254f. (Claughton) ; *Ounespull* (O.N. *Aun* pers. n. ; cf. Lindkvist p. 157) CC 270 (Kirkland) ; *Belanespot* (Ir. *Beolan* pers. n. ; cf. Scandinavians, p. 70), *Tilverdheimholm*[1] 1220-46 CC 280 (Garstang) ; *Leyrsic*, *Ferm-*, *Pilatewra*, *Sourbut* (cf. Sowerby) CC 292ff.

Cockerham (Forton) : *Eskebec* (O.N. *eski* " ashtrees ") CC 298, *Scrikebec*, *Uluebec* CC 365ff., *Netlekar* ib. 343, *Heskehoueth* (cf. Escowbeck, p. 168) CC 367, *Le Rayse*, *Stanrays* ib. 359f., *Scamwathlithestordes* (O.N. *storð*) ib. 355, *Goscopetheit*, *Leikethaites*, *Lintthwaitbroc*, *Musethuait*, *Slathwaitheuid*, *Ulvethwait* ib. 344ff., *Grafsuinesknikel* (written *-kinkel* ; cf. *Motonknycyll* CC 389 ; O.N. *grafsvín* " badger " and *knykill* " lump," etc. ; cf. Faroese *knykil* " lump, small hill or rock ") CC 342 (1185-1200).

Of course, there are in early sources numerous English names of fields and the like.

There is a statement which has been taken to prove that there was a Scandinavian population in Amounderness c 930, viz., in the twelfth century " Lives of the Archbishops of York " (Historians of the Church of York, Chron. and Mem. ii. 339), which tells us that Æthelstan granted to the cathedral church of St. Peter the whole of Amounderness " quam a paganis emerat." Whether the

[1] Cf. *Tillirdauholme* CC 278, *Tyllesholm* 1539 CC 1196. The name seems to be a compound of *holm* with an earlier place-name **Tilverdheim*, very likely Scandinavianized for **Tilverdhām*, *Tilverd* being a form of O.E. *Tilfrip*. *Tilverdhām* may have been replaced *e.g.* by *Garstang*.

statement is true or not,[1] the place-names tell us that there must have been a very considerable Scandinavian population, which spread over the greater part of the district. Some parts, especially the low-lying northern (north-western) districts, seem to have been first colonized by Scandinavians. The whole district was named from a Scandinavian chieftain.

LONSDALE SOUTH OF THE SANDS

Most old townships (manors) of this district have English names (p. 240). A few, however, have Scandinavian names: Swainshead, Skerton, Torrisholme, perhaps Caton (Lancaster), Arkholme, perhaps Farleton (Melling), Claughton; Ireby (Thornton), probably Leck (Tunstall), Kellet (Bolton), all of which are in DB, further Wray, Wrayton (Melling) 1332 LS. On Hornby, Thirnby, *see* p. 247.

Minor names are to a great extent Scandinavian. Only some examples not dealt with in the material are here given. The material is somewhat uneven because some townships are better represented in early sources than others.

Cockerham: *Haghekar, Launland* (cf. *Laundal* "hidden valley" NG ix. 210), *Linholm, Quitebrek, Quitstorth, Raysefeld, Stanrays, Ragarthout* (O.N. *hǫfuð*), *Tratherig* (O.N. *trǫð* "fold," etc.) CC 762ff.

Lancaster: *Kelderise, Morhaus* (O.N. *maurr* "ant" and *haugr* "hill"), *Reysbrec, Sondholm* (? for *Soud-*, O.N. *sauðr* "sheep"), *Skynerisflatte* CC 801ff. (Scotforth); *Scheldulvesbuttes, Skeltholvesflat* (O.N. *Skiǫldulfr* pers. n.), *Seflat, Houkeshout, Sulstainfete,*[2] *le Tern, toftum Haraldi, Tranewath* (Ashton) CC 785ff. *Beiskebrec, Crocflat* (Stodday) CC 810f.; *Bolehagge, Capilbrek* (M.E. *capel* "horse," O.N. *kapall*<Ir. *capall*) FC ii. 171 (Skerton); *Mourhouwes* (O.N. *maurr* "ant") CC 817 (Bowerham); *Buthebanck, Grenebanc, Kirkebanke, Tuneker, Swinsti-, Torneholm, Stanrais, Spanrig* (O.N. *spánn* "chip," etc.), *Welslet, Thistelthuait* CC 826ff. (Caton); *Fite, Ulvesthweit* 1202 LF (Gressingham).

Claughton: *Sletholmbec, Felebrigge* (O.N. *fiǫl* "board"), *le Hau* (O.N. *haugr*), *Thistelwat* CC 883ff.

Heysham: *Staynkeldeker, Litelcrosseslak* FC ii. 277ff., *Drake-, Ormesholm* LC 292.

Halton: *Nithinghou* (O.N. *níðingr* "villain") FC ii. 168, *Sygerithwath* ib. ("ford of *Sigríðr*") ib. 162.

Melling: *Ravenescrosse*[3] 1323 LI, *Cabbanarghe* (cf. Scandinavians p. 79), *Wynefel* (app. "whin fell"), *Esphouet, Aspohuth* (O.N. *espi, ǫsp* "aspen, -s" and *hǫfuð* "hill"), *Dalslakland, Gayle, Swinemure* CC 900ff. (Wennington).

[1] Æthelstan's charter is printed by Dr. Farrer in YCh 1, in a different form in BCS 703. It only says that Æ. had bought the land "non modica pecunia." The authenticity of the charter is doubtful. It may be pointed out here that two other charters of Æthelstan's mention the purchase of land from pagans. By the charter BCS 658 the king grants to Uhtred Ashford and Hope in Derbyshire ("terram—quam proprio condignaque pecunia id est xx. libras inter aurum et argentum a paganis emerat"). By the charter BCS 659 the king in the same terms grants away land in Beds. A forger knowing a genuine charter of Æthelstan's containing this phrase might well have introduced it to render his forgery more trustworthy.

[2] Perhaps O.N. *súl(a)* "pillar," *steinn* "stone," and *fit* "water-meadow."

[3] Stated to be Ravens Close east of Wennington (LI ii. p. 122).

Tatham : *Stanheir* (O.N. *eyrr* " gravel-bank " ; cf. Lindkvist p. 133), *Prestewat* CC 931ff.

Tunstall : *Langauenam, Haverbergh* (O.N. *hafri* " oats " or *hafr* " ram "), *Brakanwra* CC 897f. (Leck).

Whittington : *Bramfite* (O.N. *fit* " water-meadow "), *Gildehouet* (O.N. *hǫfuð* " hill "), *Mir-, Rathornthuait, Lonewat* (" Lune ford," O.N. *vað*) CC 941ff.

Bolton-le-Sands : *Kelde-, Thistelle-, Quitebrec* CC 916, *Gaselandes* LC 177, *Braithemire, Engemyre, Wyndscarthmire* LC 180ff., 231, *Santh(e)-, Sonthpul* (for *Sauth-, South-*, O.N. *sauðr* " sheep ") FC ii. 110ff., *Gratwait, -thwat* CC 919, *Mikelthwayt* FC ii. 143, *Natewra* CC 920 (Bolton). *Southecoteflatte* (O.N. *sauðr* " sheep "), *Stanrays, Herteseyl* (O.N. *hiarta-seyla* " stag pool " ; cf. NoB viii. 88f.) CC 905ff. (Kellet).

Warton : *de Hothweit* LAR, *Hewthwaite* 1845 VHL viii. 166 (Carnforth) ; *Ellerholm* (now Eldrams), *Sout(he)hou* (O.N. *sauðr* " sheep "), *Staynhusslac* 1246-71 EHR xvii. 294 (Warton) ; *Hokereytherig* (? O.N. *haukahreiðr* " hawk's nest ") 1246 LF (Yealand).

Dalton : *Arkillesthorn* (O.N. *Arnkell* pers. n.), *Soudhusthorn* (O.N. *sauðhús* " sheep-cote ") 1228 LF.

The examples adduced, which might be considerably added to, tell us there must have been a very considerable Scandinavian immigration into Lonsdale proper. The Scandinavians seem to have spread all over the district. The colonization of the hilly parts seems to be chiefly due to them.

LONSDALE NORTH OF THE SANDS

The Cartmel district seems to have been sparsely inhabited before the Scandinavian time (p. 240). The Scandinavian element in the place-nomenclature is strong ; it is really easier to enumerate the English than the Scandinavian names. The name Cartmel seems to be Scandinavian. Of Domesday manors only Kirkby (=Cartmel) has a Scand. name, but by 1332 the Scand. names Allithwaite and Holker have taken the place of Newton and Walton as the names of the townships. For minor names the early material is very scanty, and we must be content with a reference to the names given in the material.

The Furness district is better represented in early sources. Of Domesday manors only Sowerby has a distinctly Scand. name, but the names Stainton and Ulverston at least show Scand. influence, and Killerwick has a Scand. first element. Of early townships Kirkby Ireleth has a Scand. name. The name Furness is no doubt Scandinavian.

Names of later townships or villages (in High Furness), on the other hand, are preponderatingly Scandinavian : Blawith, Coniston, Hawkshead, Lowick, Subberthwaite, Torver, etc. Names of minor places and also those of streams, lakes and hills, are mostly Scandinavian, as seen from the material. Some of the elements have not been met with in the districts discussed hitherto, as O.N. *kleif* (Claife), *látr* (Hulleter), *oddr* (Greenodd), *skriða* (Scrithwaite).

Of names found in early sources the following may be mentioned :

Dalton : *Melbrek, Fermeribouthe, Leyrgile, Langeslak, Staynonesterne, Stermanwra*

FC i, *Ingrithcros* 1262-3, *Gyle* c 1225 FC ii, *Cros-*, *How-*, *Oldelathflat*, *Scalbank*, *Grenethwaytmedowe* 16th cent. FC ii.

Aldingham : *le Calfecar*, *Layrepotbankes*, *Brakanthwayt* 1419 CR.

Pennington : *Brakanbank*, *Kirke-*, *Mos-*, *Terneflat*, *Aykehamer* (O.N. *eik* " oak " and *hamarr* " cliff "), *Grenemire*, *Lairpot* 1352 FC i.

Urswick : *le Sletehaw* 1282 CWNS xii. 235 (first el. perhaps O.N. *sléttr* " even ").

Kirkby Ireleth : *Gunildebrigge* (O.N. *Gunnhildr* pers. n.), *Saurchales* (O.N. *saurr* " mud " and *scale*), *Fog(he)wra*[1] FC i. (Angerton). Note *le Ose de Sterispul* FC i. 321, where *Ose* must be O.N. *óss* " mouth of a river."

For High Furness early sources are very scanty.

Of particular interest in this district are names containing a Scand. genitive form combined with an English second element. A certain case is Osmotherley. Possible cases are Elterwater and Windermere, but in these a Scand. name for " lake " may have been replaced by an English word. A name such as Osmotherley presupposes a mixed speech in which Scand. inflexions were kept, but in which the vocabulary was partly English.

It need hardly be said that a very considerable Scandinavian colonization has taken place in Furness. High Furness seems to have been in old days an almost purely Scandinavian district. Cf. on English names in this district p. 240f.

To sum up, the place-names tell us that, before the Norman Conquest, the coast districts all the way from the Mersey estuary to the Duddon and some inland districts must have had a very considerable Norse population. There are good reasons to believe that the immigrants came, not straight from Norway, but from Norse colonies in Ireland, Man, the Hebrides, and Scotland.

This latter fact accounts for the remarkable Celtic (Irish-Gaelic) influence found in the Scandinavian place-nomenclature, and which I have dealt with in my book Scandinavians and Celts. Thus the common element *ergh* " a shieling " is Ir. *airge*. To the Lancashire examples pointed out in the book quoted may be added some fresh ones (Barker, Bethecar, perhaps Houkler Hall, Robsawter). Some Ir. personal names are found in place-names, as a rule combined with Scand. elements; examples will be found under Becconsall, Beacons Gill, Bethecar. Sometimes the order between the elements of compounds is inverted in accordance with Celtic usage. The Lancashire examples of this type are few and mostly somewhat doubtful. An additional (and, in my opinion, safe) case is *Croskelloc* 1260-76 FC ii. 777 (orig.), in Ulverston. The first element of this name is Ir. *cros* (O.N. *kross*, M.E. *cross*). The second may be identical with the pers. name *Chelloc* quoted by Björkman, Namenkunde, and identified by him with *Chetelog* LV (<O.N. *Ketillaug*, etc.). Another possible source is O.N. *Kiallakr*<Ir. *Cellach*.

Hardly any light is thrown by place-names on the time of the Scandinavian immigration. There is good reason to believe that it took place in a fairly late period of the Viking age, very likely from about 900. A Scandinavian emigration from Ireland to Cheshire is known to have taken place immediately after

[1] First el. M.E. *fogge*, Mn.E. *fog* " aftermath ; long grass left standing in the fields during winter, etc." (Lindkvist, p. 200). *Fog* is identical with Norw. dial. *fogg* " tall, thin grass," especially growing on wet soil (Ross). *Fog* is probably a Scand. word.

900 (901 or 902). A similar period is likely for the Scandinavian settlements in Lancashire (*e.g.*, in Amounderness). If the Irish-Gaelic elements in place-names may be taken to prove that the immigrants had been to some extent influenced by Irish civilization and speech, an earlier time than about 900 is hardly to be reckoned with.

It has been suggested that the Scandinavian immigration into the north-west of England was of a peaceful nature, and that no systematic conquest of the district took place. The place-names to some extent seem to point in this direction. Scandinavian names are most numerous in districts which seem to have been practically uninhabited before the Viking age, *e.g.*, the low-lying districts of West Derby, Leyland, and Amounderness and the Lonsdale and Furness fell districts. This might seem to indicate that the Norse were content to settle in districts before unoccupied. I do not think this conclusion is necessarily correct. Also against the theory of peaceful immigration seems to tell the general improbability that such extensive settlements as those which must have taken place, for instance, in the Liverpool district and in Amounderness should have been permitted by the previous inhabitants if they were in a position to prevent them. However, if Lancashire (or the greater part of it) belonged to the Danelaw, a strong Scandinavian immigration without a previous conquest is plausible. There were very intimate relations between the Scandinavians in York and Dublin in the time before and after 900, as a result of which a stream of Norse settlers poured into Northumbria (Yorkshire). On this point reference may be made especially to A. Bugge, Vikingerne ii. 255ff., Oman, p. 495. Under the circumstances it is extremely probable that Norse from Ireland also founded settlements on the west coast, and did so with the consent or even the encouragement of the kings of York.[1] They may have settled in waste districts or bought land from previous inhabitants, just as settlers in Iceland often did.

How long did a Scandinavian language continue to be spoken in Lancashire? This question cannot be definitely answered. The well-known runic inscription of Pennington, however, indicates that a Scand. language of some sort was in living use as late as the twelfth century in the Pennington district. The place-names do not throw much light on this question. It is true some place-names show a somewhat late form, as *-breck*, *-slack* (O.N. *brekka*, *slakki*), but the assimilation *nk*>*kk* at any rate took place before 1000; cf. Finnur Jónsson, *op. cit.* p. 264. The only place-name known to me that seems to be of value for the present purpose is *Stanraysinum* (written *Stau-*) LC 184 (Bolton-le-Sands), which apparently contains the Scand. suffixed article; the word seems to be O.N. *steinhreysi* "cairn." As the origin of the suffixed article seems to date from about 1100 (Noreen, Geschichte der nordischen Sprachen § 207) this example would seem to show that in the district of Bolton-le-Sands a Scand. language was spoken at least as late as about 1100.

[1] If A. Bugge should be right in his suggestion (*op. cit.* ii. 317) that Amounderness was named after *Agmund Hold*, who was killed in 911 during a Northumbrian raid in Mercia (*Chron. D*), this theory gains in probability. The position of a hold was intermediate between that of an earl and a thegn. A hold may very well have been head of Amounderness.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

1. Place-names referring to old roads, buildings, and the like.

Names containing O.E. *strēt, strēt,* as Stretford, Stanistreet, as a rule refer to Roman roads and have been of value in determining the exact lines of such roads. Thus Street-fold, in Moston, Street-yate, in Royton, mark the line of the road from Manchester to Oldham and the north-east (Whitaker, Manchester i. 138). At Street in Leyland no Roman road has been found, so far as I know. A search for one might very well be worth while.

Other memorials of the Roman time are names in *-caster, -chester* (cf. p. 9) and *port* (Alport, Portfield).

Old forts have often given name to places, and names containing a word such as *burh* often give hints as to where old forts are to be looked for. Burrow (on the Lune) and Castercliff (Bl) are named from old forts. The name Tilberthwaite Lo (olim *Tillesburc*) indicates that there was a fort at the place, and its site has been determined with much probability by Mr. Collingwood. Burrow south of Lancaster was probably named from a lost fort, as were no doubt Arbury, Burscough (De). But not all names in *burh* were named from forts; cf. p. 8. Some names in *-borough* (as Flookborough, Newburgh) refer to boroughs.

Names such as Eccles, Eccleston, in my opinion indicate that there were British churches in the places so called. It is true there are no traces of an old church at Eccleshill or Eccleston Am., but many old churches have disappeared. Eccleston in Prescot par. adjoins Prescot, where the old parish church is. No doubt Eccleston originally embraced Whiston, from which Prescot was carved out as a rectory manor.

Bradkirk (Am.), Kirkstead, Kirkhead, Kirkpool (Lo.) contain the word *kirk* and refer to lost churches. The disappearance of the wooden church at Bradkirk is no matter for surprise. The church may have been of a type similar to that at Greenstead in Essex (cf. Reallexikon ii. 557f.). Old documents mention churches or at least chapels of even flimsier material than boards. Thus, according to the Register of Lanercost, a chapel of wickerwork was made about 1050 at Triermain in Cumberland; cf. the Register of Wetherhal, p. 224[5].

On the name Abbeystead, *see* p. 172.

It is doubtful if there is any place-name alluding to a place of heathen worship. The Anglians were probably Christianized soon after their immigration into Lancashire. The Norse may have been to some extent so even before they came to Lancashire. Some of the colonists of Iceland who came from the British Isles are stated to have been Christians. Cf. Finnur Jónsson *op. cit.* p. 17ff. (esp. p. 43). There is one place-name, however, now lost, which may refer to a heathen place of worship: *Harhum* 1298 LI (West Derby); cf. *Harumcar* 1228 ClR, *Hargunkar* 1228 WhC. This must be the dat. pl. of O.E. *hearg* "(heathen) temple; idol," or O.N. *hǫrgr* "heap of stones; heathen place of worship"; cf. the place-names O.Swed. *Hargh*, O.Dan. *Hörg* 1145, *Horgh* (now Hör in Scania; Falkman). But the meaning may be simply "heap of

stones." What renders it rather plausible, however, that the meaning may be that of " temple " is the fact that *Harhum* must have been close to Thingwall. In ClR 1228 the perambulation of the forest of West Derby begins at " the broad apple-tree " in *Harumcar*, and ends at *Thingwalacres*.

Singleton, Chingle Hall, New Chingle Hall, were named from shingled roofs. The use of shingles must have been exceptional in Lancashire.

2. Names referring to old institutions, social classes, etc.

Only a few isolated cases can be adduced here.

Some places are shown by their names to have been local meeting-places. Spellow De is a case in point. Moothills are mentioned, *e.g.*, in Carnforth (*Moothaw* VHL viii. 166), Kellet (*Mouter* or *Mootha* ib. 141). Cf. also Schyrokes, p. 173).

Thingwall, near Liverpool, was a Scandinavian thing-place.

Laffog De may have been named from an oak at which a court of justice was held.

At Hesketh (S.W. of Preston) was a Scandinavian racecourse. Hesketh is a common place-name in N. England. Horse-racing was a favourite sport with the Norse in Norway and Iceland.

Several place-names allude to old systems of defence, beacon hills and the like. Probable old English names of this kind are Warton (Am. and Lo.) and Wardle, Sa. On Wuerdle, near Wardle, *see* p. 57. The two Warbrecks date from Scandinavian times. Lookout hills are often alluded to in place-names; cf. Tottlebank and Tootal Hill, near Longridge.

Of social classes the following are mentioned in place-names:

King (O.E. *cyning* or O.N. *konungr*): Kingley, Conishead, Coniston, Cunscough. The last two obviously contain the Scand. word. Cunscough may be later than the conquest of S. Lancashire by King Edward. But Coniston must have been named from some Scandinavian king.

Earl: Yarlside (two), Yerleskelde, Yarlesmyre seem to contain the O.N. *jarl* " earl." The names cannot well be later than the time when North Lancashire was under Northumbrian earls.

Gerēfa: *see* Gerefholm, p. 186.

Ceorl: Chorlton Sa, Chorley Le. Cf. O.N. *karl* in Carleton Am.

Thrall. O.N. *prǽll* is found in Threlfall Am. and Trailholme Lo. (which see).

3. Personal names in place-names.

In his admirable book on Berkshire place-names, p. 25ff., Professor Stenton, in discussing the personal element in local nomenclature, gives it as his opinion that a personal name in a place-name has a seignorial implication. As, before the Conquest, the land between the Ribble and the Mersey was parcelled out in small manors held by thegns or drengs, and the same was very likely the case with the rest of Lancashire, we might expect to find personal names plentiful in the names of old Lancashire names of townships, villages, and hamlets. A few notes on the personal element in Lancashire place-names may therefore be of

interest. As the names in question can be easily picked out from the lists on p. 234ff. a full discussion will not be necessary.

In Salford hundred the only English names of early townships that have or may have a personal first element[1] are Edgeworth (very doubtful) and Hundersfield. More often we find personal names in other names, as Balderstone, Chorlton (with Hardy), Elton, Ard-, Bes-, Gothers-, Whittleswick. These may be old manors.

In other parts of Lancashire personal names are more common in place-names. Thus in Blackburn we find Balderston, Osbaldeston, Witton, Livesey, Worston, Huncoat, Chatburn, Simonstone, Oswaldtwistle, Worsthorn. In West Derby they are also more numerous than in Salford. There are, *e.g.*, in the old Warrington hundred, Atherton, Rixton, Woolston, Bed-, Rainford, Rainhill, Tyldesley; in the old Newton hundred, Abram (first el. a woman's name), Winwick, Winstanley; in West Derby proper, Harleton, Woolton, Halsall, Knowsley, Wibaldeslei. For the rest of the hundreds I refer to the lists on p. 234ff.

To the examples from Blackburn and West Derby a few more might be added. Anyhow, the number of place-names with a personal first element is comparatively small. The percentage is much smaller than in Berks., where more than half the names enumerated by Stenton p. 45ff. have a personal first element. But I do not think definite conclusions can be drawn from the comparatively rare occurrence of place-names with a personal first element in Lancashire. Even in a strongly manorialized district the majority of place-names might very well have as first elements a descriptive word. On the other hand, it is not necessary to assume that a personal name in place-names has always a seignorial implication. Many villages have no doubt developed from insignificant beginnings, *e.g.*, from clearings or small farmsteads. The later village would often retain the old name of the place, which would frequently contain the original squatter's name. Nor need a personal name in a place-name always imply ownership. There are numerous instances in Landnáma of localities named from some person who was killed or perished there. A Lancashire example of this kind is Deadwinclough, though in this case the valley was named from a nameless woman.

Scandinavian names fairly often contain personal names. We may mention Flixton, Turton, Urmston in Salford, Ainsdale, Argarmeles, Scarisbrick, Skelmersdale, Toxteth in West Derby. Here we must remember that the Norse usually lived in isolated homesteads, not in villages, and probably settled to a great extent in homesteads also in England. The names mentioned, as a rule, probably refer to freehold homesteads, and hardly have a seignorial implication in a stricter sense.

4. Flora and fauna in place-names.

Many tree-names are found in place-names, *e.g.*, alder (Ollerton, etc.), aspen (as Aspden), birch (as Birch, Birtle, Birtenshaw, Bescar, etc.), elm (*see* wice, p. 20), hazel (Hazelrigg, etc.), holly (Hollinworth, etc.), linden or lime (Lindale),

[1] I do not count names such as Tottington, because these, in my opinion, contain a genitive plural (*Totinga tūn*).

mountain ash (Wickenlow), spruce fir (perhaps in Sabden), sallow (Salford, Salesbury, etc.), willow (Withington, etc.). The beech does not occur in names.

Particularly frequent in place-names is ash (O.E. *æsc*, O.N. *askr*), not only in minor names, as Ashhurst, Eskrigg, etc., but also in names of old townships. There are several Ashtons. This might be due simply to the common occurrence of the ash in Lancashire. But there are probably other reasons. Not only was the ash in the old days a very valuable tree, but it is also fastidious as regards soil. Very likely it was known that where ashtrees grow, there the soil is generally good. Moreover, the ash was, in the old days, looked upon as a holy tree. A charter in BCS 476 (A.D. 854) mentions " quendam fraxinum quem imperiti sacrum vocant " (Taunton, Somerset). For further examples reference may be made to Bugge, Studier over de nordiske Gude- og Heltesagns Oprindelse, p. 499. For this reason people would settle where ashtrees grew or plant ashtrees at their homesteads. Similar considerations may account for the considerable number of names containing the word oak.

Thornbushes or hawthorns have given name to several places : Thornham, Thornton, Thurnham, etc. The thornbush and hawthorn also used to be looked upon as holy. On holy thorns and hawthorns in Sweden, *see* Sahlgren, NoB viii. 56f. A thornbush at a homestead or village would, therefore, naturally give rise to a place-name.

Names of animals frequently occur in place-names, especially those of woods, hills, streams, and the like. We may mention hart and hind (in Hartshead, Hindley, etc.), roe (Roeburn, Royle, Read), badger (Brockholes, Brock Hall, Badsberry, etc.), marten (Marshaw), grampus (Walney). Urswick seems to contain O.E. *ūr* " bison." Many names contain the word *wolf* (or O.N. *ulfr*), as Wolf Fell, Wolfenden, Wolfhole Crag, Woolden, Ulvedale. On *Ulvegravegate* *see* p. 252. Names of birds in place-names are, *e.g.*, crane (Cranshaw, Carnforth ; Tarnacre, etc.), crow (Crawshaw), hawk (Hawkshaw). Cf. also Dunnockshaw, Tewitfield, Warcockhill.

5. Names referring to agriculture, etc.

The chief industries in old Lancashire were agriculture and cattle-farming. Names alluding to these pursuits are numerous. Only a few need be pointed out.

Several names contain the name of a cereal, as barley, O.E. *bere*, or O.N. *bygg* (Barley, Barlow, Barton, Borwick, etc. ; Bigland, Bigthwaite), rye (Royley, Royton, Ryley, Renacres, *Ruthwait*, p. 250, etc.), wheat (Wheatley). I have found no names with O.E. *ātan* " oats " (except one or two field-names), and only two or three with O.N. *hafri* (Haverthwaite, Haverigg ; Haverbreck). Perhaps oats were so commonly cultivated that a name alluding to them would not have been distinctive enough. No conclusions should be drawn from these names as regards the extent to which the various cereals were cultivated. But it is extremely interesting to find that barley and wheat must have been cultivated from an early date in places where they are hardly ever grown now, *e.g.*, in the highly situated parts of the old Forest of Pendle (Barley, Wheatley).

It is of some interest to find that the old Scandinavian and Celtic custom of sending cattle away to shielings in the summer must have been introduced into

Lancashire. The numerous names in *-ergh* and *-set* originally denoted shielings. But many of these at an early date developed into permanent settlements. Several erghs are among Domesday manors.

The name Orgrave proves that iron-mining was carried on in Furness before the Conquest. The two Orrells were possibly named from iron mines. Millstone quarrying may be alluded to by such names as Quarlton, Quernmore.

Place-names referring to hunting or fishing seem to be chiefly Scandinavian: Ingoe, Waitham, Waitholme. The word *cockshoot* "a glade through which woodcocks, etc., might dart so as to be caught by nets stretched across the opening" (first exemplified in NED in 1530) is found early in Lancashire place-names (*Kocsute, Kockesuteheved* 1180-1200 CC 607), which proves that this method of catching birds is of high antiquity.

6. Folk-lore, etc.

Only a few isolated names contain allusions to popular beliefs or customs. Of interest are names containing O.E. *þyrs* "giant, goblin" (Thirsden, Thursclough; cf. *Thurescloch* CC 647, in Hindley) or O.N. *þurs* the same (Thrushgill, etc.; cf. p. 182). The words, as will be seen, are always combined with such words as mean "a ravine" or "a fen." Alden may contain O.E. *ælf, ielf*, "a fairy." On Grimshaw *see* p. 76. Dragley apparently means "the dragon's mound," and may refer to some local legend. Cf. also Drakeholm, p. 253.

Halliwell was named from a holy well. On Wiswell, *see* p. 77.

Cunliffe, if the alternative explanation suggested p. 73 is correct, refers to an ancient method of curing sickness.

Very few names testify to a feeling for natural beauty. Examples are: Breightmet, Facit, Fallowfield (Heaton). Scandinavian names such as Fairthwaite, Fairsnape, Winsnape, may belong here, but it is quite possible that the adjectives *fagr, vænn*, have rather the more original sense of "good, excellent," than that of "beautiful."

ADDENDA

P. 9, s.v. **cross.** Förster, Keltisches Wortgut, p. 28 ff., takes a somewhat different view of the history of the word.

P. 23 f., s.n. **Lyme.** To the examples given the following may be added: *Drayton subtus Lyme* 1259 IPM. The editor identifies this with Drayton in Wroxeter. But there are two Draytons in N. Salop., one near Betton-in-Hales, which is very likely meant.—*Schertelyme* 1297 IPM (Staffs.)—Chesterton, near Newcastle-under-Lyme, is also called Chesterton-under-Lyme.

P. 46, s.n. **Quarlton.** Also Goth. (*asilu*)*qairnus*, and probably O.H.G. *quirn*, M.H.G. *kürne* had the meaning " mill-stone." This tells in favour of the theory that O.E. *cweorn* had this sense.

P. 58, s.n. **Littleborough.** Cf. Euxton Burgh, the name of the village in Euxton, Le. Also in this name the meaning of *burh* is obscure.

P. 82, s.n. **Habergham.** The present pronunciation is [(h)abəgəm].

P. 93, s.n. **Deerplay.** Cf. Deerplay, W. Yks., *Hindeplewe* (Stanford, Nhp.) Selby C ii. 271.

P. 113, s.n. **Tarbock.** The identification of the surname (*de*) *Thornebrooke* with (*de*) *Torbok* (*Tarbock*) suggested tentatively is undoubtedly correct. Henry de Thornebrooke is stated to have been bailiff between Ribble and Mersey (1232-56 CC 556). This post was held by Sir Henry de Torbock, who flourished in the first half of the 13th century (VHL iii. 177). This clinches the etymology of Tarbock given.

P. 121, s.n. **Bickerstaffe.** A late O.E. instance of Bickerton is found in YCh 7: *Biceratune* c 1030, apparently a lost place near Otley, W. Yks. This proves that O.N. *bekkiar* cannot be the first el. of Bickerton, and, I suppose, also disposes of Mawer's suggestion that it might be *bicker*, " quarrel." *Bicera-* may quite well be the gen. of an O.E. pers. n. *Bicera*, for *n* would have disappeared by this time in the dialect of the district. It may also be a gen. pl. If so, we might compare O.E. *bycera* (*fald*) 972 BCS 1282, which is hesitatingly identified in B-T (Suppl.) with O.E. *bēocere* " apiarius." The *i*, if this is correct, must be due to Anglian " smoothing " of *īo* (in O.E. *bīo*) before *c*. Dr. Bradley told me long ago that he had considered the possibility of deriving *Bicker-* from O.E. *bēocere*.

P. 128, s.n. **Shevington.** While the MS. is passing through the press, I come across some illustrative material that seems worth quoting. Prof. Tait suggests connection with the hill-name Chevin. I had already thought of such connection, but the different initial consonants seemed to render it impossible. However, I now find that the Chevin, the name of a ridge in W. Yks., near Otley, appears in O.E. sources as *scefinc* c 972 BCS 1278, (*on*) *Scefinge* c 1030 YCh 7. To be quite exact, *scefinc* is not the name of the ridge, but that of a place named from the Chevin, and no doubt situated at the foot or on the slope of the ridge. Chevin is presumably identical with or related to Welsh *cefn* " ridge "; cf. M.W. *kefyn*, *kevyn*, Gaul. *Cebenna*. Here *C* (>*Ch-*) has apparently been replaced by O.E. *Sc-*; the O.E. ending *-ing* has been substituted for original *-en*, *-in*. The substitution of *Sc-* is difficult to explain. The only possible analogy I know of is Shorncote (*Schernecote* DB, *Cernecote* c 1290, etc.) near the Churn in Wilts., whose first el. is identified by Zachrisson, A.N. Infl., p. 159, with the river name (Cern). I doubt whether this etymology is correct. More probably the name has as first

el. O.E. *scearn* " dung," *Cernecote* being due to association with the name *Cern*. Zachrisson thinks *Sh-* is due to A.N. influence. This is, at any rate, impossible in the case of *scefinc*.

O.E. *scefinc* may represent an O.Brit. *Īs cefn* " below the ridge " ; cf. Welsh *Iscoed* " below the wood," and particularly M.W. *Iskevyn* (the name of a place in Llandanwg, Merioneth) Rec. Carn., which apparently means " below the ridge." *Is cefn* (>*scefinc*) I suppose was the name of a place at the foot of *Cefn*, " The Chevin." As *Is* was unstressed, loss of the initial vowel might take place. *Shevin-* in *Shevinhull* and Shevington may be analogous to O.E. *scefinc*. If so, Shevington Moor may be supposed to have had the O.Brit. name *Cefn*.

P. 140, s.n. **Skippool.** Cf. *Skyppul* WhC 490, the name of a stream or pool near the Alt (De).

P. 158, s.n. **Limebrest.** The name may be compared with a lost name in Bowerham (SLo): (acram super) *Bounebrest* c 1200, *Bambrist*, *-brest* 1450, *Bawnbrist* 15 cent. CC. The first el. of this name is O.N. *baun* " bean." This suggests that *Lime-* may be O.E. or O.N. *līn* " flax," with *n*>*m* before the *b*. The second el. of both might be O.E. *brēost* in some transferred sense such as round hill or slope (cf. *breast* of a hill). But more probably we may derive it from an O.N. equivalent of Norw. dial. *brest* " slope." Limebrest is on a slope. *Bounebrest* was close to the Lune. The prep. *super* before the name is noteworthy.

In Saxton's map (1577), as well as in Speed's map of 1608, the Fleetwood peninsula, or the left bank of the Wyre N. of Thornton village, is called *Bergerode*. I find no mention of this name in other sources.

P. 168, s.n. **Lune.** As regards the form *Landc* on coins, it should be pointed out that the editors of VHL (viii. 4) look upon the existence of a mint at Lancaster in the reign of Harold I. as very doubtful.

INDEX

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